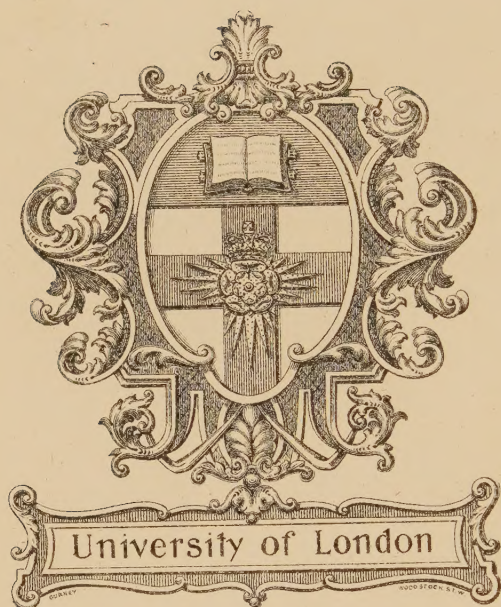


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HANSARD'S
PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES,

THIRD SERIES:

COMMENCING WITH THE ACCESSION OF

WILLIAM IV.

43° VICTORIÆ, 1880.

VOL. CCLI.

COMPRISING THE PERIOD FROM

THE FIRST DAY OF MARCH 1880,

TO

THE TWENTY-FOURTH DAY OF MARCH 1880.

Second Volume of the First Session.

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WILLIAM IV

PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES

THIRD SERIES

COMMENCED WITH THE ADDRESS OF

WILLIAM IV

BY VICTORIA R. 1880

THE YEAR

CONTAINING THE THIRD YEAR

THE FIRST DAY OF MARCH 1880

THE TWENTY-FOURTH DAY OF MARCH 1880

Being Volume of the Third Series

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| After short debate, <i>Moved</i> , "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again,"—(<i>Mr. O'Donnell</i> :)—After further short debate, Motion, by leave, <i>withdrawn</i> . | | | |
| Original Question put, and <i>agreed to</i> . | | | |
| (27.) | £4,450, Tonnage Bounties, &c., and Liberated African Department. | | |
| (28.) | £10,425, Subsidies to Telegraph Companies. | | |
| (29.) | £136, Treasury Chest Robbery. | | |
| (30.) | £13,000, Superannuation and Retired Allowances. | | |
| (31.) | £3,000, Relief of Distressed British Seamen Abroad. | | |
| (32.) | £2,716, Pauper Lunatics, Ireland. | | |
| (33.) | £9,110, Temporary Commissions.—After short debate, Vote <i>agreed to</i> | .. | 406 |
| (34.) | £9,869, Repayment to the Civil Contingencies Fund.—After short debate, Vote <i>agreed to</i> | .. | 407 |
| (35.) | £4,300, REVENUE DEPARTMENTS. | | |
| (36.) | £7,400, POST OFFICE PACKET SERVICE. | | |
| (37.) | £985, ABYSSINIAN EXPEDITION. | | |
| (38.) | £15,050 3s. 3d. Charges Defrayed by the War Office on account of India. | | |

Resolutions to be reported *To-morrow*; Committee to sit again *To-morrow*.

Blind and Deaf-Mute Children Bill [Bill 41]—

Order for Committee read:—*Moved*, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair,"—(*Mr. Wheelhouse*) 409

Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Mr. Monk* :)—After short debate, Question put:—The House *divided*; Ayes 9, Noes 54; Majority 45.—(*Div. List*, No. 36.)

Original Question again proposed:—*Moved*, "That this House do now adjourn,"—(*Mr. Brogden* :)—After short debate, Motion, by leave, *withdrawn*.

Original Question put, and *agreed to*:—Bill *considered* in Committee.

Committee report Progress; to sit again upon *Monday* next.

NOTICE OF RESOLUTION.



Parliamentary Elections and Corrupt Practices Bill—

Notice of Resolution, Sir Charles W. Dilke 411

Bill ordered (*Mr. Attorney General*, *Mr. Solicitor General*.)

[House counted out.]

LORDS, FRIDAY, MARCH 5.

Local Courts of Bankruptcy (Ireland) Bill (No. 11)—

Moved, "That the House do now resolve itself into Committee upon the said Bill,"—(*The Lord Chancellor*) 412

After short debate, Motion *agreed to*:—House in Committee accordingly;

Bill *reported*, without Amendment; and to be read 3rd on *Thursday* next.

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ARMY—AUXILIARY FORCES—THE VOLUNTEER REVIEW ON EASTER MONDAY—	
ADDRESS FOR PAPERS—	
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After short debate, on Question ? Resolved in the <i>Negative</i> .	

COMMONS, FRIDAY, MARCH 5.

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CAPITAL PUNISHMENT—THE PRISONS ACT, 1868—EXECUTIONS IN KIRKDALE GAOL—Question, Mr. Hibbert ; Answer, Mr. Assheton Cross	431
<i>Moved</i> , "That this House do now adjourn,"—(<i>Mr. John Bright</i> :)—After short debate, Motion, by leave, <i>withdrawn</i> .	
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ORDERS OF THE DAY.

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SUPPLY—Order for Committee read; Motion made, and Question proposed,
“That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair:”—

INTOXICATING LIQUORS (LICENCES)—RESOLUTION—Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word “That” to the end of the Question, in order to add the words “inasmuch as the ancient and avowed object of Licensing the Sale of Intoxicating Liquors is to supply a supposed public want, without detriment to the public welfare, this House is of opinion that a legal power of restraining the issue or renewal of licences should be placed in the hands of the persons most deeply interested and affected, namely, the inhabitants themselves, who are entitled to protection from the injurious consequence of the present system, by some efficient measure of local option,”—(*Sir Wilfrid Lawson*,)—instead thereof .. 441

Question proposed, “That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question:”—After long debate, Question put:—The House divided; Ayes 248, Noes 134; Majority 114.

Division List, Ayes and Noes 525

Main Question, “That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair,” put, and agreed to.

SUPPLY—considered in Committee—

(In the Committee.)

Resolved, That a sum, not exceeding £3,410,000, be granted to Her Majesty, to pay off and discharge Exchequer Bonds that will become due and payable during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1880.

Resolution to be reported upon *Monday* next; Committee to sit again upon *Monday* next.

SUPPLY—REPORT—Resolutions [4th March] reported 528

First Thirty-Two Resolutions read, and agreed to.

Thirty-Third Resolution read a first time.—After short debate, Resolution agreed to.

Thirty-Fourth Resolution read a first time.—After short debate, Resolution agreed to.

Remaining Resolutions read, and agreed to.

PROBATES OF WILLS, &c. [STAMP DUTIES]—

Order for Committee read:—*Moved*, “That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair,”—(*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer*) 530

Question put, and agreed to.

MATTER considered in Committee—STAMP DUTIES ON PROBATES, LETTERS OF ADMINISTRATION, AND INVENTORIES.

After short time spent therein, Resolutions agreed to; to be reported upon *Monday* next.

MOTIONS.

—o—o—

MERCHANT SHIPS LADEN IN BULK—NOMINATION OF SELECT COMMITTEE—

Moved, “That the Select Committee do consist of Twenty-three Members,”—(*Viscount Sandon*) 533

After short debate, *Moved*, “That the Debate be now adjourned,”—(*Mr. E. Jenkins*):—After further short debate, Motion, by leave, *withdrawn*:

—Original Question put, and agreed to.

Committee nominated:—List of the Committee 541

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PUBLIC ACCOUNTS—NOMINATION OF SELECT COMMITTEE—

Moved, "That the following Members be nominated as the Select Committee of Public Accounts:—Sir WALTER BARTHELOT, Lord FREDERICK CAVENDISH, Mr. CUBITT, Mr. GOLDNEY, Mr. HANKEY, Sir HENRY HOLLAND, Sir JOHN LUBBOCK, Sir CHARLES MILLS, Mr. SHAW, Mr. SEELY, and Sir HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON,"—
(*Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson*) 544

After short debate, Question put, and *agreed to*:—Committee nominated accordingly.

ORDER OF THE DAY.

WAYS AND MEANS—

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

- (1.) *Resolved*, That, towards making good the Supply granted to Her Majesty for the service of the year ending on the 31st day of March 1880, the sum of £3,982,902 3s. 3d. be granted out of the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom.
- (2.) *Resolved*, That, towards making good the Supply granted to Her Majesty for the service of the year ending on the 31st day of March 1881, the sum of £16,641,300 be granted out of the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom.

Resolutions to be reported upon *Monday* next; Committee to sit again upon *Monday* next.

LORDS, MONDAY, MARCH 8.

REPORTING—

The Evidence taken before the Select Committee from time to time to be *printed* for the use of the Members of this House; but no copies thereof to be delivered, except to Members of the Committee, until further order. (No. 28.)

THE EASTERN QUESTION—Observations, Lord Stratheden and Campbell .. 546

THE DISSOLUTION OF PARLIAMENT—Statement, The Earl of Beaconsfield .. 547

Beer Dealers Retail Licenses Bill (No. 27)—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2^a,"—(*The Earl Stanhope*) .. 547

After short debate, Second Reading *put off* to *Thursday* next.

Relief of Distress (Ireland) Bill (No. 26)—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 3^a,"—(*The Lord President*) .. 547

After short debate, Motion *agreed to*:—Bill read 3^a accordingly, with the Amendments, and *passed*, and sent to the Commons.

COMMONS, MONDAY, MARCH 8.

SITTINGS OF THE HOUSE—

Resolved, That whenever the House shall meet at Two of the clock the Sitting of the House shall be held subject to the Resolutions of the House of the 30th day of April 1869,—(*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer*) 550

QUESTIONS.

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ORDERS OF THE DAY.



SUPPLY—Order for Committee read; Motion made, and Question proposed, “That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair :”—

NAVY—THE STATE OF THE NAVY—RESOLUTION—

Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word “That” to the end of the Question, in order to add the words “the Navy, whereon, under the good providence of God, the wealth, safety, and strength of the Kingdom chiefly depend, 29 and 30 Vict. c. 109, should be administered by competent officials; should be manned by crews permanently attached to the Service; should consist of ships capable of keeping the sea in all weathers, of blockading an enemy’s coast, and of conveying every class of merchant vessel; and should possess a powerful and efficient Reserve ready for service on the shortest notice,”—(*Captain Pim*,)—instead thereof .. 562

Question proposed, “That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question :”—After short debate, Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn*.

Main Question, “That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair,” put, and *agreed to*.

SUPPLY—considered in Committee—NAVY ESTIMATES, 1880-81—DEPARTMENTAL STATEMENT.

(In the Committee.)

- (1.) Motion made, and Question proposed, “That 58,000 men and boys be employed for the Sea and Coast Guard Services for the year ending on the 31st day of March 1881, including 13,000 Royal Marines,”—(*Mr. W. H. Smith*) .. 588
- After debate, Question put, and *agreed to*.
- (2.) £680,384, on account, Wages, &c. to Seamen and Marines.
- (3.) £253,381, on account, Victuals and Clothing for Seamen and Marines.
- (4.) £44,871, on account, Admiralty Office.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* .. 655
- (5.) £48,569, on account, Coast Guard Service and Royal Naval Reserves, &c.
- (6.) £28,276, on account, Scientific Branch.
- (7.) £335,896, on account, Dockyards and Naval Yards at Home and Abroad.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* .. 657
- (8.) £17,790, on account, Victualling Yards at Home and Abroad.
- (9.) £15,861, on account, Medical Establishments at Home and Abroad.
- (10.) £5,350, on account, Marine Divisions.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* .. 660

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- (11.) £252,750, on account, Naval Stores for Building and Repairing the Fleet, &c.
- (12.) £192,250, on account, Machinery and Ships built by Contract.
- (13.) £139,737, on account, New Works, Buildings, Yard Machinery, and Repairs.
- (14.) £18,787, on account, Medicines and Medical Stores, &c.
- (15.) £2,312, on account, Martial Law, &c.
- (16.) £33,940, on account, Miscellaneous Services.
- (17.) £223,789, on account, Half Pay, Reserved Half Pay, and Retired Pay to Officers of the Navy and Marines.
- (18.) £205,804, on account, Military Pensions and Allowances.
- (19.) £80,607, on account, Civil Pensions and Allowances.
- (20.) £42,875, on account, Extra Estimate for Services not Naval.—Freight, &c. on account of the Army Department.
- (21.) £36,548, on account, Greenwich Hospital and School.

CIVIL SERVICE AND REVENUE DEPARTMENTS, VOTE ON ACCOUNT.

- (22.) £5,662,400, on account, viz. :—

CIVIL SERVICES.—Classes I. to VII., and the REVENUE DEPARTMENTS.

[Then the several Services are set forth] 661

Resolutions to be reported *To-morrow*; Committee to sit again upon *Wednesday*.

Blind and Deaf-Mute Children Bill [Bill 41]—

Bill *considered* in Committee [*Progress 4th March*] 665

After short time spent therein, Bill *reported*; as amended, to be considered *To-morrow*.

MOTIONS.

WAYS AND MEANS—

Consolidated Fund (No. 1) Bill—

Resolutions [March 5] *reported*, and *agreed to* :—Bill ordered (Mr. Raikes, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson); *presented*, and read the first time .. 667

Probates of Wills &c. [Stamp Duties] Bill—Resolutions [March 5] *reported*, and *agreed to* :—Bill ordered (Mr. Raikes, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 104] 668

Burial Laws Amendment Bill—*Considered* in Committee :—Resolution *agreed to*, and *reported* :—Bill ordered (Mr. Grantham, Mr. Mark Stewart); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 103] 668

LORDS, TUESDAY, MARCH 9.

ARMY—THE AUXILIARY FORCES—THE EASTER MONDAY VOLUNTEER REVIEW
—Observations, Viscount Bury 668

Settled Land Bill (No. 14)—

Moved, “That the House do now resolve itself into Committee upon the said Bill,”—(The Lord Chancellor) 669

After short debate, Motion *agreed to* :—House in Committee accordingly :—Bill *reported*, without Amendment; Amendments made; Bill *re-committed* to a Committee of the Whole House on Friday the 19th instant; and to be *printed*, as amended. (No. 32.)

CAPITAL PUNISHMENT—THE PRISONS ACT, 1868—EXECUTIONS IN CHEETHAM AND KIRKDALE GAOLS—RESOLUTION—

Moved to resolve, “That it is the opinion of this House that it is advisable that other than official persons should be present at intramural executions,”—(The Lord Houghton) 671

After short debate, Motion put, and *resolved* in the negative.

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MOTIONS.

TAXATION (GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND)—MOTION FOR A SELECT COMMITTEE—

<i>Moved</i> , “That a Select Committee be appointed to inquire into and report whether there is, as alleged, some and what disparity in the incidence of Imperial Taxation as it affects the several Countries of which the United Kingdom is composed; and whether, in the opinion of the Committee, the circumstances call for any and what changes in the fiscal legislation for England, Scotland, and Ireland respectively,”—(<i>Sir Joseph M’Kenna</i>)	695
After debate, Question put:—The House divided; Ayes 36, Noes 58; Majority 22.—(Div. List, No. 38.)	

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RAILWAY SERVANTS (COMPENSATION FOR INJURY)—RESOLUTION—	
<i>Moved</i>, "That the exceptional character of the services performed and dangers incurred by Railway Servants in the discharge of their duty calls for the immediate and special attention of Her Majesty's Government; and that this House is of opinion that a change in the Law is required, by which, notwithstanding the legal doctrine of common employment, adequate compensation shall be secured to Railway Servants in all cases of injury to which they have not personally contributed,"—(<i>Mr. Raikes</i>)	715

Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "while it might, on the eve of a General Election, serve party purposes in such boroughs to single out Railway industry for exceptional legislation, such a course would be contrary to precedent and be unsupported by the facts relating to accidents attending mechanical and other industrial employments, and that the question of accidents arising in the conduct of all the industries of the Country, whether from personal carelessness, defective control, or other causes, and the constant premature death of and injury to probably 100,000 persons annually, demands the grave attention of Her Majesty's Government, with a view to the adoption by Parliament of some general and adequate system of insurance, to the funds for which both the capitalist and the workman should contribute in just proportions,"—(*Sir Edward Watkin*,)—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question:"—After short debate, [House counted out.]

COMMONS, WEDNESDAY, MARCH 10.

PRIVATE BUSINESS.

PRIVATE BILLS—SUSPENSION OF PROCEEDINGS—RESOLUTION—

Moved, "That in case the Committee on any Private Bill, or Group of such Bills, shall report their opinion to the House, that any Bill or Bills not yet considered by them should not be entered upon, or that the consideration of any Bill already partly considered should not be proceeded with, all further proceedings upon such Bills shall be suspended during the present Session,"—(*The Chairman of Ways and Means*)

Question put, and *agreed to*.

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

Vaccination Bill [Bill 9]—

Moved, "That the Order for the Second Reading be discharged,"—(*Dr. Cameron*)

Motion *agreed to*:—Order *discharged*:—Bill *withdrawn*.

Patents for Inventions Bill [Bill 92]—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*Mr. Anderson*)

After short debate, Amendment proposed, to leave out the word "now," and at the end of the Question to add the words "upon this day month,"—(*Mr. Fraser-Mackintosh*.)

Question proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question:"—After further short debate, Amendment and Motion, by leave, *withdrawn*:—Bill *withdrawn*.

Irish Church Act (1869) Amendment Bill [Bill 100]—

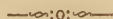
Moved, "That the Order for the Second Reading be discharged,"—(*Mr. Plunket*)

After short debate, Motion *agreed to*:—Order *discharged*:—Bill *withdrawn*.

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(In the Committee.)	
Motion made, and Question proposed, “That a Supplementary sum, not exceeding £1,225,200, be granted to Her Majesty, beyond the ordinary Grants of Parliament, towards defraying the Expenditure which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1880, in consequence of the War in South Africa”	759
After short debate, <i>Moved</i> , “That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again,”—(<i>Sir Charles W. Dilke</i> :—) After further short debate, Question put, and <i>agreed to</i> .	
Committee report Progress; to sit again <i>To-morrow</i> .	
South Western (of London) District Post Office Bill [Bill 90]—	
<i>Moved</i> , “That the Bill be now read a second time,”—(<i>Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson</i>)	771
Motion <i>agreed to</i> :—Bill read a second time, and <i>committed for To-morrow</i> .	
SUPPLY — REPORT — Resolutions [March 8] <i>reported</i>	771
After short debate, Resolutions <i>agreed to</i> .	
Bill ordered (<i>Colonel Stanley, Mr. William Henry Smith, The Judge Advocate General</i>); <i>presented</i> , and read the first time [Bill 106.]	
Valuation (Metropolis) Act (1869) Amendment Bill [Bill 98]	
Bill <i>considered in Committee</i>	774
After short time spent therein, Bill <i>reported</i> , without Amendment; to be read the third time <i>To-morrow</i> .	
Hypothec Abolition (Scotland) Bill [Bill 34]—	
<i>Moved</i> , “That the Bill be now read the third time,”—(<i>Mr. Vans Agnew</i>)	775
After short debate, Motion <i>agreed to</i> :—Bill read the third time, and <i>passed</i> .	

MOTIONS.



Parliamentary Elections and Corrupt Practices (No. 2) Bill	
Motion for Leave (<i>The Attorney General</i>)	777
After short debate, Motion <i>agreed to</i> :—Bill to amend the Law relating to the Conveyance of Voters to the Poll, and to continue the Acts relating to the prevention of Corrupt Practices at Parliamentary Elections, and the Acts relating to Election Petitions, ordered (<i>Mr. Attorney General, Mr. Solicitor General</i>); <i>presented</i> , and read the first time [Bill 107.]	
Rating of Machinery Bill —Ordered (<i>Mr. Birley, Mr. Hibbert, Mr. Ripley</i>); <i>presented</i> , and read the first time [Bill 108]	780

ORDER OF THE DAY.



WAYS AND MEANS—

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Resolved, That, towards making good the Supply granted to Her Majesty for the Service of the year ending on the 31st day of March 1881, the sum of £8,322,177, be granted out of the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom.

Resolution to be reported *To-morrow*; Committee to sit again *To-morrow*.

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PARLIAMENTARY REPORTING—THE HOUSE OF LORDS—

Report from the Select Committee (with the proceedings of the Committee) made; and to be *printed*.

Companies Acts Amendment Bill (No. 9)—

Moved, "That the House do now resolve itself into Committee upon the said Bill,"—(*The Lord Aberdare*) .. 781
Amendment moved, to leave out ("now") and add at the end of the Motion ("this day six months,")—(*The Lord Denman*):—After short debate, on Question, That ("now") stand part of the Motion? *Resolved in the Affirmative*.

House in Committee accordingly; Amendments made; the Report thereof to be received on *Tuesday* next; and Bill to be *printed*, as amended. (No. 35.)

Ancient Monuments Bill (No. 20)—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2^a,"—(*The Earl Stanhope*) .. 782
 After short debate, Motion *agreed to*:—Bill read 2^a accordingly.

Moved, "That the Bill be referred to a Select Committee,"—(*The Duke of Somerset*).

After short debate, on Question, *Resolved in the Affirmative*; Bill referred to a Select Committee accordingly.

Beer Dealers Retail Licenses Bill (No. 27)—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2^a,"—(*The Earl Stanhope*) .. 788

After short debate, Motion *agreed to*:—Bill read 2^a accordingly, and *committed* to a Committee of the Whole House *To-morrow*.

Katz Naturalization Bill—*Presented* (on petition), and read 1^a .. 794

COMMONS, THURSDAY, MARCH 11.

PRIVATE BUSINESS.

—o—o—o—

PRIVATE BILLS—SUSPENSION OF PROCEEDINGS—

Resolutions 1 to 18 (*Mr. Raikes*) .. 794

Standing Orders for the Suspension of Private Bills, or Bills to confirm any Provisional Order or Certificate.

Ordered, That the said Orders be Standing Orders of this House, and be printed,—(*The Chairman of Ways and Means*.)

QUESTIONS.

—o—o—o—

NAVY—BURSTING OF THE "THUNDERER" GUN—Question, Mr. H. Samuelson; Answer, Lord Eustace Cecil .. 797

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AFGHANISTAN—MILITARY OPERATIONS—LOSS OF BAGGAGE ANIMALS—Question, Dr. Cameron; Answer, Mr. E. Stanhope .. 798

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THE DESPATCH OF INDIAN TROOPS TO MALTA—THE RETURN OF COSTS—Question, Mr. Mundella; Answer, Colonel Stanley	803
<i>Moved</i> , “That this House do now adjourn,”—(<i>Mr. Mundella</i> :)—After short debate, Motion, by leave, <i>withdrawn</i> .	
GREAT BRITAIN AND NICARAGUA—THE PENDING ARBITRATION—Question, Captain Pim; Answer, Mr. Bourke	809
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EAST INDIA (MR. WILLIAM TAYLER)—Question, Sir Eardley Wilmot; Answer, Mr. E. Stanhope	811
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MERCANTILE MARINE—LIGHTS OF FISHING VESSELS AT SEA—ENFORCEMENT OF THE NEW REGULATIONS—Question, Mr. Birkbeck; Answer, Viscount Sandon	813
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SUPPLY—*considered* in Committee—SUPPLEMENTARY (£1,225,200)—WAR IN SOUTH AFRICA—

(In the Committee.)

Motion made, and Question proposed, “That a Supplementary sum, not exceeding £1,225,200, be granted to Her Majesty, beyond the ordinary Grants of Parliament, towards defraying the Expenditure which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1880, in consequence of the War in South Africa.”—Motion, by leave, *withdrawn*.

- (1.) £703,000, Supplementary, War in South Africa, Vote of Credit.
- (2.) £222,200, War in South Africa, Vote of Credit (Griqua Land West).
- (3.) £300,000, Supplementary, War in South Africa, Vote of Credit (Sikukuni Expedition, &c.)—After short debate, Vote *agreed to*

815

CIVIL SERVICES (EXCESSES), 1878-9—

- (4.) Motion made, and Question proposed, “That a sum, not exceeding £5,550 9s. 10d., be granted to Her Majesty, to make good Excesses on certain Grants for Civil Services, for the year ended on the 31st day of March 1879”
- [Then the several Services are set forth.]
Question put, and *agreed to*.

815

Resolutions to be reported *To-morrow*, at Two of the clock; Committee to sit again *To-morrow*.

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WAYS AND MEANS—considered in Committee—FINANCIAL STATEMENT— (In the Committee.)

- (1.) Motion made, and Question proposed, “That, towards raising the Supply granted to Her Majesty, the Duties of Customs now charged on Tea shall continue to be levied and charged on and after the first day of August, one thousand eight hundred and eighty, until the first day of August, one thousand eight hundred and eighty-one, on importation into Great Britain or Ireland (that is to say): on

Tea	the lb.	£	s.	d.	
		0	0	6	816

After short debate, Resolution agreed to.

- (2.) *Resolved*, That there shall be charged upon the delivery for home consumption of Foreign Spirits which have been bottled in any Customs or Excise Warehouse, in addition to the Duties of Customs and any other Charges thereon, the rate following (that is to say):

For every one dozen imperial or reputed quart bottles, or two dozen imperial or reputed pint bottles of such Spirits, Three Pence.

- (3.) *Resolved*, That, towards raising the Supply granted to Her Majesty, there shall be charged, collected, and paid for one year, commencing on the sixth day of April, one thousand eight hundred and eighty, in respect of all Property, Profits, and Gains mentioned or described as chargeable in the Act of the sixteenth and seventeenth years of Her Majesty's reign, chapter thirty-four, the following Duties of Income Tax (that is to say):

For every Twenty Shillings of the annual value or amount of Property, Profits, and Gains chargeable under Schedules (A), (C), (D), or (E) of the said Act, the Duty of Five Pence;

And For every Twenty Shillings of the annual value of the occupation of Lands, Tenements, Hereditaments, and Heritages chargeable under Schedule (B) of the said Act,—

In England, the Duty of Two Pence Halfpenny;

In Scotland and Ireland, respectively, the Duty of One Penny Three Farthings;

Subject to the provisions contained in section one hundred and sixty-three of the Act of the fifth and sixth years of Her Majesty's reign, chapter thirty-five, for the exemption of persons whose income is less than One Hundred and Fifty Pounds, and in section eight of “The Customs and Inland Revenue Act, 1876,” for the relief of persons whose income is less than Four Hundred Pounds.

- (4.) *Resolved*, That it is expedient to amend the Law relating to Income Tax.

- (5.) *Resolved*, That, towards making good the Supply granted to Her Majesty for the service of the years ending on the 31st day of March 1879 and 1880, the sum of £1,230,750 9s. 10d. be granted out of the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom.”

Resolutions to be reported *To-morrow*, at Two of the clock; Committee to sit again *To-morrow*, at Two of the clock.

Army Discipline and Regulation (Annual) Bill [Bill 106]—

Moved, “That the Bill be now read a second time,”—(Colonel Stanley) .. 846

Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word “That” to the end of the Question, in order to add the words “in the opinion of this House, it is not desirable that a Bill relating to the discipline of the Army should be continued which does not contain a provision relieving British soldiers from the degradation of flogging to which they are at present subjected,”—(Mr. O'way,)—instead thereof.

Question proposed, “That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question:”—After short debate, Question put:—The House divided; Ayes 76, Noes 36; Majority 40.—(Div. List, No. 39.)

Main Question again proposed, “That the Bill be now read a second time.”

After short debate, Main Question put, and agreed to:—Bill read a second time, and committed for *To-morrow*, at Two of the clock.

Parliamentary Elections and Corrupt Practices (No. 2) Bill [Bill 102]—

Moved, “That the Bill be now read a second time,”—(Mr. Attorney General) .. 859

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To leave out from the word “That” to the end of the Question, in order to add the words “the provisions of the Act 30 and 31 Vic. c. 102, which relates to payment of the expenses of conveyance of voters to the poll, should be amended, not by repealing the prohibition against the practice, but by rendering it effective,”—(<i>Dr. Cameron,</i>)—instead thereof.	
Question proposed, “That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question :”— <i>Moved</i> , “That the Debate be now adjourned,”—(<i>Mr. Henry Samuelson</i> .)—After short debate, Question put :—The House divided; Ayes 47, Noes 120; Majority 73.—(<i>Div. List, No. 40.</i>)	
Question put, “That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question :”—The House divided; Ayes 116, Noes 48; Majority 68.—(<i>Div. List, No. 41.</i>)	
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Second Resolution read a first time.	
Moved, "That the said Resolution be now read a second time,"—(Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer:—) After short debate, Question put, and agreed to.	
Remaining Resolutions agreed to.	
WAYS AND MEANS—REPORT—Resolutions [11th March] reported	922
Resolutions read a first time.	
Moved, "That the said Resolutions be now read a second time,"—(Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer:—)	

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AFGHANISTAN—THE WAR—EXPENSES OF MILITARY OPERATIONS—RESOLUTION—Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "in view of the declarations which have been officially made that the Afghan War was undertaken in the joint interests of England and India, this House is of opinion that it is unjust to defray out of the Revenues of India the whole of the expenditure incurred in the renewal of hostilities with Afghanistan,"—(*Mr. Fawcett*,)—instead thereof 922

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question:"—After long debate, Question put, and *agreed to*.

Main Question put:—Resolutions read a second time, and *agreed to*.

Parliamentary Elections and Corrupt Practices (No. 2) Bill

Order for Committee read:—*Moved*, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair,"—(*Mr. Attorney General*) 952

After short debate, Question put, and *negatived*:—Committee *deferred till Monday next*.

Customs and Inland Revenue Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. Raikes, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson*); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 111] .. 953

Consolidated Fund (Appropriation) Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. Raikes, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson*); *presented*, and read the first time .. 953

ORDER OF THE DAY.

WAYS AND MEANS—

Resolution [11th March] read.

Ordered, That it be an Instruction to the Gentlemen appointed to bring in the said Bill on the Fifth Resolution, That they have power to make provision therein pursuant to the said Resolution.

LORDS, SATURDAY, MARCH 13.

PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—

Ordered, That for the remainder of the Session the Bill or Bills which are entered for consideration on the Minutes of the Day shall have the same precedence which Bills have on Tuesdays and Thursdays,—(*The Viscount Cranbrook*.)

Army Discipline and Regulation (Annual) Bill—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2^a,"—(*The Viscount Bury*) .. 954

After short debate, Motion *agreed to*:—Bill read 2^a accordingly, and *committed* to a Committee of the Whole House on *Monday next*.

Facilities for Interment Bill [*H.L.*].—*Presented* (*The Lord Denman*); read 1^a (No. 45) 955

Consolidated Fund (No. 1) Bill—

Read 2^a (according to order); Committee *negatived*: Then Standing Orders Nos. XXXVII. and XXXVIII. *considered* (according to order), and *dispensed with*: Bill read 3^a, and *passed*.

LORDS, MONDAY, MARCH 15.

ARMY—AUXILIARY FORCES—EASTER MONDAY VOLUNTEER REVIEW—THE GENERAL ELECTION—Statement, Viscount Bury; Observations, The Marquess of Lansdowne 956

Hypothec Abolition (Scotland) Bill (No. 34)—

After short debate, *Moved*, "That the Bill be now read 2^a,"—(*The Earl of Haddington*) 958

After further short debate, on Question? *Resolved* in the *Affirmative*:—Bill read 2^a accordingly, and *committed* to a Committee of the Whole House *To-morrow*.

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ROYAL SCHOOL OF MINES, JERMYN STREET—MOTION FOR A PAPER—

Moved, That there be laid before the House—

Copy of correspondence relating to the transfer to South Kensington of the Metallurgical Department which has been conducted in Jermyn Street since the year 1851,—
(*The Duke of Somerset*) 962

After short debate, Motion *agreed to*.

PEACE PRESERVATION (IRELAND) ACT—MOTION FOR RETURNS—

Moved, That there be laid before the House—

“Returns showing what parts of Ireland are proclaimed under the Peace Preservation Act,”—(*The Lord Oranmore and Browne*) 965

After short debate, Motion *agreed to*.

THE EASTERN QUESTION—MOTION FOR AN ADDRESS—

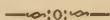
Moved, “That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty for a Copy of the letter from the late Ameer of Afghanistan to the Sultan, dated 19th January 1878,”—
(*The Lord Stratheden and Campbell*) 973

After debate, Motion (by leave of the House) *withdrawn*.

Ramminger's Naturalization Bill [H.L.]—*Presented* (on petition); read 1^a .. 1007

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<i>Moved</i> , "That, for the remainder of the Session, Orders of the Day have precedence of Notices of Motions, Government Orders having priority ; and that Government Orders have precedence on Wednesday,"—(<i>Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.</i>)		
<i>Motion agreed to.</i>		

Acrobatic Performances Bill [Bill 66]—		
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Consolidated Fund (Appropriation) Bill—		
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<i>Minutes of Proceedings to be printed. [No. 123.]</i>		

SINKING FUND ACT (1875)—

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Resolved, That it is expedient to amend "The Sinking Fund Act, 1875," and to increase the annual charge on the Consolidated Fund for five years by eight hundred thousand pounds.

Resolution to be reported To-morrow.

WAYS AND MEANS—

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

1. *Resolved*, That the Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury be authorised to raise a sum, not exceeding Six Million Pounds, by the creation of Terminable Annuities.
2. *Resolved*, That, towards raising the Supply granted to Her Majesty, the Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury be authorised to raise any sum, not exceeding Sixty Thousand Pounds, by an issue of Exchequer Bonds, Exchequer Bills, or Treasury Bills.
3. *Resolved*, That the principal of all Exchequer Bonds which may be so issued shall be paid off at par, at the expiration of any period, not exceeding three years, from the date of such Bonds.
4. *Resolved*, That the interest of all such Exchequer Bonds shall be paid half-yearly, and shall be charged upon and issued out of the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom, or the growing produce thereof.

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Rammingen's Naturalization Bill [H.L.]—

Certificate read ; petitioner took the oath ; the Queen's consent signified by the Lord Chancellor ; Bill read 2^a (according to order) and committed forthwith : Order for considering Standing Orders Nos. XXXVII. and XXXVIII. read, and discharged ; Reported with Amendments.

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Army Discipline and Regulation (Annual) Bill—

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Hypothec Abolition (Scotland) Bill (No. 34)—

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ORDERS OF THE DAY.

—o—o—o—

Parliamentary Elections and Corrupt Practices (No. 2) Bill Order for Committee read:— <i>Moved</i> , "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair,"—(<i>Mr. Attorney General</i>)	1100
Amendment proposed, To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words, "this House will, upon this day month, resolve itself into the said Com- mittee,"—(<i>Mr. Anderson</i>),—instead thereof.	
Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question:"—After short debate, Question put:—The House <i>divided</i> ; Ayes 82, Noes 55; Majority 27.—(<i>Div. List, No. 43.</i>)	
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SINKING FUND ACT (1875)—	
National Debt Bill—	
Resolution [March 15] reported, and agreed to :—Bill ordered (<i>Mr. Raikes, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson</i>); presented, and read the first time [Bill 115]	1165

ORDER OF THE DAY.

WAYS AND MEANS—

Exchequer Bills and Bonds Bill—

Resolutions [March 15] reported, and agreed to.

Instruction to the Gentlemen appointed to prepare and bring in a Bill, upon the Resolution this day reported from the Committee of the whole House upon "The Sinking Fund Act, 1875," That they do make provision therein pursuant to the First Resolution.

Bill ordered, upon the Second, Third, and Fourth Resolutions [reported this day] (*Mr. Raikes, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson*); presented, and read the first time [Bill 116.]

LORDS, WEDNESDAY, MARCH 17.

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Amendments reported (according to Order) .. 1166
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 as amended. (No. 49.)

Blind and Deaf-Mute Children Bill (No. 39)—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2^d,"—(*The Lord Norton*) .. 1172
 Motion agreed to :—Bill read 2^d accordingly, and committed to a Committee
 of the Whole House To-morrow.

COMMONS, WEDNESDAY, MARCH 17.

PRIVATE BUSINESS.

PRIVATE BILLS—

Standing Order for the Suspension of Petitions for Private Bills.

Ordered, That where the Examiner has not reported as to compliance with the Standing Orders in respect of any Petition for a Private Bill deposited for the present Session in the Private Bill Office, such Petition shall be suspended, and the Standing Orders complied with in respect of the same shall be held applicable to such suspended Petition in the ensuing Session.

That the said Order be a Standing Order of this House, and be printed. [No. 141.]
 —(*The Chairman of Ways and Means.*)

QUESTIONS.

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Consolidated Fund (Appropriation) Bill—

<i>Moved</i> , "That the Bill be now read the third time,"—(<i>Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer</i>)	1195
After short debate, Motion <i>agreed to</i> :—Bill read the third time, and <i>passed</i> .	

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LORDS, THURSDAY, MARCH 18.

Hypothec Abolition (Scotland) Bill (No. 49)—

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Customs and Inland Revenue Bill [Bill 111]— <i>Moved</i> , "That the Bill be now read the third time,"—(<i>Mr. Raikes</i>)	1212
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LORDS, FRIDAY, MARCH 19.

Parliamentary Elections and Corrupt Practices (No. 2) Bill <i>Moved</i> , "That the Bill be now read 2 ^a ,"—(<i>The Viscount Cranbrook</i>)	1215
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FORM AND PRECEDENT—THE SUMMONS TO THE HOUSE OF PEERS—Observations, Question, Sir George Bowyer; Answer, Mr. Speaker ..	1221
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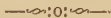
ORDER OF THE DAY.



National Debt Bill. [Bill 115]—

<i>Moved</i> , "That the Bill be now read the third time,"—(<i>Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer</i>) ..	1222
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MOTION.



IRELAND—THE PRIME MINISTER'S LETTER TO THE LORD LIEUTENANT—RESOLUTION—

<i>Moved</i> , "That this House highly disapproves of the attempt of the Prime Minister to stir up feelings of hatred between England and Ireland for the purpose of furnishing an election cry to his followers, and regards with indignation his flagrant misrepresentation of the loyal efforts of the Home Rule party to extend the blessings of constitutional government to Ireland,"—(<i>Colonel The O'Gorman Mahon</i>) ..	1223
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LORDS, MONDAY, MARCH 22.

STANDING ORDERS—

Moved, That the Standing Orders relating to the Public Business of the House (together with the proposed additions thereto), as re-arranged and recommended to the consideration of the House by the Select Committee on the Office of the Clerk of the Parliaments and the Office of the Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod, be adopted as the Standing Orders of the House; on question, *agreed to* : Ordered, that the said Standing Orders be printed. (No. 56.)

PUBLIC HEALTH—TRICHINOSIS—SCHOOL SHIP "CORNWALL"—Question, Lord Thurlow; Answer, Earl Beauchamp ..	1233
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Parliamentary Elections and Corrupt Practices (No. 2) Bill—

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LORDS, WEDNESDAY, MARCH 24.

PROROGATION OF THE PARLIAMENT—

The ROYAL ASSENT was given to several Bills; and afterwards, HER MAJESTY’S SPEECH was delivered to both Houses of Parliament by The LORD CHANCELLOR.

Then a Commission for proroguing the Parliament was read.

After which,

THE LORD CHANCELLOR said—

My Lords, and Gentlemen,

By virtue of Her Majesty’s Commission, under the Great Seal, to us and other Lords directed, and now read, we do, in Her Majesty’s Name, and in obedience to Her Commands, prorogue this Parliament to Tuesday the thirteenth day of April next, to be then here holden; and this Parliament is accordingly prorogued to Tuesday the thirteenth day of April next.

COMMONS, WEDNESDAY, MARCH 24.

PROROGATION OF THE PARLIAMENT—

Message to attend The LORDS COMMISSIONERS.

LORDS.

SAT FIRST.

MONDAY, MARCH 22.

The Earl of Winton, after the death of his father.

COMMONS.

NEW MEMBERS SWORN.

THURSDAY, MARCH 4.

Kilkenny City—John Francis Smithwick, esquire.

Drogheda Borough—Benjamin Whitworth, esquire.

THURSDAY, MARCH 11.

Norfolk County (Western Division)—William Amhurst Tyssen Amherst, esquire.

TITLE, TABLE OF STATUTES, &c.

HANSARD'S PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES,

IN THE
SEVENTH SESSION OF THE TWENTY-FIRST PARLIAMENT OF THE
UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND,
APPOINTED TO MEET 5 MARCH, 1874, AND THENCE CONTINUED
TILL 5 FEBRUARY, 1880, IN THE FORTY-THIRD YEAR OF
THE REIGN OF
HER MAJESTY QUEEN VICTORIA.

SECOND VOLUME OF THE SESSION.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Monday, 1st March, 1880.

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILLS—*First Reading*—
Indian Salaries and Allowances * (22).
Second Reading—Relief of Distress (Ireland)
(19).
Royal Assent—Seeds (Ireland) [43 Vict. c. 1].

PUBLIC WORKS IN IRELAND. QUESTION.

LORD MONTEAGLE: I wish to ask the noble Duke the Lord President of the Council, Whether Her Majesty's Government have yet been informed that the greater number of works presented by the Special Baronial Sessions of the county of Mayo are proposed to be executed, not by contract, but by day work, or task work, under the supervision of the county surveyor; whether

the works so executed have been sanctioned by the Commissioners of Public Works; and, if so, what proportion?

THE DUKE OF RICHMOND AND GORDON: In answer to the Question of the noble Lord, I have to say that we have no information on the subject.

RELIEF OF DISTRESS (IRELAND) BILL. (*The Lord President.*)

(NO. 19.) SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading, read.

THE DUKE OF RICHMOND AND GORDON, in moving that the Bill be now read a second time, said, he thought he was bound to establish two things—first, the existence of distress in Ireland; and, secondly, that the means which Her Majesty's Government had adopted, and were adopting, afforded every reasonable prospect of proving sufficient to meet a state of things concerning which great apprehension had

been felt. He did not think it necessary to enter into minute details on the subject, because he thought he was justified in assuming that the existence of the distress had been admitted; but he might assure their Lordships that this distress in all its details, so far as they could be ascertained, had occupied the attention of Her Majesty's Government since last September, and that, so far as a knowledge of the matter could aid them, the Ministry had every facility for dealing with the question. The Correspondence of the Public Works Commissioners, which had been laid on the Table of their Lordships' House, would explain what steps had been taken by the Government, from time to time, since September. The deficiencies in the food supply of Ireland, revealed by that Correspondence, were two. There was a large deficiency in the cereal crops, and there was a deficiency in the potato crop, which crop was also a defective one. That a great portion of the peasant population of Ireland depended on the potato crop was an undoubted fact. It was useless at the present moment to discuss the question of how much better it would be for them if they lived on a better diet. The Government had to deal with facts as they found them; and the information which had reached them led them to the belief that in consequence of the failure of the potato crop, coupled with the failure of the cereal crops, there would be very great distress in Ireland during the winter and the spring. Dr. Grimshaw, the Registrar General, in his preliminary Report on the Agricultural Produce in 1879 stated—

"From the information contained under the first head, it is quite clear that food supplies produced in Ireland during the year 1879 must, so far as cereal and green crops are concerned, be considerably under the average. A close examination of the information contained in Table VI. shows that in the cereal and potato crops there is an immense deficiency, not only in the amount planted, but in the yield, the result relatively to the population being that, for the whole of Ireland, the quantity per head of the produce of cereal crops is only 3·8 cwt., as compared with an average for the 10 years 1869-78 of 4·9 cwt., and against 4·7 cwt. for 1878. In potatoes the deficiency is proportionately greater. The annual average amount of potatoes per head produced in Ireland during the past 10 years was 11·2 cwt., while in 1879 it was only 4·1, or about one-third. The amount per head in 1878 was 9·3 cwt., or more than double that of the present year."

The Duke of Richmond and Gordon

In consequence of the immense rainfall of 1879, there was an apprehension as to fuel, that the turf would become so saturated as almost to destroy it in some cases, and that the supply would be greatly limited in many others. Therefore, it was obvious that there would be exceptional distress in some districts. Her Majesty's Government thought it wise to consider in time the pressure which might be felt in many of the Poor Law Unions of Ireland. On that point, the Secretary of the Irish Local Government Board reported under date the 28th of October, 1879—

"Although it may reasonably be anticipated, from the causes above mentioned, that there will be a considerable increase in pauperism during the winter season, there does not seem to be any reason to apprehend that the resources of the Poor Law Unions will in general be unequal to the demands on them; but in some of the Unions referred to, in which the expenditure has already reached sums such as 4s. and 4s. 5d. in the pound, the strain on the poor rates will no doubt become excessive if employment is not to be obtained by the labouring classes, and if there should be a much greater demand for relief. The want of employment and the deficiency of fuel are the two principal features in the accompanying Reports which the Board submit for His Grace's consideration, and both subjects are of vital importance at the present time as affecting the prospects of the poor during the coming winter and the circumstances of many of the ratepayers in distressed districts."

The Government had, therefore, to keep before them the probability that there would be a great strain on the Poor Law system of Ireland, and accordingly they thought it right to provide against what at the time appeared likely to prove a most lamentable state of things. It was their duty to see that the machinery of the Irish workhouses should afford the greatest accommodation possible for the reception of the largest number of persons who might be forced to seek shelter in these institutions. Accordingly, the Local Government Board, in a Circular to the Boards of Guardians, used this language—

"Under these circumstances, the Local Government Board have to impress upon the Board of Guardians the importance of being prepared for the possible contingencies of the season, and of making due provision beforehand of ample stores of bedding and clothing to meet any degree of pressure on the workhouse which is likely to occur; they should also give directions to have the unoccupied wards in the workhouse thoroughly cleansed and white-washed, and placed in every respect in good and habitable order."

Additional Inspectors were appointed to relieve the Poor Law Inspectors from the ordinary duties, and their instructions were to report to Her Majesty's Government, through the Lord Lieutenant, any distress that might come under their notice. In consequence of reports they received, the Government authorized Boards of Guardians to relax certain of the provisions of the Irish Poor Law in respect to the granting of out-door relief and the granting of relief to distressed persons, notwithstanding that they might be in possession of a quarter of an acre of land. But the Government thought they were bound to go further in providing against a serious emergency; and they thought that this could best be done by affording facilities for the employment of the poor in distressed districts which would have the effect of improving the country without pauperizing the population. Accordingly, a letter was addressed to the Treasury by Mr. Lowther, the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant. In it were set out the views of the Lord Lieutenant on the subject, and it was dated November 14, 1879—

“His Grace is of opinion that the gratuitous distribution of the necessities of life to the able-bodied population, even where it could be legally afforded, would be productive of very serious evils, and, moreover, that any system of what are generally known as public relief works is open to great objection, and is calculated to lead to considerable abuse, and that it would, therefore, be far preferable that employment in the ordinary manner upon works of a reproductive or beneficial character should be afforded, if possible, by the landowners in the localities so affected.”

It appeared to him that, in considering the question, persons were rather apt to forget the circumstances in which they were then placed. He did not think that sufficient account was always taken of the circumstances existing at the time when it was necessary for Her Majesty's Government to take precautions against anything like famine. If at that time the Government had not taken every precaution to prevent not only the probability, but the possibility of anything like starvation in Ireland, they would have been open to the severest censure for their *laches*. It was in accordance with the views expressed in that letter that the Board of Works in Ireland were authorized to advance, on easy terms, to landowners and sanitary

authorities in distressed districts, loans for carrying on drainage and irrigation works, for erecting farm and cottage buildings, and other works, which would be of undoubted benefit to the country. The loans were to be charged interest at the rate of 1 per cent; no interest was to be charged for the first two years, the principle and interest to be covered in 35 years. It would be an important thing, while alleviating distress, to induce landowners to carry out works, so that the labourer should earn money which would supply himself with food. That would not pauperize him. Fearing, however, that in some districts landlords and the sanitary authorities might not be in a position to avail themselves of the opportunity afforded to them of obtaining those advances, the Government thought it right that power should be given to baronial sessions to undertake works of a public nature—works which would be generally beneficial to the locality in which they were constructed; and that advances should be made by the Government for those works at 1 per cent interest, the principal and interest to be repaid in 15 years. That was the proposition of the Government which had met with most opposition; but he believed that opposition had been founded on a mistaken idea of what was proposed to be done. It was alleged that the Government were reverting to the system of public works adopted in Ireland during the Famine of 1847-8; but he ventured to say that nothing could be more unlike that system than the proposal now made by Her Majesty's Government. In those days public money was lavished on public works. There was then a reckless waste of money in some parts of Ireland, and the works undertaken remained there as a warning to succeeding Governments against the course which was then adopted. In 1847 the works were constructed without anything like sufficient control; and as the money to pay for them was provided out of the Public Exchequer, everybody interested in the expenditure thought it right to get as much money as possible from that source. In the present case, the system was a very different one. The money was advanced to the locality under most stringent instructions issued by the Lord Lieutenant. The proposals were to be rigidly ex-

amined by the Commissioners of Public Works, and the money expended would be advanced to the ratepayers, who would have to repay it with 1 per cent interest in 15 years. It was manifest, therefore, that the ratepayers would not spend more money than was absolutely necessary to meet the emergency of the case. The instructions of the Lord Lieutenant would be found in the Papers on the subject already issued; and it would be found, from a Circular issued by the Commissioners of Public Works, that the wages to be paid to persons employed on those relief works were not to exceed the ordinary wages of the country. To show the working of the system, he would quote from a letter written to *The Times* by a noble Lord opposite (Lord Monteagle), who, within the last fortnight, had practical experience of the matter, because such experience ought to have more influence on their deliberations than any theoretical view. The letter, which was dated February 19, and was signed by the noble Lord as the Chairman of the Shanid Baronial Sessions, stated—

“The Special Sessions of this barony were held on the 10th inst. There was considerable apprehension among those who remembered the scenes of 1846-8 that mob intimidation and jobbery would be rife. As a matter of fact, the conduct of the people was most exemplary. There were about 40 applications for relief works, of which eight were passed. All the eight were in districts where there was urgent need of employment, and seven of them were of undoubted public utility. The object of these Sessions had been clearly defined as being to meet the urgent want of employment where work was not likely to be provided otherwise. By keeping this principle steadily in view we were enabled to decide each case in the first place on the simple and narrow issue of ‘urgency or not.’ Urgency being voted, we then considered the question of utility where more than one application came from the locality in question. The Sessions themselves do not, therefore, seem to be liable to much abuse if due precautions are observed. Many of the abuses, however, dreaded by Lord Emly and others would arise (if at all) at a later stage, during the execution of the work. As no works have yet been sanctioned by the authorities in Dublin, no one can be sure that these abuses may not spring up. But as all works are to be executed here in the usual manner—*i.e.*, either by contract or by sub-contracts under the county surveyor—there seemed to be comparatively little risk. It is worthy of note that in some cases contractors tendered for works in order to give employment, though they thought they would lose at the prices allowed by the Court, and gladly withdrew when they found the work might be done by sub-contracts under the

county surveyor. In conclusion, Sir, I have no hesitation in saying that so far the working of these Sessions in this barony has been successful in providing a most timely and necessary supplement to the improvement works undertaken by landlords and others, and I have every hope that they may be of great benefit to this locality and save the poor from distress, and other classes from difficulty and danger.”

It was proposed that the advances should be made out of the surplus of the Irish Church Fund. He thought that such a course was strictly within the provisions of the Irish Church Act, the 68th section of which was in these terms—

“And whereas it is further expedient that the proceeds of the said property should be appropriated mainly to the relief of unavoidable calamity and suffering, yet not so as to cancel or impair the obligations now attached to property under the Acts for the relief of the poor, be it further enacted that the said proceeds shall be so applied accordingly in the manner Parliament shall hereafter direct.”

The Government might have proposed that money should be advanced for much greater works—such as railways, harbours, piers, and the like—but these would not have met the difficulty, because such works could have been constructed by large contractors from England and Scotland, and large numbers of workpeople would have been brought from these countries to Ireland; and the people of Ireland would, therefore, not have received the benefit of the outlay which was made. As their Lordships were aware, Her Majesty’s Government had sanctioned measures somewhat in advance of their powers; but they had not hesitated to anticipate the sanction of Parliament to the measures they had adopted, because they felt that when their object was to prevent a famine in Ireland Parliament would be sure to grant them the indemnity asked for in the Bill to which he now asked their Lordships to give a second reading.

Moved, “That the Bill be now read 2^a.”
—(*The Lord President*.)

THE MARQUESS OF LANSDOWNNE reminded their Lordships that a few nights ago the House had been engaged in a discussion upon the state of Ireland, and this Bill was a remarkable illustration of it. Indeed, there could not be a more significant one. The agricultural interest had suffered in England during the last few months quite as much as it had in Ireland; but no proposal had been

made to Parliament on account of the agricultural distress in any other part of the United Kingdom. It was for Ireland alone that Her Majesty's Government had to come to Parliament with a measure as extraordinary as the Bill before the House. What was that measure? Parliament was going to lend public money—a portion of the surplus of the Irish Church Funds—at a nominal rate of interest, and it was going to impose heavy taxation upon a population verging on bankruptcy to relieve a population already bankrupt. It was going to enable the Boards of Guardians to mortgage the rates for the relief of the poor, and to adopt the vicious system of not making the year's income meet the year's expenditure—a course in which they would at a respectful distance imitate the practice of Her Majesty's Government with regard to the finances of the nation. He was not about to oppose the proposal of Her Majesty's Government; because, objectionable as were the provisions of the Bill, he thought that, on the whole, they were as little objectionable as any which could have been devised in the circumstances. There were two ways of meeting the distress in Ireland—namely, either by direct relief in the shape of food or money to buy food, or by providing public works at which the people could earn wages to support themselves. In adopting the latter system, Her Majesty's Government had, he thought, come to a wise conclusion. The difficulties of meeting destitution by a direct distribution of food were very great. If with such a plan they waited till starvation set in, the calamity would overtake them, instead of their overtaking the calamity. If, on the other hand, they anticipated starvation and embarked upon a vast system of public relief, that would involve wholesale and indiscriminate almsgiving with all the objectionable results which were sure to follow from charity distributed in such a manner. Such a course could not fail to lead to endless misrepresentation, and must have a demoralizing effect on the country at large. As showing this, he would read an extract from a letter written by a Roman Catholic priest in the South of Ireland to the Relief Committee of his town—

“As soon as it became known that I had charity to give out, there was a rush from one

end to the other of the district. The giving of charity in this way is the greatest curse that could fall upon a people. It demoralizes and damns them; they become liars and everything else that is bad. I am sick of the business. Had they employment, I would make them work or let them starve.”

It might be said that in 1846 and 1847 the labour system was tried and failed. The circumstances of the present time were, fortunately, very different from those of the period of the great Famine. In those times there was in Ireland a population larger by 3,000,000 than that of the present time. Destitution, instead of being confined to a limited area, was general all over the country. The Labour Rate Act was in operation in 1,826 out of the 2,049 electoral divisions into which the country was divided. Then the means of communication were much less, railways were fewer, and there was no telegraphic communication, and the trade in Indian meal, on which the people had, for the most part, to be fed, had not been established. Worse than all, the long continuation of the distress had so enfeebled the people in mind and body that they were incapable of work, and would have starved if food had not been put into their mouths by Government agency. The circumstances now were wholly different. There was plenty of food in the country, the people were able and willing to work, and all they asked for was work and the means of earning their own support. He rejoiced that the Government had acceded to that prayer, and that they relied upon these steps, rather than upon a wide extension of out-door relief. He must express a hope that the Government would not extend the principle of out-door relief beyond the limits proposed in this Bill. Of course, in a time of exceptional distress, it was unwise to retain the operation of the quarter-acre clause; but if ever out-door relief came to be administered in Ireland as it was in this country there would be no limits to the abuses to which it would give rise. In Ireland, while in the last 18 years in-door relief had remained stationary or had slightly decreased, the amount of out-door relief had more than trebled. If any change were to be made, instead of assimilating the Irish to the English law, they should assimilate the English to the Irish law in respect of out-door relief. He approved for many reasons the course taken by the Government in making

advances to the landlord for works. In the first place, the Government would have a security that the funds would be expended upon works of real utility; no unnecessary works would be undertaken by the landlord, who would have a direct interest in seeing that those which were undertaken would be of a permanently beneficial character. He had come lately from a district where hundreds of men were employed by the landowners in the improvement of their farms; and he believed the stimulus thus given to industry would have a most valuable effect. It was quite a mistake to think that the labourers were withdrawn from the cultivation of their own farms; they had, on the contrary, expended upon their own land, under the pressure of adversity, a great amount of energy which he was afraid had been hitherto latent. One part of the Bill had been rather severely criticized—that, namely, which related to works to be undertaken under the special baronial sessions. It ought to be remembered that there was to be an official supervision of these works; and, therefore, he did not think there would be that risk of abuse in respect of them which some of his noble Friends seemed to anticipate. The works could not be undertaken without the approval of the Boards of Guardians, the baronial sessions, and the Lord Lieutenant, and would be under the control of the Board of Works. As far as he had had an opportunity of reading the accounts of meetings on the subject, there was no disposition to misuse the facilities offered by this part of the Bill, which, as the noble Duke (the Duke of Richmond and Gordon) had pointed out, were, after all, supplementary to the principal provisions of the measure. He ventured, however, to make one suggestion. It was that there should be a power of charging works undertaken by baronial sessions to a portion of the barony only when that might be advisable. It would be hard upon the landlords who gave employment which covered the distress, say in four-fifths of a barony, that they should be taxed to provide works for the remaining fifth. He would turn from the provisions of the Bill to a more important question. It was whether the extraordinary measures now being sanctioned were necessary only in order to meet an accidental emergency, or whether they were

surrounded by circumstances which made it all but certain that at no distant day they would be compelled to have recourse to such measures again. He was afraid that the latter was the case. The causes of distress in Ireland were various and complicated; but he had no hesitation in saying that the main cause was the concentration of large masses of population within areas incapable of supporting them. Other causes were, no doubt, alleged; but these were subsidiary. It was said, for instance, that the Irish peasant was a bad workman. He was afraid there was some truth in the statement. Among the small cottier tenants of Ireland skilled cultivation was rare, and industry too often intermittent and occasional. Then it was said he was intemperate. Well, no doubt there was an enormous amount of intemperance in Ireland. In two towns of which he had some knowledge, the one with a population of 1,200, the other with a population of 2,000, there were in the first 26 public-houses and only 27 other houses of business; and in the other 52 public-houses and only 72 other business premises. Again, the system of indiscriminate giving and taking of credit was pointed to as one of the causes of the recent collapse; and he admitted that no one who was familiar with Ireland could close his eyes to the deplorable results of this practice. These were, however, only the secondary causes of the state of things with which they had to deal. If the Irish peasants were as sober as judges, and as industrious as market gardeners, they could not in many parts of the country support themselves upon the miserable holdings of which they were the occupants. While this state of things continued there would be distress, and while there was distress there would be disaffection in Ireland. What were the facts in the case of the three counties of Donegal, Mayo, and Galway, three counties which had been conspicuous for the amount of destitution within them? In Donegal there were 17,000 tenants with a valuation of £4 a-year and under; in Galway, 18,000; and in Mayo, 20,000. They paid, perhaps, £5 or £6 a-year rent, and they lived in habitations unfit for human beings. There were 227,000 families living in mud cabins of a single room in Ireland. These people did not profess to live on the agriculture of their

country. Many of them came over to try and eke out a livelihood by labouring in the fields in this country. It was calculated that one Irish county had lost something like £100,000 by the fluctuations of the English labour market. It was said that the excessive rent which these people paid to their landlords was the cause of their suffering; but how did the case stand? The average cost of maintaining a pauper in the Irish Unions was something like £9 a-year, exclusive of "establishment charges." Let it be assumed, for argument's sake, that these peasants were able to support life with £5 a-year. Take the case of a man with six children—eight of a family altogether. To provide them merely with food and clothing would take some £40 a-year—that was to say, that before these people could pay a shilling of rent they would have to make out of the land a sum of £40 or £50. How could any reduction of rent meet a case of that kind? A landlord might give 40 or 50 per cent back, or the whole of the rent; but the tenants would none the less be in distress whenever the potatoes failed. What, then, became of the statement, so frequently and heedlessly made, that those people were ruined in consequence of the exorbitant rents they had to pay to their landlords? They might expropriate the landlords altogether, they might try Communistic schemes, they might lend money at nominal rates of interest; but they would never get rid of the recurring disaffection or distress until some change took place in the distribution of the population. He wished he could say—"Here is the disease! This is the remedy!" But he felt bound to confess that he knew of no Royal road to an improvement in the condition of those parts of Ireland. It was easy to say—"Why do not the people emigrate?" A great many writers and speakers talked boldly of emigration in principle, but had very little to say when it came to the question of applying that principle in practice. The question of emigration was full of almost insuperable difficulties. There was the unconquerable repugnance of the people to leave their country; and there was the hardship that would be felt if large masses were suddenly removed in all their helplessness from the homes to which they so tenaciously clung. Then they had the fact that

the Western Irish peasant was by no means always a suitable subject for emigration. Strong, able-bodied, skilled workmen might do. But these half-starved, uneducated, unskilled peasants of the West would not be raised to a prosperous condition merely by being transported to the other side of the sea. A Government which would commit itself to a wholesale scheme of State-aided emigration would, in his opinion, show more courage than judgment. It was, however, none the less true that it was only to a gradual redistribution of a part of the population of Ireland that they could look for a lasting amelioration of their condition, and to this end the efforts of landlords and tenants alike should be directed. The time would, he believed, come when many of the Irish farmers would recognize that it was better both for those who left the country and for those who remained behind that five families should live in comfort and decency upon a given area than 10 in squalor and misery. Education was spreading, the intelligence of the people would be developed, their material wealth had, until the last year or two, increased steadily, the legitimate grievances of the Irish nation had been to a large extent redressed, disaffection though, noisy and irritating, was, he believed, less deep and less dangerous than of old. It was their duty to bide their time, ruling the country in the meanwhile patiently, firmly, and justly, bearing in mind that if any good results were to attend their efforts they would be accorded to those who had learnt, not only how to labour, but how to wait.

LORD ORANMORE AND BROWNE pointed out that the emigration from Ireland had been much greater within the last 20 years than, in proportion to the population, it had been from England. Nearly 2,500,000 of people had emigrated from Ireland in that time, and about 4,000,000 from England, the latter having a population six times as large as that of the former. There was no ground, therefore, for saying that the people of Ireland did not wish to emigrate. It would be well if Her Majesty's Government would consider whether some continuous assistance should not be given to enable the poorer classes in Ireland to emigrate. He received letters almost every day from these people asking him to aid them. It might

be thought by Englishmen that Irish landlords would, if they were encouraged, be too ready to get rid of their smaller tenants for several reasons—first, if they got possession it would be four or five years before they could get a return for their money, because the land was so divided and so badly cultivated. Again, if the tenants were displaced at the present time, no landlord's life would be safe for an hour. He hoped the noble Duke would give some further explanation as to works already proposed at the extraordinary baronial sessions, and as to the number of those works which had been approved by the Board of Works in Ireland. If the Government were to carry out all they proposed by this Bill, they would impose on ratepayers in Ireland a far heavier rate than had ever been passed or paid in the richer country of England, where ratepayers were accustomed to rates heavier than those imposed upon ratepayers in Ireland, for in Ireland there was only land to tax; in England, horses and often property. This was a case in which the principle of a rate in aid might fairly be put in operation. He thought some assurance should be given to the ratepayers in distressed localities that they would not have to bear the whole of the burden which the Bill in its present shape would cast upon them. The Government did not say whether any aid should be given to railways in Ireland. The present Prime Minister said in 1848 the only good work done by the Liberal Government of that time was the lending of some money for the purpose of carrying out railways in Ireland. He hoped that while Her Majesty's Government were passing measures of relief they would give some reason why the principal mover in disturbing the peace of the country—he referred to Mr. Parnell—was allowed with impunity to use language as violent as had ever been used by any of those whom the Government had prosecuted. The public at large wanted to know why some step was not taken by the Government against the utterer of a slander against Her Majesty with reference to the former Famine, and the utterer of slanders against charitable persons who were engaged in collecting money in England for the relief of distress in Ireland. The people of Ireland would say Mr. Parnell was too strong for the Government, and they durst not touch him.

Lord Oranmore and Browne

LORD WAVENEY thanked the Government for having introduced the Bill, which he regarded as a very well-considered one; but the power which was reserved to the Lord Lieutenant with regard to the operation of the Bill appeared to him to be very large. With regard to the question of emigration the population of Ireland was not its weakness, it was its strength; but they lacked the science of proper distribution. They saw Ireland presented as an eleemosynary recipient of charities from all sides; and though this source of aid might greatly improve the condition of the country precautions would have to be taken lest the annals of 1846 and 1847 should become the annals of 1880 and 1881. With timely assistance he believed that the natural strength of Ireland would be sufficient to restore permanent prosperity. Ireland enjoyed an endless power of fertility. In affording relief to the country, however, it would have to be remembered that Ireland was not composed of one homogeneous population, but contained large elements of variety.

VISCOUNT TEMPLETOWN recommended the encouragement of emigration from such parts of Ireland as were incapable of yielding a sufficiency of food for the sustenance of their population in order to relieve the local pressure. He suggested that the landlords of Ireland should be urged, through the instrumentality of the Land Committee now sitting in Dublin, to promote such emigration, and that they should be assisted by the Government in carrying out the object. To his own knowledge, such emigration had taken place with the best effect on an estate with which he was acquainted, at the time when the introduction of the power-looms had superseded the hand-looms; and he never heard that any objection or indisposition to this measure was manifested by those who availed themselves of it.

THE EARL OF DUNRAVEN said, that the Government proposed to advance sums from the Irish Church Fund, and there ought to be some special odour of sanctity about that money to prevent its being improperly used; but he feared it would be spent in constructing unnecessary works. The fact was that up to the present moment they knew nothing as to the proceedings of special baronial sessions held in districts where

great distress was to be found. All that was known as to the holding of such sessions had relation to districts in which little or no distress was known to exist. For his own part, he did not prefer the employment of relief works to the supply of food, for though it was perfectly true that food would be of no use where starvation had already taken place, it was equally true that money would be, in those cases, just as useless. He admitted the force of the argument that the better system of communication existing now would save districts from the extreme distress experienced in 1846 and 1847; but he could not see how this system of communication would be able to change the whole course of events. It would be necessary to import food into the districts which were not without it. In the Famine in the years he had referred to the system of relief works had broken down in those localities where no food was to be got for the money earned. It was said that Irish peasants were unskilful and not apt to learn; but, so far as his own experience went, Irishmen adapted themselves to various kinds of work more readily than any men he had ever met with. No people were better for emigrants; they took more kindly to all sorts of handicrafts than other people did, and they could make a living in a new country sooner than most people. He had his own ideas of what the Government ought to do upon this subject of emigration, and if they agreed with him they would be able to evolve a satisfactory scheme. It appeared upon the preface of the Bill that no person would be able to receive out-door relief for a longer time than two months; but he feared there would be great distress in the spring and summer and before harvest time came round. There was great distress now in some parts; but there had been much exaggeration in regard to other places. After the seed was put into the ground distress would, generally speaking, be felt more than at other periods.

LORD MONTEAGLE, as Chairman of a baronial sessions in Limerick county, said, that as regarded land improvements in Ireland there could be no doubt that the measures now before the country had been of substantial benefit to that country, and had averted those serious dangers with which that country was threatened in the autumn and winter.

The Chief Secretary for Ireland had stated that armed bands of men were going over the country intimidating tenants so as to prevent them paying their rents. Many of their Lordships were aware that that state of things was, fortunately, confined to a small and, he was happy to say, diminishing portion of the country. It was greatly to the credit of the Irish landlords—of whom he was not one—that they had largely abated the rents—and that not, as he believed, at all in consequence of the agitation which prevailed; and, further, they had forgiven arrears of rent to a very considerable extent. With regard to the Circular letter of the Local Government Board which had been addressed to all the Unions in Ireland, dated 12th January, he could not help noticing the lapse of time between that Circular and the one first issued by the Government, dated 22nd November, because the first attempt of the Government to alleviate the distress was made on the 22nd of November of last year. He thought there could be no doubt that that Circular had been quite inadequate for the purpose; indeed, he believed the Chief Secretary for Ireland had himself stated as much. It seemed to him (Lord Monteagle) that since the 22nd of November the Government had had ample opportunity for arriving at the true state of the country; and he confessed that, much as he welcomed the further facilities they offered on the 12th of January, he could not but think that they might have offered those facilities earlier, because in the beginning of the autumn all the classes of the country were embarrassed and in difficulties. The farmers had been embarrassed by the weather, which had been unfavourable alike to grass lands and green crops, as well as to that most important crop—potatoes. In point of fact, the Government had apprehended that the harvest would be deficient. He attributed, however, much of the present difficulties to the system of credit among the farming classes which had attained such gigantic and unfortunate proportions. There was no doubt that, with abatements they had been obliged to make to their tenants, and with the serious arrears which existed in many cases, the landlords were in a very difficult position as regarded the distress that existed, and their action was very much hampered so far as providing work went. Under the circumstances, the

Government must have been very well acquainted with the facts during the whole of the summer and autumn, for they were in everybody's mouth. The Circular which had been issued by the Government had received its death-blow—in what way precisely he did not care to inquire. It did not very much matter whether it had been sent back to Downing Street or not. What was the gist of the Circular? It consisted of what was not inaptly expressed to him in Ireland, in somewhat homely phrase, as being "two years' tick" or credit to the landlords of Ireland. Under that Circular £113,735 had been applied for, while between the 12th and 28th of January the sum applied for was still greater. Now, with respect to relief works, he was surprised to hear the noble Earl beside him (the Earl of Dunraven) state that he considered relief in food to be better than the giving of remunerative employment. In that view he could not concur. During the Famine of 1848 the works were carried out under the Central Government; but now the improved system was adopted of having them carried out by the local authorities. The noble Earl said that they had no information before them on the subject of the works. Well, he had collected some figures on the subject which he would lay before their Lordships. There were in County Limerick 14 baronies, 11 of which had held special sessions. The number of applications to the sessions amounted to 204, and for an estimated expenditure of £26,000. The number presented was 96, and the expenditure sanctioned £9,000, and all the works authorized were to be carried out in districts where there was strong evidence of want of employment. In County Clare there were 11 baronies, and in nine special sessions had been held. Of 134 applications for an estimated expenditure of £55,000, 56 had been granted, the authorized expenditure being £6,000. County Galway contained 17 baronies, and four special sessions had been held, two of which were adjourned. Two hundred and sixty applications were made, the estimated expenditure being £68,000, and as yet an expenditure of £4,000 had been authorized. In Mayo 1,400 applications were to be made at a cost of £196,000; 471 applications had been granted at a cost of £26,000. With regard to the most important part

of the Bill—the question whether work was to be carried out by contract, or by day and task work—he trusted the noble Duke would be able to give the House some re-assuring information. If it should be proved that the Government sanctioned work not carried out by contract, the House, he thought, would view the Bill in an entirely different light. His suggestion was that the execution of works under the direction of baronial sessions should be limited to contract works.

LORD EMLY pointed out that the reason for giving powers to grant relief in money was simply to meet the existing wants of the individual, and, therefore, some of the criticism would not apply. It had been said that some of the work was done by contract. Well, as long as it was done by contract, he was afraid the evils were not likely to pass over. There was only one other remark he had to make. The main point was that assistance should be given for reproductive works. He had been informed that in several districts in Ireland the Department of the Government which had the management of the reproductive works—the Board of Works in Ireland—had entirely broken down from their being overworked. It had been stated to him in one case that an application made on the 20th of November was not yet granted, and then, of course, the contemplated assistance to be given would fail. He had heard a similar statement from another quarter; and a gentleman of very great experience on the subject had used the expression that the Board of Trade had "broken down." The Government would surely inquire into that matter, and ascertain whether those statements were correct. The only way of removing the inconvenience complained of was, he believed, to urge on these productive works; and it was a matter of so much importance that he would call the noble Duke's special attention to it. No doubt, the noble Duke would look to it and see that the Board of Trade was in a position to perform its duty; and, if not, take steps to have it strengthened.

Motion agreed to; Bill read 2^a accordingly, and committed to a Committee of the Whole House on Thursday next.

House adjourned at half-past Seven o'clock, till To-morrow, half-past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

*Monday, 1st March, 1880.*MINUTES.]—SELECT COMMITTEE—Sugar Industries, *re-appointed and nominated.*

SUPPLY—considered in Committee—ARMY ESTIMATES.

PRIVATE BILLS (*by Order*)—Second Reading—Loose Valley Railway*; Midland Railway*.

PUBLIC BILLS—Resolution in Committee—East India Loan (East Indian Railway Debentures).

Ordered—First Reading—Fraudulent Debtors (Scotland)* [94]; Road Debts on Entailed Estates (Scotland)* [95]; Epping Forest (No. 2)* [96].

Second Reading—General Police and Improvement (Scotland) Provisional Order (Broughty Ferry)* [83]; Post Office (Money Orders) [62], *deferred*; Volunteer Corps (Ireland) [25], *put off*.

Withdrawn—Epping Forest Act (1878) Continuance* [73].

QUESTIONS.

AFGHANISTAN—REPORTED CORRESPONDENCE WITH RUSSIA.

MR. ASHBURY asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether any of the secret Correspondence from the Russian Government or its agents to the late Ameer Shere Ali or others of influence in Afghanistan, found in Cabul or elsewhere, and believed to be prejudicial to the ultimate safety or interests of India, dated from or about the early part of 1873, or any dates prior to the Declaration of War by Russia against Turkey; and, if so, whether Her Majesty's Government, consequent on such discovery, has at any time required explanations from the Russian Government in reference to such Correspondence, having regard to the Memorandum of July $\frac{1}{2}$, 1877, brought to this Country by Colonel Wellesley, and delivered to Lord Derby at the special request of the Emperor of Russia, of which the following are extracts:—

"The Emperor has not the slightest wish or intention in any way to menace the interests of England either with regard to Constantinople, Egypt, the Suez Canal, or India."

"With respect to India, His Majesty not only considers it impossible to do so, but an act of folly if practicable;"

whether, in the event of such explanations having been asked for, Her Majesty's Government can at the present time state if it would be in the public interest that the Correspondence should be laid upon the Table of the House to explain the apparent inconsistency of the Russian Emperor's most pacific messages of 1877 in the face of the Despatches or Correspondence from the Russian Government or its agents found in Afghanistan; and, whether the same were dated anterior or subsequent to the Declaration of War by Russia against Turkey?

MR. E. STANHOPE: Sir, Her Majesty's Government have already on more than one occasion stated that they are not prepared to produce the Russian Correspondence found at Cabul. Under these circumstances, the House will understand that I am unable to give to my hon. Friend any information as to any of the contents of those documents, or of any action which may have been taken upon them.

THE METROPOLITAN POLICE DISTRICT—CRIMINAL STATISTICS.

MR. W. M. TORRENS asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, When the Criminal Statistics of the Metropolitan Police District for 1879 will be published; and if it is not a fact that they will show a considerable decrease in serious crime?

MR. ASSHETON CROSS, in reply, said, the Returns referred to were prepared and brought down to the 31st December, 1879, and appeared in a sort of Appendix to the Commissioner's Report. That was not usually laid before Parliament for a few months; but he was glad to be able to state, in reference to the last part of the hon. Gentleman's Question, that when the Returns were laid on the Table it would be found that they showed a considerable decrease of serious crime in the Metropolitan district.

MERCANTILE MARINE—CARRIAGE OF GOODS TO THE EAST.

MR. HOPWOOD asked the Postmaster General, Whether he is aware that a combination of the Peninsular and Oriental with other Steam Shipping Companies and Owners was some time since formed for the purpose of "regu-

lating" the freight and carriage of goods from England to China and Japan with the view to secure a monopoly of the carrying trade; and, whether the Government can exert any influence with the first named Company, drawing as it does a large annual subsidy from the Post Office for the carriage of Mails, to induce it to abstain from making an unfair use of its public employment and payment to the injury of trade generally, but especially of shipowners unassisted by national grants?

LORD JOHN MANNERS: My attention was called last autumn by a firm in London to a Circular which had just been addressed to merchants and shipowners interested in the China and Japan trade by certain shipowners, among whom was the Peninsular and Oriental Company, relative to the carriage of freight; but there is nothing in the mail contract between the Post Office and the Peninsular and Oriental Company which gives me any power to interfere with the proceedings of the Company in such a matter.

EDUCATION (WALES)—LEGISLATION.

MR. HUSSEY VIVIAN asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether it is the intention of Her Majesty's Government to introduce any measure this Session dealing with the question of Intermediate and Higher Education in Wales?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: I am afraid it will not be possible to introduce any measure of that kind this Session.

BULGARIA—DISMISSAL OF THE ASSEMBLY.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, If he has information of the circumstances under which the Prince of Bulgaria dismissed the Assembly, duly elected in accordance with the Constitution, before it had an opportunity of proceeding to business, and went off to visit the Emperor of Russia before calling together another Assembly; whether the new elections have been fairly conducted; and, whether any time is appointed for the meeting of the new Assembly and establishment of a Constitutional Government, or whether there

is any reason to suppose that the Prince is engaged in an attempt to subvert the Constitution?

MR. BOURKE: According to the information we have received, the Assembly was dissolved in due course of law, and we have not heard of any irregularity in the conduct of the elections. Her Majesty's Government have not been informed of any intention on the part of the Prince of Bulgaria to attempt to subvert the Constitution of that Principality.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL: Would the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs be so good as to answer a part of the Question which he overlooked—whether any time is appointed for the meeting of the New Assembly in place of the one dissolved?

MR. BOURKE: We have not heard yet.

EDUCATION DEPARTMENT—SCHOOL BOARD ELECTIONS.

MR. A. MILLS asked the Vice President of the Council, Whether his attention has been called to the inconvenience and expense occasioned by the nomination of candidates for School Boards in their absence and without their consent, and to the evils thereby involved of useless contests at the cost of the ratepayers; and, whether it is in the power of the Education Department, under the provisions of the Act of 1870, to frame such regulations as might remedy this evil without further legislation?

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON: There have been thousands of School Board elections held under the provisions of the Act of 1870, and in no case has the attention of the Education Department been directed to the inconvenience complained of by my hon. Friend. Until, therefore, we have some practical proof before us of the reality of this complaint we should not be disposed to alter the existing regulations.

POST OFFICE (MONEY ORDERS) BILL.

MR. W. BECKETT DENISON asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Whether it is his intention to proceed with the Post Office (Money Orders) Bill either in its present shape or some other; if so, whether before proceeding with it he will lay upon the Table of the House the

form of Notes, in their respective denominations, in order to issue which he proposes to ask for the repeal of the Bank Charter Acts in favour of the Post Office; and, whether such Notes, if issued, being orders for the payment of money on demand, will not be liable to Stamp Duty; and, if so, whether he intends also to ask for the repeal of the Stamp Act in favour of the Post Office, in order to enable it to issue the Notes free of duty?

SIR HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON: It is the intention of the Government to proceed with the Bill. What I propose to do is to lay this evening on the Table of the House the proposed regulations to be made under the Bill, as well as the modifications I intend to make in the Bill in the shape of Amendments. Those Amendments will alter the 12 months to six; they will make the denominations of notes for sums of less than £1, and they will limit the power of the Postmaster General to pay expired notes. The Amendments will also contain the form of the money order, which I propose to place in a Schedule to the Bill. When that is done it will be unnecessary to repeal the Bank Charter Acts in favour of the Post Office, and that Schedule will be omitted. In answer to the last Question, as there may be a doubt whether the new orders would come under the exemption from stamp duty given to the original money orders, I propose to exempt them directly by a clause in the Bill.

MR. DODSON: Does the hon. Member propose to proceed with the Bill to-night?

SIR HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON: No; I propose to defer it for a fortnight.

PRIVILEGE (TOWER HIGH LEVEL BRIDGE (METROPOLIS) COMMITTEE)
—MR. CHARLES EDMUND GRISELL.

MR. C. BECKETT DENISON asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether he is about to submit any Motion with regard to Charles Edmund Grissell, who, on the 14th of August last,

“was committed to Newgate for having evaded the execution of Mr. Speaker’s warrant for taking him into the custody of the Serjeant at Arms, until the close of the Session,”

and who was released on the following day, the 15th of August, by reason of the prorogation of Parliament?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: Since my hon. Friend put his Question on the Paper I consulted the authorities as to the proper course to be taken. I have now to move that this case be taken into consideration to-morrow.

Motion agreed to.

Ordered, That the case of Charles Edmund Grissell be taken into consideration To-morrow.
—(Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.)

NAVY—THE ROYAL MARINES.

MR. ANDERSON asked the First Lord of the Admiralty, If his attention has been drawn to one or more Memorials which were sent in, during the recess, by Officers of the Royal Marines, complaining that they had been improperly superseded; whether he is aware that, in reply to at least one of these, it was said that the Officer had been dealt with according to “existing Regulations,” but when the Regulations were asked for they were not forthcoming; and, if the Regulations alluded to are in such form that they, and the Order in Council authorising them, can be referred to or produced?

MR. W. H. SMITH: My attention has been given to some Memorials which have been addressed to the Board of Admiralty by officers of the Royal Marines during the Recess. In answer to one of those officers, Colonel Gwyn, that officer was informed that the promotion complained of was made in accordance with the existing Regulations. Those Regulations will be found in the Order in Council authorizing them.

MR. ANDERSON: Where can they be referred to?

MR. W. H. SMITH: They will be found in the Library.

RELIEF OF DISTRESS (IRELAND).

MR. ERRINGTON asked the Chief Secretary for Ireland, When the Returns ordered by the House on the 10th of February, as to how far the relief measures had taken effect in each of the distressed unions in Ireland up to the 7th of February, will be laid upon the Table?

MR. J. LOWTHER: Sir, there has been a great pressure on the staff of the Board of Works in Ireland during the last few weeks, as the hon. Gentleman is no doubt aware, and I find that they

will not be able to send over these Returns until to-morrow night. Having been so long delayed, however, I would put it to the hon. Gentleman if it would not be the more convenient way to discharge the Order made on the 10th of February, which was for Returns only up to the 7th of February, and render the Returns complete by having them made up to the last day on which the notices could be given.

VACCINATION—DURHAM BOARD OF GUARDIANS.

MR. GOURLEY asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, If his attention has been called to the Reports of the vaccination officers of the Durham guardians for the year 1878; in which they state that out of 2,381 children born in the Western and St. Nicholas district, 305 died from the effects of vaccination, and during the first six months of last year the number of deaths in the same union were 141 from the same cause; and, what measures he intends adopting in order that this excessive death rate may be diminished?

MR. SCLATER-BOOTH: I have caused the Returns of the vaccination officers of the Durham Guardians for 1878 and 1879 to be examined. They contain no information as to deaths caused by vaccination. What they do contain are statements in separate columns, showing in the one the total number of births, in the other the number of children who have died before vaccination. As the numbers thus given correspond very closely with the figures stated in the Question, I am driven to the conclusion that "the excessive mortality" shown is the mortality of children who died without being vaccinated at all. As I am unaware of any deaths having occurred from vaccination, it is impossible for me to adopt steps to prevent them.

METROPOLIS (WATER SUPPLY) BILL.

MR. FAWCETT asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, If he can inform the House when the Bill relating to the Water Supply of London will be introduced?

MR. ASSHETON CROSS: Until to-day I should have been unable to answer the Question of the hon. Member for

Hackney. I beg to state that I am now in a position to introduce the Bill, and I think it right that I should ask leave to do so to-morrow evening. Although the matter may not be reached till late, I think it desirable that I should make a statement, but it will be comparatively short, and the Bill will be in the hands of Members on Wednesday morning.

ROYAL SCHOOL OF MINES.

SIR JOHN HAY asked the Vice President of the Council, Whether the instruction hitherto given at the Royal School of Mines in Jermyn Street is no longer to be given there, but entirely at South Kensington; and, whether he has considered how far such an arrangement will be equally advantageous for purposes of instruction, as the lectures will be delivered at such a distance from the museum which is intended to illustrate them?

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON: It is proposed to move one of the Classes now at Jermyn Street to South Kensington; and, judging from the development and growth of the Classes already removed to South Kensington, I think we need have no fear that the removal will, in any degree, impair the efficiency of the education given.

THE BALLOT ACT—CASES OF SCRUTINY.

MR. W. E. FORSTER: There was a Return ordered last Session of the number of cases of scrutiny under the Ballot Act. I should like to know from the Secretary of State for the Home Department when that Return will be in the hands of Members?

MR. ASSHETON CROSS: I believe the Return was laid on the Table on the 23rd of last month. The matter rests, therefore, with the printers, over whom, I am sorry to say, I have no authority. It will, no doubt, be ready before long.

AFFAIRS OF AFGHANISTAN.

MR. OTWAY: I wish to ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer a Question of which I would have given him private Notice but from absence from town. There has appeared in some of the newspapers telegraphic news, copied from an Indian paper, supposed to possess

authentic sources of information—*The Lahore Gazette*—purporting to be the Government programme for the arrangement of affairs in Afghanistan. May I ask, whether the Government has received any official communication in accord with the alleged programme of *The Lahore Gazette*?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: I think it would be more convenient if the hon. Gentleman would place a Notice of his Question on the Paper.

PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

In reply to Mr. DILLWYN,

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said: I hope it may be in our power to make some progress with the Army Estimates, and finish the Civil Service Supplementary Estimates this evening. If that should be the case, we propose on Thursday to take the Civil Service Estimates, and on Monday next to take the Navy Estimates. I would also mention that on Thursday I propose to introduce the Bill, of which I have already spoken, for the allocation of the vacant seats.

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

SUPPLY—COMMITTEE.

Order for Committee read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."

PARLIAMENT—LORD CASTLEREAGH.

PERSONAL EXPLANATIONS.

MR. BIGGAR rose to call the attention of the House to the criticisms of Dr. H. Quin on the conduct of the noble Lord the Member for County Down, with Minutes of the Council of the Ulster Home Government Association. The hon. Member said, that personally he did not think this matter was one of very great importance; but as it had given rise to a good deal of discussion in the public papers, he had thought it his duty to bring the subject before the House and before the noble Lord whose conduct was impugned. On reading the report of the speech which the noble

Lord made on a previous occasion, he (Mr. Biggar) wrote to parties in Belfast whom he thought might possibly know something of the facts of the case. He did not bring the matter forward in the slightest degree in the interests of either the Whig or the Tory Party; but simply to give the noble Lord an opportunity of setting himself right with the House, if he wished to do so. The noble Lord was reported to have said that he was never asked any questions on the subject of Home Rule in the County Down. He did not wish to bring any serious charge of want of accuracy against the noble Lord, because he was disposed to make allowance for a lapse of memory; or that, perhaps, in the excitement of a political contest, he might not have remembered all that took place. He could imagine that was so; and if it was, it should be a caution to gentlemen who cross-examined candidates at elections to have their communications in writing. The statement of the noble Lord was very explicit; but the statement of his (Mr. Biggar's) friend in Belfast, who was the hon. Secretary of the Home Government Association, was also equally explicit. Dr. Quin was a gentleman of high character, and his word was to be believed, and he was convinced the statement he was about to read to the House was thoroughly correct, although he repeated that he was not disposed to say that the noble Lord had been intentionally incorrect in his denial. In addition to the letter of Dr. Quin which he had received, there was the additional corroboration of members of the Association, which were taken immediately after the event had occurred; and, after reading these statements, he thought the House would arrive at the conclusion that the noble Lord really did pledge himself to abstain from voting on the question of Home Rule. Now, the words reported to have been used by the noble Lord in this House were that he had had no communication with the Home Rulers, and that he was never asked any questions on the subject of Home Rule in the County Down. Dr. Quin stated that he and a number of the Ulster Home Government Association were appointed a deputation to visit the candidates. Mr. Andrews, the Whig candidate, informed the deputation that he would vote against Home Rule, against University

Catholic Education, and against Mr. Butt's Land Bill. With regard to the noble Lord, Dr. Quin said that on the 10th of May, 1878, the deputation heard him address the electors in the Court House at Bangor. As soon as he came out of the Court House, the deputation addressed his Lordship in the street, and told him that they had been appointed by the Ulster Home Government Association to wait on the rival candidates for County Down, and ask them to abstain from voting on the Home Rule question, and his Lordship replied—"I will abstain." Dr. Quin thought he added—"Upon my honour I will abstain;" but was not quite certain about those words. He was, however, certain that his Lordship said point blank—"I will abstain." Dr. Quin thereupon observed—"You can easily abstain. Keep away hunting or shooting, and nobody will be any the wiser." The noble Lord again reiterated his neutral pledge. He (Mr. Biggar) had a letter from the Rev. Father Cahill, another member of the deputation, in which the reverend gentleman said that the exigencies of Party must, indeed, be terrible to produce such havoc in the noble Lord's memory. Father Cahill's narrative was to the effect that he and Dr. Quin were appointed as a deputation to wait on Lord Castlereagh and Mr. Andrews with respect to the restoration of the Irish Parliament and Catholic Education. The Minute Book stated that on the 22nd of May an adjourned meeting of the Council was held, when the deputation were asked to give a verbatim report of the interview. Father Cahill said—

"I introduced the deputation from this Council to the noble Lord. I then said—'If elected, will you oppose the Catholic Education Bill, or be neutral on that question?' He said—'I will be neutral on that question.' Dr. Quin then said—'If elected, will you oppose Home Rule, or consent to be neutral on the question?' Lord Castlereagh said—'I will be neutral.'"

Now, in bringing this matter before the House, he had not attempted to push the case too much against the noble Lord; but he thought he had given sufficient evidence to show that the observations of the noble Lord, when the subject was before the House the other evening, were not a true statement of the facts; and, therefore, he hoped the noble Lord would say that the report was incorrect through the neglect of the reporters, or

that his memory had been defective in regard to what really took place.

VISCOUNT CASTLEREAGH: Sir, the House may remember that a short time ago I ventured to offer a few words of explanation in regard to certain remarks made by the noble Lord the Leader of the Opposition concerning myself. Last Friday week, Sir, I received a letter from the hon. Member for Cavan, in which he informed me that he had received such a letter from a Dr. Quin, of Belfast, as justified him in contradicting the statement which I had made in the House. After receiving that letter I immediately communicated with my friends in the County Down in order to verify my recollection; and I am glad to say that the result of these inquiries is that I now strictly adhere to the statement I previously made. I find, on inquiry, that an interview did take place between Dr. Quin and myself; but as I did not know Dr. Quin, either by sight or by name, it is rather hard for me to be expected to remember that I met him among the very great number of people I met during the course of my candidature. I can assure the House that when I met Dr. Quin I had not the slightest idea that he came to me on behalf of the Ulster Home Rule Association. When he came to me I had just been addressing a great meeting in the town of Bangor, and I was accosted by two gentlemen in the public street. The interview took place in the presence of upwards of 100 people, many of whom are influential electors of the County Down, and there happened to be present the then Grand Master of the Orange Lodge of Belfast. During this interview not a word was said to lead me to suppose that those two gentlemen in any way represented the Home Rule Association; and hence I think I was perfectly justified in stating to the House that I had received no deputation from the Home Rule Association. I again distinctly state that during this interview I gave no promise, directly or indirectly, with regard to Home Rule. This statement is borne out by letters which I hold in my hand, and which were written by gentlemen who were present at the interview, and by others who were standing by; and, if necessary, I could bring forward evidence to fully endorse all I have said. On an ordinary occasion, Sir, I should con-

Mr. Biggar

sider that I had already said quite sufficient; but, with the permission of the House, I shall venture to read an extract from an article that appeared in one of the most influential and most ably-conducted newspapers in the Province of Ulster. I venture to think that, after I have read it, the House will agree with me that there is no further need to prolong this discussion. The paper I refer to is *The Ulster Examiner*, which is the leading organ of the Home Rule Party in the North of Ireland, and the number from which I shall quote is dated 20th July, 1878, which the House will observe was only two months after the election. The extract is as follows:—

“ Our Gladstonian contemporaries are anxious to know what promises Lord Castlereagh gave to his Catholic supporters during the recent contest. We should be something like an authority upon this matter, and we will answer the question by stating that Lord Castlereagh gave no promise to vote for Home Rule. The alleged confederation between him and the Home Rulers is quite a myth. We trust our very Liberal contemporaries will be satisfied with this very Liberal announcement. The Home Rule pledge which our contemporaries allude to exists only in their imagination. It was never given by Lord Castlereagh; but other concessions were made by him. He pledged himself to support the education policy of the Government, and to stand by Lord Beaconsfield tooth and nail, and once for all allay the heartburnings of the Irish people. If the organ of the Corn Exchange wishes to know whether Lord Castlereagh pledged himself to the Home Rulers—well, we candidly answer, “ He did not.” ”

MR. SULLIVAN remarked, that the late Protestant Archbishop of Dublin, Dr. Whately, wrote an amusing little work, entitled *Historic Doubt concerning the Existence of Napoleon Bonaparte*. By a process similar to that which had been seen in the House to-night, the Archbishop showed that there were very contradictory statements as to anything which Napoleon had said or done, or whether he ever existed. The statements of the two gentlemen who had been quoted would be believed in Ulster as readily as, he would not say any more readily than, the statement of the noble Lord. They had the testimony of these two gentlemen declaring positively to an interview in the streets of Bangor; whereas the noble Lord declared that nothing of the kind occurred. [“ No ! ”] At all events, the noble Lord denied what was alleged to have passed on the

occasion. If the matter rested there, there might be some doubt; but it was a most remarkable fact that when the noble Lord needed the aid in the County Down of the Home Rulers, his agent purchased 500 copies of a newspaper which contained a resolution stating that the noble Lord had given satisfactory pledges to the Home Rulers. Hon. Gentlemen opposite very intelligently drew a wide distinction between promising to vote for Home Rule and promising to be neutral; but they were quite unable to draw a distinction at Liverpool between voting for an inquiry and voting for Home Rule. This was so much of a personal matter that he (Mr. Sullivan) did not wish to go on with it. It simply meant this—that in future the Irish electors ought to be very careful as to the pledges they received from candidates standing for different constituencies, and also the pledges so readily given by their agents. It was very painful for Gentlemen to be bandying statements which were contradicted on the floor of that House. He knew that Conservative Gentlemen would not be likely to hold communications henceforth with Home Rulers, because the period had passed for the present when they thought they might secure the Home Rule vote; and as grapes were sour when they could not be reached, there was no doubt that for some time to come they would hear no more of Conservative coquettings with Home Rule.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: Sir, as the involuntary cause of the trouble which has been given to the noble Lord, I desire to say one or two words as to the course I have taken in the matter. All I said, in referring to the subject a few days ago, was that there appeared to be some doubt as to the precise position of the noble Lord with regard to the Home Rule question, and, perhaps, I may be allowed to say a word in justification of the course I have taken. The House will recollect that what I said was that there appeared to be, or that I understood there was, some doubt as to the position the noble Lord held with regard to the Home Rule question, and that we ought to have the doubt cleared up. What has passed shows I was entirely justified in the statement which I made. The noble Lord has just made a statement which I accept, and which I am sure the whole House will accept, as

absolutely correct. At the same time, that does not in the least alter the fact that there does appear to have existed at the time of the election, and, indeed, up to the present moment, a great misapprehension in the County Down as to the position which the noble Lord held with regard to the Home Rule question. I must say that the deputation from the Home Rule Association took an extremely inconvenient mode of ascertaining his opinion. I am not in the least surprised that misapprehension should have arisen as to what occurred at an interview of that kind, and I entirely accept the noble Lord's statement with regard to it. Still I cannot acquit the noble Lord's supporters and friends of having taken advantage of what was evidently a total misapprehension for the purpose of promoting the noble Lord's election. It appears that a resolution was passed by the Home Rule League, in which they stated that the assurances received from the noble Lord were satisfactory. No doubt, that resolution did not come under the personal observation of the noble Lord, but it must have come under the observation of many of his supporters; and it was not fair that up to this time no steps were taken to correct an entirely erroneous statement, on the strength and presumed accuracy of which the noble Lord received the support of the Association, which was given under a total misapprehension of what the noble Lord had said upon the question. I am sorry that the House has been troubled with personal explanations of this character, and I am sorry that the noble Lord has been called upon to explain the exact position of affairs; but, at the same time, I cannot say that I can take the smallest blame to myself in the matter, because it was most desirable that a misapprehension so long existing should now at last be finally cleared up.

MR. SPEAKER: The Motion before the House is the Motion to go into Committee of Supply. On a Motion of that character considerable latitude is usually allowed by the House; and the hon. Member for Cavan has been permitted to bring forward what he considers a grievance before the House goes into Committee of Supply. The House has also heard on a personal matter the noble Lord the Member for the County Down. I am bound to say, however, that if de-

bates are to arise on personal matters of this character, such a course will lead to grave inconvenience.

MR. PEASE said, that after what had fallen from the Speaker he desired to say only one word. He had had the honour of contesting an election with the noble Lord the Member for the County Down as his opponent. Party spirit then ran high, but he could state that the noble Lord never twisted one word of his or of his Colleagues; nor did the noble Lord deviate one iota, in order to gain that election, from the course of an honourable and an upright man. He could believe that Party spirit ran even higher in Ireland; but he could not believe, from the character of the noble Lord and his family in the county which he had the honour to represent, that the noble Lord would wilfully mislead the House, either as regarded half a promise or a whole promise.

SIR THOMAS BATESON: Sir, I was in the County Down and knew a good deal about the elections of 1878. I am prepared to assert, and I have letters to prove, that the noble Lord neither directly nor indirectly either promised to be neutral or to abstain from voting on the question of Home Rule. That question was never put to him. The gentleman who accompanied Dr. Quin who has been mentioned has, on paper and in print, declared emphatically that the question never was put, and I think the noble Lord has amply vindicated his position. I hold in my hand a manifesto issued by the Home Rule Association at the election, in which Home Rule never was mentioned; nor, indeed, was it mentioned during the canvass of either of the candidates. I admit that a large number of the respectable Roman Catholics supported the noble Lord in that election, and perhaps hon. Gentlemen opposite would like to know the reason why? I will tell them the reason. It was because the respectable Roman Catholics of the County Down have learned to distrust, to suspect, and to dislike the Whigs, Whiggery, and Whig nominees, that they supported the noble Lord. And further, they held this language—

"We, the Roman Catholics of the County Down, have hitherto been made hewers of wood and drawers of water for the democratic Presbyterians, and, therefore, we will support the son of one of the best landlords in Ireland."

The Marquess of Hartington

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: I earnestly hope the House will bear in mind the few words which you, Sir, addressed to it a short time ago. We are perfectly well aware that there is nothing the House holds so dear as the honour of its Members; and, therefore, at whatever risk or inconvenience to our debates, we are always ready to give a hearing to those who wish to speak upon personal conduct. I have no doubt that the hon. Member for Cavan brought forward this question in order to clear up a matter on which he thought there was something to be said; and I am sure everyone who listened to my noble Friend's answer was thoroughly satisfied—[“No, no!”]—was thoroughly satisfied with the noble, straightforward, and frank manner in which he answered the questions put to him. [“No, no!”] I am extremely sorry if anybody can form a different impression from that which it has made upon me, and I believe upon the House generally. However, after these explanations have been given, and now that we have been informed by the noble Lord of what occurred, the time has, in my opinion, come for the matter to be allowed to drop. It was natural that the noble Lord opposite (the Marquess of Hartington) should have made the remarks he did in reference to what passed on a previous occasion; but I do think we should be committing a serious error if we allowed ourselves to be drawn into a discussion with respect to the politics of any particular part of the United Kingdom, or, indeed, of any matter further touching the question now before the House. I am sure there will be a general opinion that the noble Lord has acted straightforwardly. [“No, no!”] Well, that will be the opinion of all who have listened candidly to what the noble Lord said. I hope your advice, Sir, will be taken, and that we may now be allowed to proceed with the Business of the evening.

MR. CALLAN said, he was sorry to intrude upon the House in connection with the present personal discussion, and he would not have done so but for the unfortunate remarks of the hon. Baronet the Member for Devizes (Sir Thomas Bateson). He was not surprised that the hon. Baronet should have made an attack upon the Whig Party, seeing that he had been expelled by them from

his seat in Ireland on a former occasion. The hon. Baronet had said that he knew everything that had happened at the County Down election. Well, at the present moment a matter of great interest was under discussion in the North of Ireland, and that was a statement by Mr. Finigan, who was present at this interview between the noble Lord and the deputation from the Home Rulers, that he had discovered the secret of how everyone had voted, notwithstanding the secrecy of the Ballot. But the hon. Baronet had said emphatically that there was not one word mentioned about Home Rule during the entire canvass of either of the candidates. In regard to this matter, the honour of the noble Lord was not alone at stake. The honour and political character of the Rev. Mr. Cahill, the recognized manager and editor of *The Ulster Examiner*, was also at stake, and that of the Secretary of the Home Rule Association of Ulster. He (Mr. Callan) had had some slight part in this matter, and he gave a hearty and thorough support to the candidature of the noble Lord for the County Down. He did so because of the express statement of the Home Rule Association, that the noble Lord had satisfied them upon one point; and they should recollect that what had occurred in the House in connection with this matter bore that statement out. The noble Lord had carefully avoided, on the present occasion, to reiterate or re-affirm the declaration which he made on the last occasion. The noble Lord then said he was asked no question on the subject of Home Rule in the county of Down. He had carefully avoided re-affirming that statement that day. He had again denied that he made any pledge whatever to support Home Rule; but that was not the charge that was made. The charge which was made, and which had not been denied, was that he gave a distinct pledge of neutrality on two points—namely, upon Catholic University Education and Home Rule. He was not at all surprised at the misapprehension and mystification which existed as to what pledge the noble Lord gave; for they knew that similar mystification existed as to the intrigue which was carried, and the pledge which was made, on behalf of the Whig Party at the Sheffield election.

MR. FINIGAN: The question rests not on an alleged promise of the noble Lord to vote for Home Rule, but on his promise not to vote against it. I find in *The Morning News*, a Presbyterian organ of Ulster, this statement published on the 22nd of May, 1878—

"The support of the Home Rulers was deliberately bargained for by Lord Castlereagh, and was purchased by a promise given by him not to vote against Home Rule."

I am not surprised that the noble Lord should now deny in public what he secretly promised. I expected nothing else from the collateral descendant of the infamous Castlereagh of Union times. ["Oh, oh!"] I did not, and could not, expect anything else from the descendant of one of such infamous notoriety. ["Oh, oh!" "Order!"]

IRELAND — THE ENNISHOWEN FISHERY, COUNTY DONEGAL.

RESOLUTION.

MR. O'DONNELL, in rising to call attention to the urgent need of a fishery pier and harbour at Malin Head, Ennishowen, county Donegal, and to move—

"That greater facilities than are now available should be granted to the distressed inhabitants for raising the sum of money required,"

said, if he cared to occupy the time of the House, he could quote copious extracts to show the excessive distress prevailing at Ennishowen at the present time. But even in ordinary times the fishing interests of Ireland should be the object of a great deal of care on the part of the Government; and year after year the Irish Members had endeavoured to secure some attention and care in this respect from the Government. The whole coast of Donegal, especially that part of it lying between Lough Swilly and Lough Foyle, was exposed to the fury of the Atlantic gales; and there was great need, therefore, for some protection for the fishermen in plying their dangerous calling in that locality. The distress round Malin Head was now extremely severe; and he thought that the Government ought to take the opportunity of doing a work which would be not only of permanent benefit to the locality, but of the highest advantage in relieving and mitigating the prevalent severe distress. Some time ago all the leading persons in the

district, without distinction of politics or creed, joined in a Petition for a fishery pier and harbour being erected at Malin Head, and a local inquiry was in consequence held by Mr. Brady and Mr. Johnson, the Fishery Inspectors, who agreed that the circumstances were such that there was an urgent need for such a work being undertaken. There was a good case in favour of Government aid. The Board of Works laid it down that if one-quarter of the sum required was raised in the locality, the remainder would be advanced by them. In ordinary years the amount could be raised in the locality; but now all their energies were occupied in relieving the necessities of the country, and it was quite impossible that the sum required—about £1,000—could be raised. If the Government would hold out to the locality any hope that the entire sum would be advanced on such easy terms as money was advanced to landlords, they might set to work to construct the pier and harbour, and thereby relieve much misery and afford protection to the local fishing industry. He hoped the Government would in this case dispense with red-tapeism. If the money were advanced to the inhabitants on the same terms as to the landlords he did not think the Treasury would suffer, and a great benefit would be conferred on the district. It was literally impossible for any fishing industry to grow up on such exposed parts of the Irish coast until something was done, in the first place, by public authority and at the public expense. If fishing piers and harbours were constructed the fishermen could invite capital; fishing boats of an improved character would be employed in the trade, as they would be protected against stress of weather. Through the absolute want of such conveniences the fishermen could now only drag their boats up on the beach. There could be nothing but the most wretched sort of fishing on the coast of Ireland, especially in Donegal, until the Government afforded liberal assistance. The loss to the Treasury would be recouped in a little time, and there would result a great development of industry and prosperity.

Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "greater facilities than are now available should

be granted to the distressed inhabitants of the county Donegal for raising a sum of money required for the erection of a fishery pier and harbour at Malin Head, Ennishowen,"—(*Mr. O'Donnell*),

—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

Mr. O'CLERY, in supporting the Motion of the hon Member for Dungarvan, urged the desirability of a similar work being undertaken at Ross and Loop Head, at the mouth of the Shannon. *Mr. Brady*, one of the Commissioners of Fisheries in Ireland, had pointed out the desirability of establishing fishing piers there, and had clearly shown that for an expenditure of a few hundred pounds the fishing population of that one locality might realize £2,000 a-year. There could be no better way of helping the people than by such advances, and it was a question for the Government for a time to deal with.

SIR HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON said, there was no question which of late had more pressed itself on the attention of the Government than the increase of facilities for the erection of piers to protect the fisheries. The Treasury regulations on the subject of loans had been relaxed; and in several cases where one-fourth of the cost had been provided by the districts concerned the Treasury had consented to provide the remaining three-fourths. Out of the list which had been recommended by the Fishery Inspectors five had been sanctioned by the Government; and three more in the County Donegal had since been sanctioned, at his instance, from representations which had been made to him by the noble Marquess the Member for Donegal (the Marquess of Hamilton). The endeavour of the Government had always been, not to lose sight of what he believed to be a sound principle—namely, that there should be some evidence of local interest in the erection of piers. He was quite aware that the harbour referred to by the hon. Member was also in the list of those which had been recommended by the Fishery Commissioners; but it was lower down, and it therefore appeared not to be so important. If the locality was much interested in its erection, application could be made under the Bill for the

Relief of Distress to the baronial sessions, and on a presentment contribution could be obtained from the Government on easier terms than those granted at ordinary times. Recognizing the fact that fishery piers and harbours were of material assistance to those who were dependent on the particular industry under consideration, he assured hon. Members that the question would always command his serious attention.

GENERAL SIR GEORGE BALFOUR said, he yielded to no Member in the desire to see additional harbours constructed and old harbours improved. To this end he had repeatedly appealed to the Treasury; but though at times success was likely to result by attention being given to his appeals, he was sorry to say that these hopes had hitherto not been realized. He had also obtained in 1876 an important Return of all public expenditure on harbours since the beginning of this autumn, and hon. Members would find that an outlay of nearly £10,000,000 had been incurred. Now, he would like to know how much, amongst the £10,000,000 spent on these works, had been spent for the benefit of the country? He would be glad if the Secretary to the Treasury could point out one harbour in 10 that was now of use to the country; and he would even ask how many of those upon which the money had been expended during the last six years in Ireland were successful? ["Oh!"] He would be glad to be corrected if he were wrong. He quite agreed with his hon. Friend that by the expenditure of a small sum of money much good might be done in improving the piers or harbours for fishery purposes; but, looking to what had been the result of their operations in Scotland, as well as in Ireland, he would recommend the Government, before they undertook to lay out more money on piers and harbours, to ascertain whether the engineers knew how to construct them. Judging from the many failures in the designing of new harbour works, he was fully justified in expressing the thought that their engineers did not know how to construct them. He had repeatedly urged that, before more public money was spent on these works, inquiries should be made by engineers, under the orders of the Government of the country, into all harbours, not only in the United Kingdom, but in foreign countries, as to

the state of harbours both as respected those that had been successful as well as failures. The cost of this investigation need not be large, because it would be easy to find men qualified to inquire and report thereon at moderate remuneration. On these reports, and with carefully-designed plans, obtained they would then acquire such ample knowledge as to have some guarantee for their engineers avoiding the mistakes made in the past, so that they might construct harbours in a manner that would reflect credit upon the country. Some of the harbours in Scotland had been enormous failures. They had been constructed on bad principles, and of bad material, and not one fraction of the money expended on them would ever come back. Whilst cautioning the Government against expending money on harbours which were from their ignorance most likely to be unsuccessful, he must add that he did not despair of improvement in this direction; but it could only be secured by proper means. The question would then not be raised as to money being furnished by Government, but as to obtaining permission to select sites where sea works could be allowed to be thrown up. The funds would be readily found by the public, because good harbours would so extend their fisheries as to insure supplies of fish more valuable than the land rental of the district.

Question put, and *agreed to*.

Main Question, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair," put, and *agreed to*.

SUPPLY—ARMY ESTIMATES.

SUPPLY—*considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

DEPARTMENTAL STATEMENT.

COLONEL STANLEY: In rising to move the Army Estimates for the ensuing year, I feel, in comparison with the statements which it has been my duty, and that of other Ministers, to make on this occasion in previous years, that the Estimates of the ensuing year will, perhaps, present features of comparatively little interest to the Committee. It has been the custom ever since my right hon. Friend the late Secretary of State for War succeeded to his Office to endeavour to give to the House, and

through the House to the country, the largest possible amount of information with regard to the Army, by statistics and other records of various descriptions. Therefore, I feel that it is not of the highest necessity, and not being a matter of necessity, that it certainly is not advisable, that I should delay the Committee by venturing upon any detail into figures with which they already are familiar in another form, although, of course, when the time comes, I shall be fully ready to give explanations of the figures where they are required. There are, however, still certain points of interest which from time to time, as I proceed through the Estimates, I shall endeavour, I hope at no undue length, to bring before the notice of the Committee. At the same time, I am bound at once to express my regret that circumstances have made it impossible for me to carry out as I should have wished the promises that I made at this time last year. It will be in the recollection of some of those who take an interest in these matters that at the time when the Forces were proceeding to the Cape and to Zululand last year great attention was drawn to the mode in which, at the present time, battalions are made up for service in the field. That is a subject upon which I gave the House, to the best of my power, and in the frankest manner, all the information that came before me. I endeavoured, I hope without casting undue blame anywhere, to point out what I thought were the defects of the system under which we were then working. I also announced, although obliged to speak with some reserve, that we hoped to be able to take steps to remedy the defects which impeded the work of our existing system. A Committee, as many hon. Members are already aware, was appointed, consisting of officers of considerable experience and distinction in various branches of the Service, which, under the presidency of General Lord Airey, undertook to inquire into the working of the system of short service, of limited battalions, of brigade depôts, and certain other matters, and to report in what details, or in what respects, that system was capable of being made more efficient, and to work more smoothly. Though it may be a matter of personal regret to myself that I have been unable to receive the Report of the Committee, yet

General Sir George Balfour

I am bound, on the other hand, to take the earliest opportunity of paying my tribute of acknowledgment to the extreme care and assiduity with which those Gentlemen have devoted themselves to the duties of the inquiry, and to state in the most public manner that, though I have been anxious to receive a Report from them, upon which I could recommend to the House the earliest action possible, yet, at the same time, I have felt that the subject was one of such vast importance that it would be unfair, and I may add even wrong, to press that Committee to come to a premature conclusion. For these reasons I am unable at present to discuss the matters with which that Committee has to deal, and I hope the Committee will also feel that there is no undue reticence on my part if I rather deprecate discussions on points on which I am unable to speak freely at the present time, and upon which it would be something more than inconvenient that I should express an *ex parte* or preconceived opinion. I would now rather suggest to the Committee, though I have no wish to "burke" discussion, that it will be for the convenience of themselves and of the House generally—as is felt, I know, by hon. Members who take an interest in such matters—that we should for the present defer any such discussion till a time when Lord Airey's Committee has presented its Report; then, if it be necessary on it to take legislative action, it will be my duty to bring the subject before the House; or, if it is not necessary, I will take care to offer such facilities in my power as will allow full opportunities for discussion of their proposals. I think, therefore, we shall do better to discuss the matter after we have seen what is the opinion of experts upon the matter. With these remarks, I propose, to that extent, to pass from the question of system and of organization. It may be a matter of interest to the Committee to know, before I pass to the question of the numbers of men enlisted during the past year, that the number of officers who have joined the Service since I last addressed the Committee amounts to 482; that the number of officers who have left amounts to 422; and, with regard to another matter—of which I can only speak generally—that at the present time 404 officers have put down their names to join the list of officers for the

Reserve, for service in the field or otherwise, if necessary. Now, of this Reserve of officers, the Committee may further like to know, of those who are liable upon their retirement to serve, there are 190; the retired officers in no way liable who applied for commissions amounts to 59; the officers of the Militia, Yeomanry Cavalry, and Volunteers are 149, not including certain applications which have been received from field officers; and there are, in addition to these, some few cases where officers have applied to join, but where they have to undergo the necessary examination. That makes a total of 404. The amount paid by the Army Purchase Commissioners as compensation to officers from the 1st of April, 1879, to the present date, as nearly as I can ascertain it, is £204,567; there is besides £12,083 paid to officers of the Indian Ordnance Corps under the Act of 1874-5; making a total of £216,550. There are also, of course, certain claims of other officers before the Commissioners upon which a final settlement has not yet been arrived at. With regard to explanations as to the causes of increase or decrease in the Infantry in the various accessory Papers issued, together with the Estimates, these will be found given as fully as possible. At the present time there are 5 battalions of Infantry temporarily detained in India; 1 battalion of Horse Artillery, 1 battery of Field Artillery, and 4 batteries of Garrison Artillery are also at this moment detained in India. The 15th Hussars are also detained there; but the normal force of Cavalry in the country is not exceeded, because the Queen's Dragoon Guards, who were to have gone to India, are in a temporary exigency detained at the Cape, and that leaves the Force at the number specified in the Estimates. I must make one exception with regard to the Staff which is taken in the Estimates for the Cape. It is stated in the Estimates as one Lieutenant General and one Colonel of the Staff. Communications have been going on between the Cape authorities and themselves as to the division of the Forces for greater convenience into a command of less dimensions at the Cape, and a separate command also of less dimensions united to a single command at Natal and in the Transvaal. Unfortunately, negotiations were still in progress by telegraph, when

an accident happened to the direct line of cable, and, consequently, our messages had to be transferred to the old line round by Madeira. That has caused the delay in the reply received from the Cape; and, therefore, the Committee will be kind enough to understand that the decision upon this point is not absolutely final. I think, at the same time, it is only fair, as the matter is placed in detail in the Estimates, that this should be fully stated. There is no essential alteration this year in the number of officers or of men from that intended to have taken place and explained in detail last year. The Committee will remember that it was my duty to explain that it had been intended to reduce the total amount of the Force by about 4,000 men, and that that decrease was suspended at the last moment by the unfortunate necessity of sending troops to the Cape. It was then too late to take the Estimates on that basis, and we were obliged to add an amount and a certain number of men *en bloc* to the Estimates. Estimates had been generally prepared before the announcement of the disaster of Isandlana came to hand, and it is on that basis that the present Estimates have been prepared. I have said that we have made no change as regards the number of officers. I think, Sir, while speaking of the officers, that I may, perhaps, be allowed to pay a tribute which I think is due to the regimental officers generally, for the manner in which they have tried to carry out their duties in the matters affecting their command. Last year it was my duty to show the Committee what was the result, to my mind, of the unfortunate necessity of bringing together men from different battalions. I am desirous, therefore, to pay my earliest tribute to the care and attention with which the regimental officers took over those large drafts and worked them into their regimental system. It is, we know, considered at all times by many, with our system of short service, a somewhat thankless task to do this; and, therefore, I am bound to say that the assiduity, and the care, and the ability with which the regimental officers have worked have left nothing to be desired so far as they were concerned. Now, as bearing on the question of the officers, I should like to say one word with regard to the Pay Department. That continues to offer an outlet to a

number of officers, which is not only not unacceptable to themselves, but is in many cases beneficial to the Public Service, allowing, as it does, officers to remain connected with the Service who otherwise would have been compelled, either from physical causes or from the necessity of retiring by the Compulsory Clause of the Royal Warrant, to disconnect themselves from the Service to which they are attached. The Accountant General, under whose able presidency this Department was formed, tells me that although the number of paymasters has been slightly reduced the advantages of the system continue to be appreciated, and that the experience of the Army Pay Department, as compared with the former system, continues to be very satisfactory. Its working on active service received fair trial during the recent operations at the Cape. It is stated that the testimony of general officers in command has been fully in favour of this principle, and it is believed that the Department will be of the greatest service to officers holding responsible commands. There continues to be no lack of candidates from the combatant branch to supply vacancies. Forty-five officers were gazetted to this branch last year, making 102 since the first introduction of the system, and 18 more are now awaiting the approbation of the Department; so that in less than two years this work may be said to have provided employment for no less than 120 officers. There are also now many candidates awaiting to be nominated. Besides the advantage of such an outlet, the efficiency of the Department appears to be all that is desired; and I think I am not otherwise than justified in claiming for the present Accountant General, and my hon. and gallant Friend the Financial Secretary, and those who have to carry out this system, the due meed of gratitude for such successful results. Passing from the question of the officers, and taking that point which is necessarily one of the main points of interest, I find that 25,927 men joined during the year 1879, as against 28,325 in the year 1878, and 28,728 in the year 1877. The falling-off is attributable partly to the high standard which has prevailed during the greater part of the year, and also, I am very glad to say, very much to the increased care which is exercised in passing recruits. Regulations are also now in

course of preparation embodying instructions which have been already issued with regard to the medical inspection of recruits, and providing in a still greater degree for even more careful medical examination, not only by officers of the Medical Department, but also by the civil medical practitioners employed in this duty. We have been using in the year just closed the same machinery for recruiting purposes as in previous years—namely, the sub-district organization, coupled with the London and Dublin sub-districts; and, thirdly, the head-quarter recruiting. The number of recruits raised in the sub-districts was 15,900 odd in 1879, as against 17,181 in 1878, and 17,380 in 1877. This shows a slight decrease at the brigade depôts, and in the number of men raised in the respective years. As regards Militiamen who have enlisted in the Army, there were 7,159 in 1878, against 7,748 in 1878, and 9,000 odd in 1877. Although the recruiting, as I have said, has slightly fallen off, the only corps below the establishment to any considerable extent during the year has been the Royal Artillery. That has arisen from the fact that during the greater part of the year the standard was very high. Now, we come to that point which is always considered of so much importance in connection with the recruiting, and is, perhaps, the least satisfactory part of this question—namely, the desertions. In 1879 there were 4,070 deserters in the ordinary or general sense in which that term is used, or 15 per cent of the recruits. In 1878 the numbers were 5,416, or 19 per cent of the recruits, while in 1877 the numbers were 5,000, or 17 per cent of the recruits. Therefore, in the year 1879, there was a decrease over both of the two preceding years. It may, perhaps, be of interest also to the Committee to learn that the percentage of deserters to recruits is smaller than it has been in any year since 1870; and that year, as persons know who are interested in the matter, was a year which, from various causes, was entirely exceptional. That was also in itself the smallest percentage of any year since the year 1861. The net loss from desertions was very much brought down by the number of men who rejoined their regiments after desertion, and which, amounted in the past year, to 2,254; so that though the decrease at first sight

looked large the net loss comes down to 1,816, though, of course, I do not say that even that is not far too large. That, however, again is the smallest number since the year 1868. The number of discharges during the last three years has not materially varied. There were 15,209 in 1879, 15,198 in 1878, and 15,723 in 1877. That is, of course, a very large number; but it is brought about not only by temporary causes, but by the fact that the recruiting 20 or 21 years ago was exceptionally heavy. The discharges by purchase were in 1879 2,495, as compared with 2,058 in 1878, and 2,970 in 1877. It may, perhaps, be convenient that I should now tell the Committee, as far as I am aware of it, how the provisions of the Army Discipline and Regulation Act passed last year work in connection with recruits, especially as regards the right of the recruit to claim his discharge within a specified period. This is, however, a section as to which I cannot give full information, because it is hardly yet in operation, and has only been set in motion very recently. The Inspector General of Recruiting shares my belief that this finally will have the effect of diminishing the desertions in proportion to the recruits. It will be borne in mind, of course, that the number of desertions have no reference whatever to the number of recruits enlisted during the same period, although the figures are thus compared. It is very truly said that an ounce of practice is worth a pound of theory, and, perhaps, upon the strength of that proverb the Committee will allow me to read what I have only received myself this day—namely, the views of the Assistant Adjutant General of the London recruiting district, and also of one of the sergeants under him. Colonel Field, an officer of great experience writes, “that the new system of enlistment is a vast improvement on the old, the practice of enlisting for the sole purpose of getting the enlistment money and as many days’ pay as possible, without any intention of joining the Army, being very much diminished, and that fewer bad characters now enter and re-enter the Army than formerly.” I will not trouble the Committee with Sergeant Major Hunter’s letter; but he says that desertions are much less frequent now than formerly, and that the enlistments have been 36 as against 7, and the payments £1 18s. 9d. as against

£12 19s. 10d. That shows what the saving to the public is in the enlistment shilling and in the one or two days' pay which the men were formerly in the habit of drawing the moment they were enlisted. I have just given the leading points as concerns the men, and I now proceed to pass from Vote 1. It will be observed by the Committee that the Vote has, in some degree, been increased this year by the necessity for purchasing horses, which we were able to dispense with last year, as we kept on with those purchased under the Vote of Credit, and we have now, in consequence, to make rather larger purchases. There is also a small point in connection with the Veterinary Department, which, although its final form has not been altogether agreed to, I may, perhaps, touch upon. It has long been felt that there has been a great want of systematic instruction, both for veterinary surgeons and for the officers concerned in the management of horses; but I hope that in the course of the ensuing year, by beginning on modest dimensions with no expensive buildings nor staff, but using those which we already possess, we may be enabled to establish something in the nature of a Veterinary School at Aldershot, by which I think the Service will be greatly benefited; and I feel bound to express my sense of the manner in which a gallant officer, well known to many here present—Sir Frederick Fitz Wygram—has been good enough to give us his assistance in this matter. Upon Vote 2 I think there is hardly any remark which it is necessary for me to make. That is explained in the Paper showing the amount of variation, wherein it appears that there was a small increase under one head and a slight diminution under another. As regards Vote 3, that is also substantially unchanged. I may mention, however, that the Committee appointed, partly in consequence of the promise which I give here, and partly in consequence of what took place during the passing of the Army Discipline and Regulation Bill, is at present occupied in investigating as to the best mode of dealing with military prisoners, taken in connection with the Army Discipline and Regulation Act and with the Prisons Act of former times. That Committee, which, I believe, is presided over by Mr. Liddell, the Permanent Under Secretary of the Home Department,

Colonel Stanley

and which numbers among its Members Sir Charles Du Cane and Mr. Knox, is engaged in practical researches; and I have every reason to hope that their Report, when received, will be such as can be promptly and efficiently acted upon. With regard to Vote 4, I am glad to say that it has assumed a different position this year from that in which it stood when the Estimates of last year were proposed. Since the Committee were last engaged upon this matter the Medical Warrant has been issued; and I am glad to say that, although I am fully aware no one in this world can please everybody, there is a great concurrence of opinion in favour of that Warrant as it now stands. I think it will be seen that through the liberality displayed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer the Government have shown an anxious desire to benefit the Medical Department; and I am glad to hear that their endeavours have not only been successful in attracting candidates, but that these are of a considerably better class than those brought to the work for years past. There seems to be a consensus of opinion that the Warrant is so far liberal that if it does not attract candidates to the Service nothing will. There have been two examinations of candidates since December last, when the Warrant was issued, at the first of which 72 candidates passed out of 76 who offered themselves for examination; on the second occasion, out of 42 candidates who competed, 35 fully came up to the required standard and were accepted; so that we have had, within the space of little more than two months, 107 successful candidates out of the 118 who presented themselves for examination. Both in South Africa and in Afghanistan the general officers in command have spoken in the highest terms of the efficiency, zeal, and self-devotion of all ranks of medical officers; and I am afraid that there is melancholy evidence in confirmation of this in the large number of men who have succumbed to the hard work which they had to undergo in the Indian Forces. Perhaps the Committee will forgive me for referring for one moment to the loss which the medical world and Medical Service have sustained by the death, at Sherpur, of Deputy Surgeon General Porter, an officer whose arrangements for all the medical duties of the cam-

paign left nothing to be desired, and who succumbed as certainly in the execution of his duty as if he had been killed in action. Both in the medical world and among his countrymen he leaves a reputation to which his friends may look back with satisfaction, and a memory dear to all those who knew him. There is another point in connection with the Medical Service to which I should like to call the attention of the Committee. During the recent attack on Secocoeni's camp, the "bearer companies" were, for the first time, fully organized; and it is satisfactory to know that this organization, under the direction of Surgeon Major Hector, was attended with the very best results. I consider it important that I should draw attention to this fact, because the establishment of "bearer companies" is in itself a very marked feature in field medical organization. I believe I am entitled to read a letter, although it was not written with that object, from Colonel Brackenbury to one of the Surgeon Generals, and which expresses more tersely than I can the advantages which arose from the establishment of this body. The letter contains the following passage:—

"I do not think the best trained Aldershot bearer company could have done better. It was a sight to see, for I suppose it was the first action fought by our troops of which it can be said that not one single fighting man left the ranks to take wounded to the rear, although we had 49 officers and men killed and wounded. It was a trial, though on a small scale, and I am satisfied that the system is sound. I certainly hope Hector will receive the appreciation he deserves."

A more official Report of the principal medical officer states—

"In conclusion, I have much pleasure in saying that after an interview with Colonel Baker Russell, who led the main attack on Secocoeni's town, I can bear testimony to the excellent arrangement for the treatment of the wounded, and state that nothing was left to be desired in this respect, so efficiently and rapidly did the bearer companies, under Surgeon Major Hector, perform their duties, that no wounded European or Native was left two minutes on the ground before being removed to the dressing station. Everything that foresight could have devised was in readiness for the wounded."

But I must not trespass unduly upon the time of the Committee in this matter. It will be observed by those who have the interest of medical officers at heart that two great points have been considered in the Medical Warrant recently

issued, one of which has been made clear and the other conceded. Subject to certain conditions, exchanges are now as absolutely free in this Department as in the combatant branch of the Service, no exchange being refused unless it is believed that an officer is exchanging to go out to India who has been very recently invalided from a sickly climate. With this exception, exchanges are now as free as in any other branch of the Service. Then there has been the concession of forage to surgeons, the granting of which has been treated by almost all of them as a genuine and welcome concession. We have also introduced a system under which half-pay payments are made at depôts and other places where there is hardly work enough to employ an Army medical officer, but where work can be done by those who are willing to accept temporary occupation at a lower rate of pay. Under this system 21 medical officers on half-pay and six Militia medical officers have been appointed at the stationary posts. The health of the Army during the last year, I am glad to inform the Committee, has been satisfactory. The rates of admission into hospital has been 8·27 per 1,000, and the death rate 7·37, which, compared with the rates of previous years, gives a slightly higher rate of admissions. There has been an increase of sickness, however, at Gibraltar, Canada, Ceylon, Bombay, and in Bengal; but diminution of sickness in the West Indies, Mauritius, and other places. It is difficult to make any fair comparison, nor can any comparison be made, between the health of the combined Forces at the Cape of Good Hope and St. Helena owing to the Zulu War. The increase of the rate of admission to hospital in Bengal is stated to have been due to cholera which broke out amongst the troops on active service on their return, while the increase of sickness at Gibraltar is stated to have arisen from paroxysmal fevers contracted in Cyprus by the 42nd and 71st Regiments. With regard to Cyprus, I am glad to point out to the Committee that there has been a marked improvement in the health of the troops stationed in that island, the death rate having decreased to 25·14, and the last Report showed a marked diminution in the number of fever cases during the last year that I consider to be very satisfactory. I have a word

or two to say, in addition to the remarks which I made concerning the 42nd and 71st Regiments. I have made inquiry at the places where these regiments are now stationed, and I am informed that their health is good in all respects, and that they seemed to enjoy an entire immunity from malarious affections. Passing from the Medical Vote, I come to that for Militia Pay and Allowances. The number of men serving in the Militia is larger than in the previous year; and the Vote is further increased in consequence of the period of training being extended from 20 to 27 days. On the 1st of February of this year the number of men was 120,623, as against 114,603 on the establishment during the previous year. There is one point in connection with this Vote about which I should like to speak. It has been pointed out and freely admitted by those who know most of the matter that one of the weak points in our Militia system is the want of sufficient musketry instruction. In these days rifle instruction appears to us to be a matter of the greatest possible importance; and though it is inadvisable to ask the House, under ordinary circumstances, so far to extend the period of Militia training as to enable a full course of musketry instruction to be gone through, it has been thought desirable to take some steps in the matter. Arrangements are accordingly being made to take a certain number of Militia regiments at one time—say, in their fifth, sixth, or seventh training—which shall go not only through their imperfect course as hitherto, but also through the same perfect course of training given to soldiers in the Regular Army. This arrangement will not have the immediate effect of insuring for every man the training of the Regular Service; but it has recommended itself to the authorities as the best compromise, and we propose to apply it during the ensuing year to a certain number of regiments, within, of course, the period of 27 days' training. The number of men who enlisted in the Militia during the last year was 32,788, as against 39,375 in the year 1878, and 39,701 in the year 1877. This, of course, shows a decrease, which, however, must not be taken alone, for it is to be observed that there is also a considerable reduction in the number of desertions, so that the diminution in the total num-

ber of men is not so great as would at first sight appear. For instance, the number of deserters in the year 1877 was 15,000, in 1878 14,000, while in 1879 the number was reduced to 10,000—a very satisfactory and considerable decrease. It shows that the Enlistment Act, if proper care is taken with regard to its working, does tend to the results which were anticipated. I may express my opinion that no person is more competent to deal with the evil of desertion and to suggest a remedy for it than the present Inspector General of Recruiting, General Bulwer, who has under him the recruiting both of the Militia and of the Line. It was thought inadvisable to publish his Report on the subject of desertion as a separate Paper; but I will take care that this document relating to the working of the Act of 1870, and which is full of points of interest to the Committee, shall be presented in the ensuing year. I must add that the re-enrolments continue to be applied for in the different regiments; and although they have somewhat fallen off in numbers, their actual number is not an exact guide to the working of the system, nor is that system discredited by a falling-off due to well-known and not unsatisfactory causes. I now pass on to the Vote for the Yeomanry. With respect to that, it will be observed that we are once more taking the pay for their full training. I am much strengthened in my opinion as to the necessity and desirability of that Force by the confidential reports of commanding officers, who seem to consider that out of the Yeomanry as it now stands may be obtained the material for a most useful auxiliary local Force. It is, therefore, I think, my duty to encourage that Force within proper limits. There will be both recruit drills and troop drills during the present year; and the Committee will remember that last year it was thought advisable that the men should go out for troop drill alone. This year, however, we propose to take the full amount for the eight days' training. In certain districts where the farmers have suffered very considerably application has been made that the men should be called out for their full duty; and in those cases I have thought it right to allow them to go out, as on the last occasion, for four troop drills, receiving the pay they had last year. That, I think, is a plan which would give the

largest amount of elasticity; but it is intended to couple with the payment the reservation that the drill shall be conducted under inspection. I pass now to the Volunteer Corps Pay and Allowances. This Vote shows, even by its increase, that the Volunteer Force is in a prosperous condition. The increase in the Vote is due to the charge for capitation grants earned by a larger number of men who are returned as efficient. We have also taken a rather larger amount for the training of Volunteers in camp, respecting the desirability of which I think there can be but one opinion. However, although I am strongly in favour of this form of training, I am bound to warn my friends of the Volunteer Force that the money I can ask for from Parliament is not without limit; and they must not be surprised if, where there are many among them desirous of going under canvas, some choice has to be made between them. The Committee suggested that administrative regiments should be consolidated, and I am happy to say those regulations have been taken up in the best possible spirit. Twenty-one administrative regiments have been consolidated up to the present time; and 107 smaller corps, which, in the opinion of the Committee, were hardly able to exist conveniently by themselves, have been absorbed in those administrative regiments. Of course, as I said last year, the proposal is one that must be carried out carefully. We are endeavouring as far as possible to do so, with all due regard to the individual feelings of particular localities; and I am happy to say that, meeting them, I hope, in a fair spirit, and being met by them in the same spirit, we are in many cases able to carry out these administrative changes where at first it was thought that insuperable difficulties would have been raised. I hope that this process, which will undoubtedly be good for the Service, and also good in a financial and administrative point of view, will be carried further as due opportunity occurs. At the same time, it is not the wish, either of those who act with me, or of myself, to carry out these changes with undue disregard to the feelings even of the smallest corps. Well, the capitation grants and the certificates, and many other matters connected with the Volunteers, are known to the Committee from many other

sources; but I would just tell them that the number of efficient this year is 197,485, as against 194,191 last year, and the number of those who have earned certificates of proficiency is 17,411, as against 17,054 last year. Let me here say one word, although it is not a matter which immediately concerns the Estimates, with regard to a question which has been very often pressed upon me; and I choose to speak of it here rather than in connection with Vote 12—and that is, the general issue of Martini rifles to the Volunteers. Well, now, that may be a matter very desirable in itself; but neither on economical, financial nor other grounds, could it be recommended without very considerable inquiry. The known danger is so very much greater with the Martini than many of those who have studied the matter most closely have come to the conclusion that if these rifles were generally issued many Volunteer ranges throughout the country would have to be unavoidably closed; and that in itself forms a reason for very carefully examining all those ranges and all the details of rifle practice before any general issue takes place. On the other hand, we think the men who have shown that they can not only hit the butt, but a small mark, are the men in whose hands the rifle may be trusted; and, therefore, there will be no objection to allowing, under the management of the National Rifle Association, a considerable number of Martinis to be still retained by the Volunteers. That is the position of the matter at the present moment. As regards the Army Reserves, the numbers are down in the Estimates. I am never willing to admit, and I do not admit, that the Military Service, or any other Service of this country, admits of any political difference; and I am sure it will not be accepted at all as being a political comment, if I call attention just in passing to a misapprehension in connection with the Reserves into which the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Greenwich appears to have fallen. In the course of some of his speeches, he spoke of the Reserves who were called out in 1878, apparently with the inference that they were created by my noble Friend and Predecessor, Lord Cardwell. Now, I am sure Lord Cardwell would be one of the last men to claim credit himself for anything that was not en-

tirely his due. I am bound to say I think he deserves warm praise for the creation of the Army Reserve at all; but I am sure, on the other hand, he would not wish that undue credit should be attached to him for the number of men who were brought out in 1878 under his scheme. The number of Reserves who were called out in 1878 was 34,749, taking the Army and Militia together; but of those 21,730 were Militia Reserve men who were called out, not under the Army Reserve Act of Lord Cardwell, but under the previous Act of General Peel, who was one of the earliest to call attention to the subject. I think it right to call attention to what was, of course, not an intentional inaccuracy—I do not think that for a moment—but I think it right that the Committee should see how the matter really stands. Then I pass on. But before leaving the Auxiliary Forces I may just state the numbers of those officers who attended the School of Instruction during the past year. Fifty-seven Militia officers passed through, and 41 were certificated; 126 Volunteer officers passed through, and 95 were certificated; and of 42 Yeomanry officers 38 were certificated. The number of Militia officers nominated for the Line was 240, of whom there were actually appointed 198. It will be observed that there is a decrease in Vote 9 for the Commissariat and Ordnance Stores Establishments; and that arises, as stated in the explanatory Paper, from the re-organization of the Commissariat and Ordnance Store Departments, under which the routine work will be performed by officers of lower grades. Of course, however, in consequence of the re-organization, there is a certain amount of expense thrown upon the Estimates for both Departments, by the retirement of superior officers. That, I think, has been a matter which has attracted a good deal of attention and been discussed on former occasions; and I insisted very fully last year upon the necessity of placing the Commissariat in the field under the management of officers of the combatant class, or *quasi*-combatants; and from the communications which I have had, both public and private, with my noble Friend Lord Chelmsford and my gallant Friend Sir Garnet Wolseley and others, I see no reason to doubt that the course which has been recommended is the one that will prove advisable. Of course,

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those who are interested in the matter will have seen by the Warrant that the combatant officers serving under these military commissions will be supplemented by officers serving under other military commissions; they will hold their appointments for five years, and they will be seconded if upon half-pay. It will be necessary for them to have served five years in the Army, and to pass a special examination, unless they have passed through the Staff College. Of course, that is rather for the future than the present; but I am sorry to say we have been obliged to make a good many retirements in order to carry out the re-organization, and, in some cases, to retire officers whom we would have been glad on general grounds to have kept. Still, believing, as I do, that this change was for the advantage of the Service, I thought it advisable to carry it out without delay; but, at the same time, we have taken advantage, as far as we could, of the retention in the Service of the existing officers, so as not to increase unduly the charge for superannuation, or to cause an entire change in the Department.

GENERAL SIR GEORGE BALFOUR: We have not received copies of the Warrant in the Library.

COLONEL STANLEY: I beg pardon, if that is so. Directions were given by me several days ago, and I understood that copies of the Warrant had been sent down. I will inquire as to the matter; but perhaps the omission is less important from the fact that the Warrant will appear in the course of a day or two in the Army Circulars, which are published with the monthly *Army List*. As to Vote 10, there is a large decrease on provisions and forage. The chief causes of this are the reduction of the price of provisions at home, and the abolition of a special ration to the Army Hospital Corps. The Army Hospital Corps used to receive free rations; but they are now dealt with as other Departments, receiving Departmental pay, but no rations, and, therefore, it will not come under this Vote. There is also a reduction for supplying the troops in South Africa. In spite of the bad harvest last year and the rise in the price of bread, the soldier's ration this year costs less than last year, and this is mainly owing to the low price of meat. Of course, it is a question how long this low

price will continue; but I am informed in the best quarters that I am entitled to take credit for a certain amount, and effect has been given in preparing the Estimates to the information which we could obtain from the best sources. Another thing is that we are reaping, to a certain extent, the advantage of some of the capital expenditure of 1878-9 under the Vote of Credit. Curiously enough, notwithstanding all our large expenses in seaward operations, we had not in this country any establishment for receiving and shipping supplies to an Army in the field. Shipments, for the most part, were made direct by the contractors, and I am sorry to say the results were not always satisfactory. When we had to deal with surplus stores, for want of accommodation they were either sold aboard, or at the ship's side on return to this country, and frequently they were sold at a considerable sacrifice, as, of course, is always to be expected in any forced sale. In 1878-9, however, a large establishment was constructed in Woolwich Dockyard, and there supplies are received from the contractors and carefully examined and put back in cases where there is no transport; and I am thankful to say that, owing to this place, we were enabled to despatch troops to Natal fully provisioned for a month, and they were able to march to Durban immediately on their arrival. At the close of the war those supplies which were not wanted, instead of being sacrificed, were returned into store and used for service here; and we were enabled to supply from our stores things which were sent back to the field for service in Afghanistan, of course on re-payment. Apart from these advantages, the savings on supplies, I have no doubt whatever, have repaid the original outlay many times over. [General Sir GEORGE BALFOUR: Hear, hear!] I hear the hon. and gallant General opposite cheers that. I believe he long was an advocate of this system, and I congratulate him upon seeing his former views carried out, as I may congratulate myself on the manner in which we have been able to carry them into effect. I now proceed to the Vote for Clothing. It is, I think, shown that on the ordinary Services there is a very considerable decrease; but there is a net increase on two heads. One is in consequence of the recommendation of the Committee, over which my noble

Friend Lord Bury presided, that Volunteer Corps should be given facilities for acquiring clothing under exceptional advantages. The proposal was roughly this—that the clothing should be issued from the Clothing Department as it were upon interest, and repaid by taking a certain amount from the capitation grant every year, not taking the whole of the re-payment the next year; but spreading the whole of that re-payment over three years. Of course, the Committee will see that that throws an absolute charge upon the Estimates the first year—that is, we shall only recover, during the next three years, a charge which will have been incurred in this. From that point of view, it is an apparent rather than a real increase, inasmuch as the Volunteer Corps, though they may take a longer time to do it, will repay the cost to which the Department has been put. We have taken the requirements of the Volunteers at £20,000. There is no possible means of estimating this amount at the present time. In future years we shall require Corps to send in requisitions during the November previous to the preparation of the Estimates, so that we shall be enabled to ascertain the figures with some accuracy. In the present year time did not admit of our dealing with it in that way; and, therefore, although we have taken what I hope is an amply sufficient Vote, it is one which must be regarded as, to a certain extent, speculative. There is a second source of increase, of which I think the Committee will approve, and that is a rule that the Army clothing, when worn out, shall become the property of the State. We shall, therefore, no longer be exposed to what was really a public scandal, of men going about in the public streets begging, with the uniform and number and badges of a regiment upon them. Hitherto, the uniforms were the property of the men on discharge, and we had no means of preventing such abuses, which I may say almost brought a blush to one's face sometimes, to see the way in which the Queen's uniform was made use of for purposes of mendicity. Now that cannot happen any longer. Clothing, on being worn out, will become the property of the State, and, in lieu, we give a suit of plain clothes which will be supplied, free of expense, to every soldier on discharge. We further give some compensation for the loss which it

is thought the soldier will sustain by giving up his right to the old clothing, by giving a further issue of forage-caps, probably annually. Well, this brings an increased charge on this head of £15,000; but the proceeds from the sale of clothing will more than cover the expense. That, however, will come under the head of an Exchequer receipt; so that, although the increase of the Vote is more than balanced, it will, apparently, make no difference under the present system upon which our accounts are made up. I am glad to say that we were able to frame our Estimates upon a series of successful purchases during the autumn of last year, and, therefore, before the present very great rise in all woollen and other materials had taken place. And here, again, I may mention that the reserve of clothing which was established by my noble Friend and Predecessor Lord Cranbrook has, in the course of the past year, proved invaluable. We keep a reserve of clothing and of necessaries sufficient to equip a considerable number of men. I do not think it necessary to state the numbers; but this reserve enabled the Department to keep the troops in South Africa well supplied with clothing, and also to render valuable assistance to India in the recent operations in Afghanistan. Although it really does not concern the Estimates, it may be of interest to the Committee to say that the Clothing Department supplied the following articles to India, or were instrumental in doing so:—111,000 pairs of boots, over 220,000 pairs of woollen socks, 89,000 pairs of woollen mitts. These were demanded from time to time by telegraph, and in all cases they were shipped in a few days, and sometimes in a few hours. No doubt, the reserve and the facilities for shipping them properly effected a considerable saving. We have always endeavoured to make the clothing add to the comfort of the soldier, and pea-jackets and forage-caps are now supplied from the public stores, instead of the soldier having, as formerly, to find them for himself. We have been trying experiments in the waterproofing of great coats; and I think it possible, although I do not speak of it with certainty, that, in the course of the year, we shall be able to make such arrangements as will enable a light waterproof cape to be served out

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in place of the present capes. The waterproofing of great coats has been carried out with considerable success; but it is still under trial. I understand it adds little or nothing to the weight, and the coats are very much approved of by the men who have worn them. Turning to boots, we now give hobnailed boots instead of plain soles, which is stated to be very considerably to the advantage of the soldier. I am bound to say, *per contra*, it is by no means to the advantage of the barrack floors; but that, perhaps, is a minor matter. A slight change is going to be made as regards the issue of clothing to the Household Cavalry. Hitherto, they have had an arrangement by which they received an allowance and found their own, but an alteration in that system has been recommended to be made; and as soon as the accounts have been adjusted and articles in wear taken over from them at a specified rate, arrangements will be made for the future by which they will be clothed in a manner similar to that in which the rest of the Army are dealt with. I am glad to say that the temporary disquiet caused by the new arrangements in the clothing factory has now, as far as I can learn, passed away. I am indebted to my hon. Friend who usually sits opposite (the hon. Member for Oldham), and the other hon. Members of his Committee, for the efficient and assiduous manner in which they, at considerable inconvenience and sacrifice of their time, inquired into those matters. We thought it was right to have an entirely impartial Committee; and I am happy to say that their Report, which is in the possession of the House, practically exonerated the Department from all the charges that were made, and only pointed out certain other matters in which they thought there was room for improvement—most of which, my noble Friend informs me, have been attended to and carried out. It was quite clear that, comparing the wages paid at the factory with the wages paid elsewhere, we were not only justified, but positively right, in making deductions, painful as it might be, individually, to persons who had been working there a long time. On Vote 12, it will be seen there is a reduction of £145,000. This is estimated partly because, in the present state of matters, we are rather holding our hands as regards new ordnance;

and it also arises from the fact that we intend to supply practice ammunition for machine guns, which has hitherto been supplied from the private factories. Now, the machine guns take an exceedingly costly kind of ammunition, and it has been thought possible to substitute iron shot for steel for purposes of practice. Iron shot for practice gives very much the same result; and the expensive steel shot will, therefore, be kept for war purposes only. This is a matter upon which, in common with many others, I am very much in the hands of my right hon. Friend the First Lord of the Admiralty, because we have to supply what the Admiralty demands; and I must bear my testimony to his desire to help me, as far as he reasonably can do, in making some diminution in these Estimates. Of course, I speak with that gratitude which is familiar to the Committee and to most people, as a sense not only of past favours, but of favours which I hope to derive in the future. Now, as regards the first matter of large ordnance, I think all persons who are interested in this matter will see that, from various causes, we have arrived at the time when the question of large ordnance requires to be carefully examined and considered. I am not here now to discuss, *per se*, the relative merits of muzzle-loading or breech-loading. When the Estimates have been submitted in previous years many very interesting discussions have been raised upon this question, but at times that were not opportune for dealing with it. I wish to state now, before going into the matter, that it is necessary to clear our minds of much that has been said as regards our present position in connection with large ordnance, and our aversion, in former years, to copy the system of breech-loading which had been adopted in foreign parts. So little was there any objection in the minds of many officers to breech-loading in itself as a system of heavy ordnance that I believe I am correct in stating that, so long ago as 1868, the principal Director of the Artillery Stores, General Campbell, then in charge of the gun factory, had prepared a design for a gun similar to the muzzle-loading 12-ton gun of that time, and which differed from it in respect only of the substitution of a breech-loading for a muzzle-loading arrangement. But at that time the powder was of a different character from that

which is used at the present time. Shorter guns altogether were in use. And then, again, I might say, without fear of contradiction, that we were not a little influenced by the demands which were made upon us by the Navy. I say nothing as to whether the authorities of the Navy were right or wrong; but there unquestionably was a dislike on the part of the Navy to the use of breech-loading ordnance. They were anxious, as long as they could, to keep to muzzle-loading guns. I do not say that the authorities in the Navy were unanimous upon the subject; but it was the view of those to whose opinion deference had to be paid. Twenty-five-ton guns were asked for and had to be introduced into the Navy; the advantage of the 28-ton gun was next recognized. It was soon replaced by the 35-ton gun; and in the course of time the 38-ton gun almost entirely supplanted the 35-ton gun in the Navy. At the present time, the 38-ton gun is the largest in practical use in the Navy. Now, I believe that in the case of most ships, when the gun comes home to the extreme of the recoil, there is something like 18 inches or 2 feet between the gun and the funnel casing, and the other obstacles which crowd the ship's deck. If the length of the gun was to be increased it was quite clear it would not come home for loading; and, therefore, we must have regard to some other system than muzzle-loading. It, therefore, became clear that if a longer gun was a necessity, even if we could greatly increase the length of the rammer stays and the handling, we should have to increase the breadth of our ships, which, if advisable in itself, could only be a matter of years hence; or, on the other hand, we must adopt some other system of loading. In regard to the comparative merits of breech-loading and muzzle-loading facts are better than theories; and Sir William Armstrong has shown that with breech-loading and muzzle-loading guns similarly constructed, carrying the same charge, and *mutatis mutandis*, as nearly alike as possible, the results as to range and other matters are practically the same. Therefore, I venture to look upon breech-loading rather as a matter of convenience and arrangement than as one in itself involving an increase in the power of the gun. It is quite clear, on the other hand, that to have the full benefit of the charges of powder that

can now be burnt, it is necessary that the length of the gun and its calibre should be increased. And coming from the consideration of these two points, so long ago as November, 1878, the first orders were given by the noble Lord (Lord Eustace Cecil) and myself for the preparation of a design for a breech-loading gun. I had hoped that it would have been made by the present time; but after the unfortunate accident that happened on board the *Thunderer*, in January, it was felt that it would not be time lost if we endeavoured to have a scientific investigation into that unfortunate accident by a Committee, so as to be enabled to apply, as far as we could, any sound principles the inquiry might elicit to the manufacture of the gun of the future. At the present time it seems that the 42-ton breech-loading gun will soon take the place of the 38-ton breech-loading gun. It is not in a state of absolute completion at this moment, but considerable progress has been made with it; and I doubt not that before the close of the financial year we shall be in a position to be enabled, in explaining the Votes for the following year, to enter into the question in more detail, and to recommend some practical change. I have spoken of the difficulty of dealing with long guns on board ship; and the same thing, to a certain extent, applies to casemates, and, therefore, affects our land armaments. The hon. and gallant Member for Galway (Major Nolan) will recognize the importance of that point; and I have no doubt that he will agree with me that the consideration of breech-loading guns touches not the Navy only, but, in its results, affects some portion of the land armaments. At the same time, I am anxious not to let the Committee run away with the idea that, in speaking thus of breech-loading guns, it is at all necessary to condemn at once all the existing muzzle-loading guns which have been acquired at so much trouble and expense during past years. There are many places in our land armaments where, for all practical purposes, I may say, without fear of contradiction, the muzzle-loading gun will be as fully efficacious and as powerful as the breech-loading gun—which is the gun of the future. And as these guns are returned from the Navy they will be utilized, as far as possible, in the land armaments, which, in many places, are incomplete, so

as to prevent, to a certain extent, a waste of material. I may add that many of the Armstrong guns, by a slight adaptation, are able to throw shells, and can be brought in for land armaments as well as being utilized in other ways. In that respect it is right the Committee should understand, in estimating our future position, that what has already been done will not altogether be sacrificed; while, at the same time, we are able to place in the hands of the Navy the very best gun that science has yet produced for the country. I have been speaking so far of heavy guns. Although I do not wish to condemn the system on which we have been acting in past years, I cannot help feeling that the time has come when we must consider the position in which we stand with regard to the breech-loading field gun also, and exactly for the same reasons. If the Committee will allow me to trespass upon their time for a few minutes longer I will endeavour to make the conclusions we have arrived at clear to them. The 13-pounder gun is the last field gun introduced, and two batteries have been issued. No doubt, it is a very powerful gun. It is a gun of great weight, in its chambers it takes a large charge; and the hon. and gallant Member for Galway will corroborate me when I say that it is, for its size, an extremely powerful gun. Indeed, successful results have been obtained from this field gun even against the "Warrior" target, showing that it must possess considerable power. But the chambering, and the hollowing-out of the portion where the powder lies to a greater extent than was ever done before, does away with a great deal of the simplicity that formerly attached to the field gun. It is difficult to make the cartridge fully effective in the chamber, or to make it so that it can be easily carried about, and the technical difficulties of that kind in connection with the cartridge, together with other things, have done away with very much of the simplicity of the former muzzle-loading field gun. These are reasons which make us think that it is quite right that the question of breech-loading field guns should also be taken, to a certain extent, into consideration; and we have made arrangements by which, in the course of the ensuing year, the 13-pounder guns, finished as breech-loading field guns, will be thoroughly inquired into. It is intended to complete 38 guns of the 13-

pounder class, and they have already been proceeded with up to a certain stage, which will admit of their completion either as muzzle-loading or breech-loading guns. That is our position now, both in regard to the field gun and the large gun. Our stock of gunpowder is satisfactory. Of course, the supply is increasing, owing to the large charges that are used for heavy guns. The necessities of the Service oblige us to have an increasing establishment at Waltham. I am glad to say that the investment of capital there has proved, not only economical, but very satisfactory, and that we are able to obtain large quantities of powder, to a certain extent rendering ourselves more independent of the trade, and, certainly, enabling us to manufacture powder that is more suitable and effective in connection with our own requirements. In regard to small arms, I need not take up the time of the Committee by going very fully into that matter. All I can say is that in regard to machine guns we are still investigating the subject. It is well known that a trial took place in the United States last year and the year before, in which every description of gun was fully tried. We are following up the same results with a Committee of our own, and I think that repeating arms may possibly come in to supplement the use of others, although I do not for one moment think the time has arrived when they will replace them. I stated last year that a change would be made in the material of the accoutrements. That change has been introduced, and it has been approved. Pipe clay leather for the future will be laid aside, and brown leather substituted. In the Works Vote, I would point out that there are no new works of any importance to be commenced. A Committee have inquired into another subject—namely, the kit, and it has been thought better to lighten it to the extent to which the men can fairly be called upon to carry it in the field. These are the chief points in connection with the Votes to which I need refer; but I may point out that but very few new works of any importance have been commenced. As regards the Miscellaneous Services, there is a slight change in connection with the pay of the permanent staff of the Channel Islands Militia. During last year there was a careful inquiry, conducted by my hon. and gallant Friend (Colonel Deedes), the Under Secretary

at the War Office, and other gentlemen connected with the War Office, into the constitution of the Channel Island Militia. The service is nominally compulsory to all; but, practically, exemption was obtained, and, in fact, the system did not work well. Speaking generally, the Militia system of the Channel Islands has been attempted to be simplified, and we are proceeding on the principle of allowing the men to find a system of training time more suitable to themselves, by instituting an arrangement for Militia service that shall be carried out fairly and without partiality, favour, or affection, and by improving the Staff under which that Militia is to be administered. I am afraid that I have gone at too great length into the points connected with the Service which are of principal interest. There are, however, many things which I have been obliged to leave unnoticed, and I am afraid that there are many sins of omission to which I may have to plead guilty. At the same time, the Estimates, although they are by no means ambitious, have been framed with a desire to avoid all unreasonable expenditure of the public money, and, on the other hand, to save that money without any undue detriment to the Public Service. I think I may conscientiously say that probably there is no Minister of War in any country who would not like to obtain more than he ventures to ask his country for; still, I am bound to say that these Estimates have been prepared without undue detriment to the Public Service, and I hope the necessities of the ensuing year may be such as to justify our foresight, and to secure that the provision we have made will be ample for the Public Service. I beg to move the number of men required for the Service of Her Majesty during the year.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

“That a number of Land Forces not exceeding 131,859, all ranks, be maintained for the Service of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, at Home and Abroad, excluding Her Majesty's Indian Possessions, during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1881.”—
(Colonel Stanley.)

Mr. CAMPBELL - BANNERMAN said, that his right hon. and gallant Friend had begun by making an apology for the tame nature of the statement he was about to make. He felt sure that no such apology was necessary, for all present must acknowledge

that the statement just made to them was a most able one. There was no doubt, however, that the interest in the discussion had been taken away, inasmuch as the Committee which had been appointed to deal with matters which had created the greatest amount of feeling in that House had not yet sent in its Report. He hoped that when the Report was received the House would have ample opportunity of discussing it before any steps were taken upon it. The House of Commons stood in somewhat a peculiar position, and it was possible that the present Parliament might have completed its labours before the Report of that Committee was received. He trusted, however, for his part, that that Report would appear in time for the present Parliament to express its opinion upon the subject, because its Members had been accustomed during so many years to discuss the matters concerned in their details, and he thought it desirable that their voices should be heard before those questions were finally settled. The great feature in these Estimates was the reduction of the men on the establishment. He viewed that with peculiar satisfaction, not only on account of the reduction itself, but also because it indicated generally that the Estimates were those of a peace establishment. The Committee must know that although they had control over the total number of men in the Army, the Government arranged the mode in which the men were to be distributed among the different corps, and from the proposals of the Government with regard to the regimental establishments an indication could be obtained of the forecast they had made of the probable requirements of the year. Now, going back to the piping time of peace, there were only three battalions in the year 1873-4, and only two in 1874-5, maintained at home at the full war strength; that was considered enough to meet the ordinary requirements of Indian and Colonial reliefs. But when they came to 1876, the noble Lord who preceded the present Secretary of State for War proposed to raise the number to 18 battalions at the full war strength of 820. In that proposal he was supported by both sides of the House. In 1877-8, there were again 18. He thought that might be taken as an indication of the opinion of the Government as to the critical state of affairs, and the necessity of keeping that

number of battalions ready for war purposes. In 1878-9, singularly enough, the number was somewhat reduced; and last year the right hon. and gallant Gentleman (Colonel Stanley) proposed, although the intention was defeated by the fresh outbreak at the Cape, that the number to be kept at full war strength should be reduced to six. This year the proposal of the right hon. and gallant Gentleman seemed capable of being carried out, and now we were to have in this country 6 battalions at the strength of 800, 6 at 720, 6 at 640, 6 at 560, and 43 at 480. This latter was a lower strength than had ever before been proposed. He perfectly agreed with the policy of the right hon. and gallant Gentleman in this respect, because he thought that battalions on arriving home ought to be reduced to the lowest strength consistent with efficiency as drilling machines, and the numbers should be gradually increased until the time for going abroad again, when the battalions should be at full strength. He considered it eminently satisfactory that they had received in this way an assurance from the Government that, in view of the state of our foreign relations, they thought the regimental establishments which he had just quoted sufficient for the year 1880-1. The statements of the right hon. and gallant Gentleman with reference to recruiting, desertion, the Militia, Yeomanry, and Volunteers, he thought were also satisfactory. He was glad to be able to look back over the Reports of the last five or six years, and see that the three branches of the Service he had just mentioned fully maintained their position. The right hon. and gallant Gentleman the Secretary of State made a full statement, with reference to Vote 12, as to the important matter of breech-loading and muzzle-loading ordnance. That subject had been brought before the House on several occasions by the hon. and gallant Gentleman the Member for Galway (Major Nolan). For his own part, he had never been a partizan of either system. He thought the Government had exercised a wise discretion in putting off any change as long as possible, although the course of events rendered it necessary that experiments should be made to try the relative values of the two kinds of ordnance. It was quite true, as the right hon. and gallant Gentleman pointed out, that the advantages of muzzle-loading had become more

open to doubt. He fully concurred in the necessity for experiments; but a thorough change was a most serious matter. He would direct the attention of the Committee to one point, which he was sure the Government kept in view; and that was this—they had to consider, not only the expense of making these enormous guns on a new system, but also the immense amount of our reserves now stored in all parts of the world; if a change were suddenly made in the guns these stores would be useless, and there would be a very heavy expenditure in bringing them home and replacing them; and also for some time the two systems of muzzle and breech-loading would have to exist together, and it would be obvious that this would lead to a vast deal of confusion. He trusted, therefore, that the Committee and the House and the country would pause before they took any steps in that matter, while fully prepared to keep pace with the development of scientific discovery. With regard to the general result of the Estimates, the expenditure was reduced by about £100,000; but it was to be observed that it was mainly in two items—Provisions and Supply Stores—that it took place; in fact, in most of the other items there was an increase, especially in the Auxiliary Forces. The reduction in provisions was, no doubt, due to accidental circumstances. Although he was glad to see a reduction on the whole, yet it appeared to him that there was a constant tendency on the part of the Public Expenditure to increase, and that tendency called for the most careful administration. He had no doubt that his right hon. and gallant Friend did exercise that necessary care; and he only wished that a larger reduction might have been shown.

SIR WALTER B. BARTELOT had also to thank his right hon. and gallant Friend for his clear and lucid statement. At the same time, he regretted that they had not before them the Report of Lord Airey's Committee, for it was the one thing that would enable them to discuss, and the country also to discuss, that important question as to whether or no the short-service system was one that could be carried on with advantage. He should say nothing of the past at that time, because the present was not a fair moment for considering what had been done some years since. He considered that, in view of the wars that had taken place at the

Cape and elsewhere, it was essential that there should be a certain proportion of old and experienced soldiers, and it was especially necessary they should have good and experienced non-commissioned officers; but, unless there were those non-commissioned officers and men of experience in the Army, he felt sure any system that might be proposed would fail. He thought that nobody could differ from him in that opinion. The remarks of the right hon. and gallant Gentleman upon the way in which the troops were sent out last year were both honest and candid. There was no doubt that the hurry in which men were sent away, or the fact that they were taken from one regiment and placed with another, and put under other officers, and sent out to do duty in a barbarous part of the country, showed the necessity for some staid men.

Notice taken, that 40 Members were not present: Committee counted, and 40 Members being found present,

SIR WALTER B. BARTELOT said, that the count they had just had was one of those species of obstruction which was naturally most irritating to Members of that House. It was perfectly true that 40 Members were not present; but it was only on account of the dinner-hour. A few men who took an interest in the question before them were endeavouring to discuss it calmly, when an hon. Member entered, without taking the slightest interest in the proceedings, called attention to the fact that 40 Members were not present, and left the House again at once. He begged to say that that was obstruction pure and simple. He was, when interrupted, about to observe that his right hon. and gallant Friend had carefully and thoroughly considered the course to be pursued in drafting men from one regiment to another. He thought that the way in which those officers had handled the men taken over by them for the first time, amalgamated with the regiments serving at the Cape, was deserving of every commendation. It was but another portion of evidence that went to show that the British officer had always that determination to do his duty in whatever circumstances he was placed, and that the *esprit de corps* of the Service remained as it always had been, notwithstanding how much he was afraid he must say had been done to diminish it. The propor-

tion of officers killed in the late campaigns showed, also, how resolutely they led their men; and he felt sure that wherever good officers led the men were sure to follow. There was one point with reference to the campaign referred to by the right hon. and gallant Gentleman to which he should like to call attention for a moment. It was with reference to the statements made by an able Special Correspondent of certain papers. That Correspondent had written with much ability, and had given much information, not only during the Crimean War, but also during the Indian Mutiny. He would not go further into the matters which were alleged to have taken place. He felt sure that his right hon. and gallant Friend the Secretary of State would make the most careful inquiries into the matter, because, if not true, such a statement ought never to have been written; and if it was true, the matter ought certainly to be most thoroughly inquired into. He should like to know whether, if it was true, the Army Discipline and Regulation Act passed last year had anything to do with it; and he should further like to know how the Act was really working? He did not quite agree with the speech of the hon. Member for Stirling (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman). He had advocated the policy of keeping down nearly all the troops to a peace establishment, six battalions being all he thought necessary—as the Government proposed—to have on a war footing. For his own part, he thought that certain battalions ought always to be in readiness for an emergency. He was of opinion himself that 18 battalions were not too many; for those, together with three battalions of the Guards, would give a Force of 21 battalions, always ready for war purposes, and he thought that no country in such a position as England should possess less than that. He had mentioned last year, and he should again do so now, the delicate subject of the training at Aldershot. He held that that station should be used as a training place for both officers and men. There was plenty of room for Generals to show how they could handle troops there; and he felt sure that the Generals selected for that station should be those who would, in all probability, take the field in case of war. He was exceedingly glad to hear that the new Medical Warrant had been a success. They would now have, he

hoped, no difficulty in obtaining a sufficient number of medical officers for the service of the Army. He was not going to hark back upon the old regimental system; but he believed that the medical officers considered that they had not quite the status with regiments to which their position and education entitled them. He was also exceedingly glad to hear that there was to be a large veterinary establishment at Aldershot, for, in his opinion, it would be of very great service. He did not wish to go into the question of recruits, nor into that of desertion, because—through no fault of his right hon. and gallant Friend he was quite sure—the Returns had not yet been presented. At all events, he had not been able to get those Returns. There was one other point with regard to which he should like to say a few words, and that was as to the sale of old arms. If he was rightly informed, they were now sold in large numbers, and were sent to Ireland, to Zululand, and all over the world. They were sold for 3s. a-piece, or about that sum. As old iron they would be worth, if broken up, about 1s. 6d. each. He thought that instead of those arms being sold in the condition to be fit for use they ought to be broken up. He was quite sure a rich country like this had no right to sell these old stores. So clear and lucid a statement had been given to the Committee by his right hon. and gallant Friend upon the Army Estimates that there was really little to be said; but he hoped he would not prevent the House from having a full opportunity of discussing the Report of the Committee over which Lord Airey had presided, when such Report was presented. That Report would be one of the very greatest importance to the country, and upon it the future of our Army would, no doubt, very much depend. That Report would deal with the question of short service, and of the Army Reserve, and other matters of the gravest consequence to the Army; and any alterations proposed by Gentlemen of such authority as those who composed that Committee would, he was sure, receive from the House the most careful and candid consideration. He was quite sure that his right hon. and gallant Friend, without pressing too much on the Committee to hurry their Report, would take care that it should be presented as soon as possible, so that the House and the country might have an

Sir Walter B. Barttelot

opportunity of considering the subject in all its different aspects.

GENERAL SIR GEORGE BALFOUR said, that it was only just to the right hon. and gallant Gentleman the Secretary of State for War not to criticize the present items of the Army Estimates in any hostile spirit, for he thought they had been presented to the Committee in as fair a manner as possible, having regard to the important changes that ought or would be necessary when the Report of the Committee, of which Lord Airey was President, had been presented. With his usual fairness, the right hon. and gallant Gentleman had promised that when the Report of the Committee should be presented he would afford the House an opportunity of discussing the various details connected with the proposals made. He attached the utmost importance to the inquiries that were being conducted by the Committee, although he was not very sanguine as to the results that would flow from its Report. Owing to the faults in the original constitution and composition of that Committee, he believed it would not recommend the great changes in the constitution, composition, and organization of the several arms of the Force that he had long advocated as necessary for the efficiency of the Service. He hoped, however, that his anticipations of evil from the defects in the Report would not be realized. There was one point in connection with the explanatory details on the Estimates to which he wished particularly to allude. The statement of the right hon. and gallant Gentleman was a very interesting one, and reproduced numerous facts about the Army of great value; but it seemed to him that many of the spoken details, especially those containing figures, to which the right hon. and gallant Gentleman had referred, should be included in the Memorandum sent out every year with the Army Estimates. He did not mean that he wished the remarks of the Secretary of State to be abridged; but he thought that many of those numerous details which he had so clearly stated would be very well shown in the Memorandum. To his knowledge many hon. Members had long wished that much more of the *viva voce* statements made by Secretaries of State should be sent out to Members printed in the form he had stated. It would facilitate the Business of the House, and supply Members with the figured in-

formation so difficult to remember when spoken. It would assist the right hon. and gallant Gentleman the Secretary of State in bringing forward many other more important questions which he was not now able to deal with from want of time. With regard to the changes in the Clothing Store Vote, he heartily approved the change by which the Household Cavalry had been placed upon the same footing, in regard to their clothing and equipments, as the rest of the Cavalry—that was to say, instead of being supplied out of the money voted to the colonels, the articles in need would be furnished from the Government depôts. It was a change which he had long wished to see take place. He hoped the Reports of the Committees which have inquired into the subject would be laid before the House. Indeed, he would take this opportunity of stating that whatever pay and allowances might be given to the Household troops, including therein the Foot Guards, should be regularly and specifically voted as pay and allowances and equipments. He did not wish to interfere with the pecuniary or other advantages of these troops; but he thought, as regarded clothing and money allowances, as well as recruiting and hospitals, they ought certainly to be put on the same defined footing as the rest of the Army. There was another matter to which he was glad to see some attention was paid. He had never ceased to complain of the money value of stores required for the Navy being thrown upon the Army Votes. They were then about to make another change from muzzle-loading ordnance to breech-loaders for the Navy. That was a very proper measure. Formerly, the Navy was so armed; but, owing to accidents in the working of these pieces, the breech-loaders were suddenly rejected, and muzzle-loaders at once demanded to replace the others. The expense incurred was great, and was all thrown on the Army Estimates. But they would never have so hastily departed from breech-loaders for the Navy, if the Navy had had to pay for its own guns and ordnance stores. The naval authorities suddenly took the idea into their heads of defects in the naval guns, and, being without the responsibility for finding the money to replace the armaments, the Board of Admiralty, then freed accordingly from the fear of the House of Commons, decided that they would

den which belonged to, and ought to be borne by, the Civil Estimates if this Island was unable to bear the cost.

MR. MARK STEWART said, everyone who heard the statement of the right hon. and gallant Gentleman the Secretary of State for War would be of opinion that that statement was clear, conclusive, and comprehensive. There were one or two points, however, on which it occurred to several Members, as well as to himself, that it would be desirable a little more information should be given. It was well known that last year there was a certain movement to obtain Instruction Camps for Artillery Volunteers in Scotland. It did not reach him that other camps than those in existence had been arranged for. When they considered the immense distance which Volunteers had to travel to Shoeburyness, and the expenses to which commanding officers were put, he thought that it was of the highest importance that this movement ought to be encouraged. He thought that in Scotland and in the North of England they were entitled to some consideration at the hands of the Government to have Camps of Instruction established in Scotland; and he hoped the right hon. and gallant Gentleman, when he rose to reply, would give the Committee some information on this matter.

MAJOR NOLAN said, he should confine himself exclusively to one point, which he thought was of the highest importance to the country, and that was the complete change from muzzle-loading ordnance to breech-loading guns. It was a subject he had always taken the deepest interest in; and he congratulated the War Department in having pronounced, in such a decided manner as the Secretary of State for War had decided, in favour of the latter style of gun. Of course, there were certain limitations as to his statement. It was not settled that every muzzle-loader would at once be changed into a breech-loader. The right hon. and gallant Gentleman would very likely quarrel with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, if he attempted to do that; but, still, what the Secretary of State had said was extremely important, and foreshadowed enormous consequences. About the necessity of the change he had no doubt whatever. Since he last brought the subject before the House last year, he had had an opportunity of witnessing some experiments at Essen

with Krupp's guns; and he must say, while he did so, he felt quite ashamed of our guns as compared with some of Krupp's guns. Our 18-ton gun could not compare with the Krupp 18-ton gun; indeed the difference was extraordinary. Our 18-ton gun could penetrate only 14-inch armour; but the Krupp gun could penetrate an armour plate of 20 inches. This was a very superior force in favour of the foreign gun. The difference between a 14-inch piercing power and a 20-inch piercing power would make all the difference between winning and losing a naval engagement, or the taking or not taking of a naval fortress. In many other ways the Krupp guns had an enormous advantage. With respect to our 80-ton guns, he admitted they were very accurate; but they were not so accurate as the 70-ton Krupp. The accuracy was surprising. It never missed by more than one or two inches at the outside. In addition to this wonderful accuracy—an accuracy they could get only by breech-loading—this 70-ton gun was worked like a small gun. All the arrangements were excellent, and it could be worked by 15 or 16 men. We had never arrived at that stage before. Our 38-ton guns were worked by machinery, but the machinery broke down; and, in fact, it was impossible to work muzzle-loading guns except in turrets or some such places. With regard to the working of the 70-ton Krupp gun, everyone who witnessed it—and there were present Artillery officers from all countries in Europe—agreed that it was complete in all respects. He did not wish to exaggerate what he saw on the Continent. He did not wish to create the impression that the whole of the Continent, because they had got Krupp guns, were so much advanced beyond our Artillery. He believed there was a great difference between the guns possessed by the nations of Europe and the advanced guns which had been turned out last week or last month at Essen. There was a very great difference between the guns he had seen and the guns possessed on the Continent. He had, no doubt, seen the best guns made; but still the Continental guns were very much nearer the Krupp guns than our guns, and the former would be more easily assimilated to the advance type than the latter. Certainly the 5 or 6-ton guns of Sir William Armstrong were very fine weapons, and they could compete favourably with the Krupps of the same

size. The Secretary of State for War had touched upon the question of powder. Now, from the year 1866, we were well acquainted with the system adopted in Russia for the manufacture of slow-burning powder; and there was no reason why we should not have had since that time good powder, inasmuch as we perfectly well knew how to make it. Indeed, he believed that our powder was as good as any that could be found at that time on the Continent. The Secretary of State for War had said that one of the reasons for adopting breech-loading guns was that long guns were required on board ship. Now, without pretending to be very well acquainted with the question from a naval point of view, he would mention that the Naval Ordnance Department of the United States had reported that they must have breech-loading guns for the reason that it was impossible to get a vessel of moderate beam to carry a sufficiently long gun. The right hon. and gallant Gentleman was, therefore, fortified in his position by the opinion of the Ordnance Department of the only country which had been considered to be our equal in this respect. He was aware that the Secretary of State for War had delayed taking action, pending the result of the experiments in reference to the gun of the *Thunderer*, and he was not sorry that this was the case. He was glad that these experiments had been made on the *Thunderer's* gun; but it must always be remembered that the right hon. and gallant Gentleman was in this difficulty—he must always do what the naval authorities wanted, and several times during the last three years they had insisted upon having a particular class of guns, so that the Secretary of State for War had been, to a certain extent, obliged to follow them and make experiments, because the country always insisted that their guns should be of the very best description. The naval authorities were continually making mistakes in this respect, and the right hon. and gallant Gentleman was compelled to struggle with them as best he could, and make as few mistakes as possible. Although he was very much in favour of substituting breech-loading guns for muzzle-loaders, he did not want to press the Secretary of State for War to make this substitution under all circumstances. The expense would not allow him to do this. In a land fortress, for instance, one or two breech-loading

guns would be useful among a larger number of muzzle-loading weapons; and their usefulness would consist, to a great extent, in the terror with which they would inspire the officers of an invading Fleet, who would not know whether their vessels were about to be pierced by a breech-loading or muzzle-loading gun. But he would advise the right hon. and gallant Gentleman not to make one more muzzle-loader, because it was quite clear that there would be a large number of these guns to be taken over from the Navy; besides which we had already a great many more than was wanted, the present stock being valued at between £7,000,000 and £8,000,000. With regard to Continental nations, he pointed out that although they were possessed of breech-loaders their weapons were much inferior to the Armstrong guns. He believed that had we made a change at an earlier period in the character of the guns used in the Service we should have saved ourselves a great deal of trouble as well as expense, the change from any system of muzzle-loading to any system of breech-loading being extremely easy. Artillery officers did not like two systems, which were in themselves irreconcilable; and he thought that if the two systems were put into competition one would have a tendency to kill the other. The Secretary of State for War seemed—and rightly, in his opinion—to attack the present system of muzzle-loading at both ends. It was necessary that a change in the system should take place for many reasons, particularly as the cost of altering small guns was very inexpensive, and because the possession of the best kind of guns was a great advantage in battle. He considered the question to have been thoroughly solved and settled in favour of breech-loaders, and believed, for this reason, that experiments were no longer necessary. He had conversed with artillerymen from every country, all of whom were in favour of breech-loading ordnance; and he hoped that steps would be taken to establish a uniform system in this country, the Military Department refraining in future from making muzzle-loading guns, except in cases of emergency.

MR. CHARLEY said, that as a result of the deliberations of the Committee many views had been expressed in favour of the long service system. However much a system of short service might be

sued to countries where there was compulsory service, it was certainly not, in his opinion, suitable to this country, where there existed a voluntary system of enlistment.

SIR ARTHUR HAYTER said, that he desired to express his thanks to the right hon. and gallant Gentleman the Secretary of State for War for the able and lucid way in which he had set forth the Army Estimates, and more especially for the promise which he had given that the Committee should, at a later time, have a further opportunity of discussion. He thought the interest attached to the Army Estimates had been diminished by the fact of their being introduced before the Report of Lord Airey's Committee had been presented to Parliament. There were four cardinal points which could not be discussed until that Report had been presented—namely, length of service, the *dépôt* system, the linking of regiments, and the question of calling out the Reserves. Each of these points was so essential in itself to our military system that any discussion at that moment which related thereto must be of a desultory character. He would like to ask the Secretary of State for War how it was that the first-class Army Reserve had only increased by 1,000 men, their numbers being only 23,000 as against 22,000 in last year? The right hon. and gallant Gentleman had, in his opinion, exercised a wise discretion in calling out the Militia and Yeomanry for their full period of training, because it was obvious that these Forces should receive the benefit of instruction during the whole time sanctioned by Parliament. He regretted, however, to see that the number of Militia present at the annual training was 24,000 below their authorized establishment; and he trusted that some steps would be taken to reduce that difference both in the case of the Militia and Yeomanry, which latter, also, appeared to be 4,000 below their proper complement. With regard to the Volunteers, nothing could be more satisfactory than the increase of their camp allowances from £10,000 to £20,000, because their attendance at camp conduced greatly to their efficiency. But the principal point of interest in connection with this corps was that the old Easter Monday Review was to be resumed this year; and, in reference to this subject, he begged to ask the right hon. and gallant Gentleman if he

proposed to send down an efficient staff of officers to conduct the manoeuvres on this occasion; because, if a very large contingent came from the Metropolis, as would no doubt be the case, he thought that it should have afforded to it the best opportunity for drilling. He entirely approved of the suggestion thrown out by the right hon. and gallant Gentleman, that the control of the recruiting for both the Regular Army and the Militia should be given to the same general officer, for, undoubtedly, under a different system, there would be a probability of the two branches clashing upon this point. He thought that an explanation was due to the House with regard to another question; and he desired further to know what were the duties of officers serving on the Staff when their regiments were called out for service in the field? In one of the late engagements in Afghanistan the 9th Lancers had suffered very greatly; and there were, besides one officer who was killed and two who were severely wounded, three officers absent from the regiment. He thought that some regulations should be made with regard to officers holding a position on the Staff.

COLONEL TREMAYNE said, he wished to ask the right hon. and gallant Gentleman the Secretary of State for War, whether it was intended to make any regulations with regard to officers serving on special duty at a considerable distance from their regiments? He could not help thinking that the present system was not a good one.

MR. OTWAY said, there were two lines in the Estimates which appeared to him to be of a very striking character. He found that a sum of money was voted for the Army which amounted to nearly £15,000,000 sterling, and the number of men whose services were obtained for this sum was 123,791. Looking at these figures, the comparison drawn from them was of a very startling character. The contrast was so extraordinary that it might well be asked how it was that he obtained the services of only about 120,000 men for the expenditure of £15,000,000 sterling, while Germany, for the sum of £17,000,000 sterling, maintained an Army of 500,000 constantly on foot, and was able to place an Army of 1,000,000 men in the field at three weeks' notice? If hon. Members objected to this comparison with

Mr. Charley

the German Army, let them take the Armies of other countries, and they would meet with figures that were much more startling; they would find a number of men obtained for a similar sum of money greatly exceeding the number set down in the present Estimates. He made no accusation against the right hon. and gallant Gentleman, who, he considered, had added nothing to the Army Expenditure. But he complained of the system which, for £15,000,000 sterling, only produced 120,000 men. There could be no doubt that there was something wrong either in the expenditure, or in the military system, which required so large a sum of money for the production of so small a number of soldiers. He desired to ask the right hon. and gallant Gentleman whether the Government contemplated or had formed any plan for securing the continuance in the Service of the non-commissioned officers of the Army? When his hon. and learned Friend opposite (Mr. Charley) had said that short service had been tried and had been found to be unsuitable to this country he somewhat doubted that view, because the present Government had altogether accepted, so far as related to short service, the position taken by Lord Cardwell; besides which, short service seemed to have been generally accepted throughout the country. Lord Cardwell's plan, however, had never been completed. But his intention was to demand an additional sum of money, in order to secure the retention of non-commissioned officers in the Army. There were so many inducements offered to these men in civil life that their retention in the Army would be almost an impossibility unless some greater advantages were held out to them. Any one who took an interest in this subject would see that it was one which required great consideration. With regard to the system of linking regiments, he very much questioned whether, in the British Army, it was productive of good, inasmuch as it would certainly affect, if it did not destroy, that which the soldier considered of great value—namely, the prestige of corps, which the system of linked battalions would certainly weaken. They had lately seen a regiment entirely destroyed by the application of this principle. He had himself known of a regiment which was utterly annihilated by having all its efficient men taken

from it, and made to join regiments with which they had no affinity whatever. In the case to which he referred, the commanding officer found himself denuded of all his good men, and reduced to the command of a regiment utterly inefficient. He asked what would be the feelings of that officer, who found himself obliged to be continually training up boys, in order to make another regiment efficient? The existing system, under which all the efficient men were drafted out of one regiment into another, and the regiments linked together, was most injurious to the Service. One could understand two Highland regiments, or two regiments from Yorkshire, being linked together; indeed, they were aware that, in the case of Scotch regiments, this was a very valuable arrangement; but, under the present system, they were linking together regiments which had no kind of connection. This would probably lead to inconvenience, for just the same reason that the man who lived in a semi-detached house—in his opinion, the most disagreeable kind of residence—was obliged either to love or to hate his neighbour. That seemed to have been the principle on which some of the English regiments had been brought together, and he thought it would be well that this point should receive consideration, and be dealt with by the Government; for he had it on the authority of commanding officers that if they did not retain the services of tried and experienced non-commissioned officers the efficiency of their regiments would be destroyed.

SIR ALEXANDER GORDON wished to ask the same question that he had before put to the right hon. and gallant Gentleman, and to know why he had kept from the Estimates the detailed statement of the regimental establishments? In commencing his statement, the right hon. and gallant Gentleman had said that he was anxious to give every information in his power; and, therefore, it was difficult to understand why he withheld information which would be so useful to every Member who wished thoroughly to examine the Estimates. This was the only document by which they could test the working of the *dépôt* battalion system, and that was a very strong reason why it should be given to them. The right hon. and gallant Gentleman told him last year that if any Member wanted the

statement he could go into a shop and buy one of the Warrants where he could get it; but, for his own part, he thought that information should be published with the Estimates, and that hon. Members should not be put to the trouble to buy it, and the labour of comparing it with the figures supplied to them, when it might appear on a couple of pages with the Vote. He should be glad to know why the right hon. and gallant Gentleman had taken so much trouble to eliminate from this Vote what had always previously been given by his Predecessors?

COLONEL STANLEY: I think, Sir, we have now discussed the Estimates fully, though I feel I have no right to complain either of the length of time which has been occupied or of the character of the discussion; in fact, I may say with truth that I have never seen the Committee more ready to approach these Estimates in what I may call a fair and satisfactory spirit. I will endeavour to reply to the multiplicity of questions asked me; and if any should escape my observation I will request hon. Gentlemen to correct me in regard to the various points. As respecting the last question, my answer must substantially be the same as it was last year, that we do not now think it desirable to attach what is necessarily an imperfect Paper to the Estimates, showing what the establishments may be. We prefer to give that fuller information later on, when it is complete, and when the establishments can really be satisfactorily good. We do not, as the hon. and gallant Baronet is no doubt aware, now print them for general use; and, indeed, they used to be considered, for what reason I do not know, a confidential Paper. The Adjutant General's Return, now placed in the Library, gives up to each month, not only the establishments, but what effectives there are. As to the question of printing the establishments with the Estimates, I do not know if I had done so whether I should not have been open to censure, because it will be remembered that the House is now asked on this occasion to vote the establishments, and it might be said that it was wrong in giving them before the appropriation was voted. With reference to what the hon. Gentleman the Member for Chatham (Mr. Otway) has just said, I regret that that hon. Gentleman did not hear the whole of my open-

ing remarks, because if he had he would have known that in my opening statement I deprecated any discussion about short service, and definitely declined to be drawn into a conversation on the subject. I do not like expressing an opinion where that opinion might prejudice matters which are still *sub judice*; and I, therefore, deprecate any discussion, and must give that answer also to my hon. and learned Friend the Member for Salford (Mr. Charley). Here I must also join issue with the hon. Member. He used an argument which seems to me to divide itself into two parts, one of which contradicts the other. He first of all criticized, not unnaturally for a person outside this House, perhaps, though not so naturally for a Member inside, the expenditure of money on the Army in this country in comparison with the results attained in the way of recruits, and the number of men obtained by foreign service. But, surely, if a comparison is to be instituted with foreign Armies, you ought to count not only the Forces to whose services you can lay claim—you do not merely consider the Regular Army—but compare also the number of men whom you can put in arms. Besides the troops that we have in India at the present time we can now raise in this country some 423,000 men of all arms. Further than that, the hon. Gentleman does not require to be reminded that in a voluntary service you pay what is the market price for the article you wish to acquire; in other words, you do not get the men on your terms, but you get them on the terms at which they are willing to come. That is inherent to a voluntary system, and is what makes it more uncertain and more expensive. It is one of the points which the country, in weighing the advantages and disadvantages of voluntary service against compulsory service, must consider and determine for itself. Then, again, it is hardly fair, in making a comparison of that kind, to leave out of sight the fact that we have no conscription, and that we have foreign service. You can get men easily to serve at home; but when you have to take into account the exigencies of foreign service, then, undoubtedly, that raises the market price of the soldier, as you see by comparing the price of the Regular Service with the Militia or the other Services.

MR. OTWAY: I admitted all these differences, and said that they ought to

be taken into consideration in making the comparison.

COLONEL STANLEY: I am glad that the hon. Member went so far as to admit the difference, because if they are admitted they tend, I think, very much to weaken his argument, in making a comparison between our Army and those of foreign countries. Then it seemed to me that the hon. Gentleman used two arguments which were inconsistent. He spoke, in the first place, of the importance of getting good non-commissioned officers. There I am happy entirely to agree with him. As I said before, I cannot forecast what the recommendations of Lord Airey's Committee may be, for I cannot tell to what conclusions they may have come. But I have reason to believe that they have had very fully in their minds the advantage of securing, even though it may be at an increased cost, the services of good and efficient non-commissioned officers. I have spoken earlier this evening of the regimental officers as the soul and spirit of the Army. If they be so, the non-commissioned officers are in no less a degree the bone and framework of the regiment. Especially in these days of short service, you must regard the non-commissioned officer as being of far greater importance to the regiment even than he was in former times. [*Cheers.*] I hope I am not drawing a wrong inference from the cheers that I hear in concluding that if I should make a recommendation in that direction when I receive the Report of the Committee, and if I should find, on full consideration, that I am not able to deal with such Report within the Vote, that the House will give a candid consideration to any proposal I may have to make. I cannot say more, and I should not like to say less. With regard to the recommendations of the Committee itself, I think, perhaps, that I cannot say more than that I repeat what I said in the earlier part of this evening. I endeavoured, as far as I was able, to get that Committee to report before the Estimates were considered; but, for very valid reasons, they were unable to do so. I do not want to keep any matter back from the House. If legislative sanction should be required for any propositions in this Report, it will, undoubtedly, be my duty to bring the matter at once before the House; while, on the other hand, if the matter is not such as to

render it necessary for me to call the attention of hon. Members to it, then I will do the best in my power to facilitate any discussion on the subject. That is all I can say at present on the matter, and I hope that that will be so far clear. My hon. and gallant Friend the Member for West Sussex (Sir Walter B. Barttelot) called my attention to a matter as to which I would rather not say anything at the present moment. At all events, I believe we may find more fitting opportunities, and when, I may frankly confess for myself, I shall have better means of studying the whole question. I am referring to the question raised by the Correspondent of *The Daily Telegraph* in connection with the affairs of South Africa. Everyone, I am sure, who is acquainted with Dr. Russell, will give him credit for wishing to write what he believes to be, on the whole, for the advantage of the Service. On the other hand, I cannot but feel deeply that many of my brother officers, as I hope I may still continue to call them, do represent these questions being brought up and published without due evidence, as they think, being produced. As I have already previously said, the matter is still *sub judice*; and I would, therefore, rather prefer not to express an opinion. I was asked by my hon. and gallant Friend, very germanely to the subject, whether any of these complaints were to be attributed to any defect in the Army Discipline and Regulation Act; and the hon. and gallant Gentleman opposite, in the course of his remarks, also pointed out that there might have been some defects discovered in the working of the measure. All I can say is that, so far as I have been able to learn, that is not the case. On the contrary, I believe it is working very fairly—I do not say it is a perfectly correct Act in every point, and I do not say any large measure that has ever been passed ever is—but, on the whole, it is working very well. As to the troops in South Africa, I may remind hon. Members that the Act has only come into force in those parts of the world on this very day, so that whatever has happened there we cannot lay any blame upon the Act. Then the hon. and gallant Gentleman (General Sir George Balfour) went on to make many remarks in which in theory I agree. He pointed out very justly the difficulty which arises from the fact that the Naval Service orders guns, for in-

stance, and that we have to supply them. He observed that much greater simplicity would result if the Navy paid for its own guns, and each Department bore the expense of its transport services. This is all part of a very much larger question of account and repayment, and I can only say that I was very much impressed with his view of the matter, and with the importance of the question; so much so that when I was at the Treasury I was instrumental in procuring a Commission to inquire into this question of extra receipts. I believe that Committee is still progressing in its labour; and although I am very much prepared to agree in theory with what he has said, still it will be found in a matter of account and detail of this kind that the matter is not by any means so simple or one-sided as it looks. I hope further inquiries will be made into the matter, and I know that my hon. Friend the Secretary to the Treasury, and my right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer, will give any recommendations which may be addressed to them very careful and prompt consideration. The hon. and gallant Gentleman the Member for Galway (Major Nolan) has commented in a manner which I was very glad to hear on the statement which it was my duty to make in connection with the subject of breech-loading guns as compared with muzzle-loaders. That question we know has long interested him. He has brought it on several former occasions very ably before the House, and he must be glad to see that others are now coming round to the views he has advocated for some considerable time. He has so many arguments on his side that I am sure he will not wish to make use of any bad ones; and, therefore, I feel it desirable to remind him that the question of breech-loading guns has very much changed in its aspect within the last few years, and that the arguments which might have been used with a great deal of force a few years ago cannot be so used now, because circumstances have altered. It is not merely the question of the breech-loader, but of the long gun, which has brought up fresh difficulties, and has done away with many of the difficulties which formerly determined the balance in favour of the muzzle-loaders. It is now, therefore, a question of the long gun and of the compressed powder which is forced upon

us, rather than the reversal of any wrong decision to which we came a few years ago. Indeed, if we had spent all the money which we spent on muzzle-loaders on breech-loaders, we should equally have had to come to a change of mind at the present time, owing to the greater propulsive power of the powder now used. My hon. and gallant Friend the Member for Bath (Sir Arthur Hayter) has asked a question with regard to the Staff at the Brighton Review. I believe that it is not yet quite arranged, but that it is intended that all the divisional officers at least shall be provided from the Regular Service; but I am not quite certain whether Regular officers are also to be found for the brigades. Some, I believe, will be officered by Regular officers, while some brigades will be provided for by officers of the Volunteer Service. I cannot speak with certainty on this point, for, as my hon. and gallant Friend is aware, the list was not closed till Saturday last, and I believe a very large number of applications came in at the very last moment, which will probably necessitate some slight change. Everything, however, will be done to make that Review as efficient as possible, and I may fairly hope that Volunteer officers—now that they have had longer experience—may overcome many of the difficulties experienced at former Reviews. I was also asked a question as to the number of officers drawn from their regiments for Staff employment, and reference was notably made to the 9th Lancers. That was, of course, a most unfortunate case to begin with; one must always expect in a Cavalry regiment, *ex necessitate rei*, to use an abnormal number of officers withdrawn for Staff employment; and undoubtedly the case of the 9th Lancers is one which, I am sure, the whole Service would deplore. It is, on the other hand, very difficult to lay down any hard-and-fast line as to where an officer is best employed. An officer is employed doing excellent service in South Africa, which service, at the moment that he was appointed, certainly seemed as if it was to be the only active service which any officer of his regiment would like to see. His regiment at that time was posted on the North West Frontier, and at the time when Major Bushman went to South Africa it did not appear likely to be called upon in active service. But I also do not think it is possible to lay

down a hard-and-fast line, because if we do it will inevitably lead us to the principle which we have never adopted, and which, I hope, we shall always be loth to adopt—that principle which the French and German Armies have adopted of a separate Staff Corps. I think we all agree that a Staff officer is all the better for being acquainted with military duties generally, and for the experience he gains in his own regiment, and therefore I should be very sorry to lay down any hard-and-fast-line—we must be guided by what is thought best for the Service. Still, on the other hand, I do join in deprecating the withdrawal of regimental officers from their regiments; and I must remind the hon. and gallant Gentleman that a good deal of this will be avoided in the future, especially where many officers are wanted for lines of communication, by the Reserve of officers of which I spoke this evening. They will be volunteered for duties for which regimental officers have now to be withdrawn from their regiments. I was also asked a question in regard to a Camp of Instruction in the North for the Artillery. All I can say is, that the question has not been lost sight of. It was first of all examined with the view of ascertaining whether it was practical to establish a second Shoeburyness, where officers could receive instruction without having the trouble of going so long a distance to the South. That was not found practicable, and the point now under consideration is, whether or not an annual Camp of Instruction can be formed. Inquiries are still going on, and when that is done, and if the hon. and gallant Gentleman will repeat the question to me in the course of a few days, I shall be glad to give him some information on the subject, although I cannot speak more clearly now. Then, with regard to the sale of old arms, the hon. and gallant Gentleman opposite deprecated our selling them, observing that they were used for purposes which are not the best, and that they really brought in very little money to the Government. I quite concur in that remark, and, so far as my noble Friend (Lord Eustace Cecil) and myself are concerned, we stopped the sale of old arms last year, and what are now being offered are the accumulated stores which dealers bought from us some time ago, and are now retailing from time to time. Over these sales we have, of course, no

control, although I myself personally very much regret the practice in which these dealers indulge. At the same time, it must be borne in mind that there never was a time when there were so many old disused arms offering in Europe, and our small contribution in that direction will not tell very much one way or the other. The matter, however, was wrong in principle, and it seemed to me and my hon. Friend that it would be better to put up with the small loss and to stop the sale; and that, as I have said, was done last year. Again, I was asked as to the old clothes of the Volunteers. We no longer give soldiers on their discharge their old military clothes, but we give them a suit of private clothes instead. I do not know whether my hon. Friend the Member for Wigton (Mr. Mark Stewart) intended to suggest that we should do the same thing with the Volunteers, because, if he did, the case is not the same, as they have their private clothes in wear every day, and there is no reason why we should give them clothes in place of a uniform which very likely, from the very beginning, has been entirely their own. If he, however, merely means to suggest that we should give them facilities for disposing of their old uniforms, I think that is a fair question. It is quite possible to be able to get a better price for the old uniforms of the Volunteers than they are able to obtain for themselves. That is, however, a matter for examination hereafter. I have now gone over all the points as to each question which were put to me, and I hope it is not too much to ask the Committee to allow me to take the Vote asked for.

Vote agreed to.

(2.) £4,579,000, Pay and Allowances (Land Forces at Home and Abroad).

GENERAL SIR GEORGE BALFOUR asked the Secretary of State, why they should not take the Vote for the number of men in each branch of the Service separately? That was the course followed in France. The French Court of Accounts invariably verified the numbers of the General Army, and by taking the different arms all chances of swelling the numbers of one arm, and reducing the numbers of the other arms, were thereby prevented, and he hoped that next year the Secretary of State for War would follow the same course. At all events, he did not see, when the verifi-

cation took place, why the number of men in each branch of the Service should not be examined. He had the same objection to offer with regard to the pay of all the Army. Nearly one-third of the whole Military Expenditure was voted in one Vote. It ought to be divided into the several Votes corresponding with the separate arms of the Service. The pay of the General Staff should also be shown under a distinct Vote. At present, the Auditor General merely verified the total pay of the whole Army and General Staff, instead of verifying the expenditure on account of each branch. This course was open to great objection, and he had felt for a considerable time that it was an objectionable course to take. He admitted that no abuse resulting from the practice had ever been made public; but hon. Members would see that it did offer great opportunities for abuse, because under this sweeping mode, for instance, a considerable increased number of Household Cavalry might be kept up, while the number of the Infantry would be diminished, and there would be nothing to show the change which had been made, because the verification of the Auditor General only extended to totals. They were now voting in one lump sum nearly £4,600,000, and it was a serious thing to think that that large amount should appear in their accounts in lump sums for all branches. If the Secretary of State should be in Office next year, as he hoped he might be [*Loud cheers from Ministerial Benches*—yes, he said so advisedly—he knew the people always got more from the Conservatives than the Liberals, because, being generally weak in numbers, they were bound to comply with Liberal pressure; and after the Election, when the Ministerial majority had been reduced by at least 20 or 30, the Liberals in Opposition would be able to make the Conservative Government do whatever they pleased. He would, therefore, advise his right hon. and gallant Friend the Secretary of State for War to make as many reforms as possible, in order that the Liberal Opposition might have as little to do as possible when the Secretary of State found himself with a very weak majority in the next Parliament.

COLONEL STANLEY said, that he could hardly give an opinion on the change suggested, as there were many considerations involved. He might say that at first sight he preferred the system

which long experience had justified as being the most convenient modes in which to prepare the Estimates. Practically, the House assented in the total number of men to be raised, and then, without limit, the distribution of men devolved upon the Secretary of State. Of course, there was an honourable understanding that, on the whole, the authorized establishment was not to be exceeded. With regard to the Comptroller and Auditor General, he might say that the authorities at the War Office and that gentleman were on the most frank and friendly footing. There was no wish on one side to withhold information, or on the other to unduly interfere with the conduct of business.

MR. OTWAY said, that he wished to ask a question with respect to the Royal Malta Fencible Artillery. He had wished to raise the question at an earlier period, but was not aware that the Estimates would have been taken so soon. The best apology which he could make was by not continuing the discussion. He should like to know whether the same rules as to the retirement of officers prevailed in the Royal Malta Fencible Artillery as existed in Her Majesty's Army? He asked the question, because some time ago it came to his knowledge that there were in the Malta Fencibles some officers of extreme age.

COLONEL STANLEY said, that at that moment he was unable to give an answer to the hon. Member. He was, however, under the impression that those officers were dealt with under a separate War-rant. If the hon. Member would put a Question to him on another occasion he should be happy to give him an answer.

Vote agreed to.

(3.) £50,700, Army (Divine Service).

(4.) £29,800, Administration of Military Law.

(5.) £308,400, Medical Establishments and Services.

(6.) £552,900, Militia and Militia Reserve.

(7.) £74,400, Yeomanry Cavalry.

(8.) £539,600, Volunteer Corps.

SIR ARTHUR HAYTER said, he should like to ask the right hon. and gallant Gentleman the Secretary of State for War whether it was intended to place Volunteer Corps upon a regimental roster with respect to attendance at Camps of

Instruction? He asked the question, because the right hon. and gallant Gentleman had stated that it was his intention to limit the number of regiments attending camp. The regiment he had the honour to command went into camp every year; and if a roster were adopted it would probably be excluded from camp.

COLONEL STANLEY said, that the recommendations for the attendance of Volunteer Corps at Camps of Instruction were made by the general officers of the district in which they were situated. The authorities anticipated a largely-increased attendance at the Camps of Instruction; but they would require more knowledge and experience before making any scheme as to the mode in which regiments should be allowed to attend. He wished to express his gratification that there was such eagerness on the part of Volunteers to avail themselves of Camps of Instruction. Last year they decided to increase the grant for Camps of Instruction; but there was, of course, the difficulty that the grant would be exceeded if every regiment came forward at the same time. He, therefore, gave early warning that the War Office might make regiments take turn and turn again in some cases, if necessity should arise.

MR. WHITWELL said, that he should like to know whether the Government intended to place any limit upon the numbers of the Volunteer Force? At one time it was suggested that 200,000 men should be the limit. In his opinion, it would be very undesirable to restrict the number of Volunteers, so long as the people were willing to enrol themselves in the Force. He, therefore, hoped that no hard-and-fast line would be laid down with regard to the maximum numbers. He might congratulate the right hon. and gallant Gentleman upon the process of consolidating administrative battalions which had been going on. He understood that 21 battalions had been already consolidated. With respect to the repayment of advances for clothing, he doubted whether two years was not the proper period to be allowed for repayment. Three years seemed too long. The clothing would be worn out before it was paid for. Regimental clothing would not last more than three years, and it should be provided for before the last year had begun. He certainly thought that it would be better to limit the period for repayment to two years.

SIR WALTER B. BARTELOT said, that there was one point with regard to Volunteer Corps which seemed to him to be of great importance. Sergeant Instructors of Volunteers required occasional instruction, and it had been found necessary to send them once a-year to the dépôt centres. Under the present system, the Volunteers had to pay for sending them there. He wished to know whether any arrangement had yet been made by which the expense of sending those men to the dépôt centres would in future fall not on the Volunteers, but on the country?

COLONEL STANLEY said, that with regard to the question of the hon. Member for Kendal (Mr. Whitwell), it would be observed that the establishment of Volunteers was shown by the Estimates. Formerly it was not the custom to show the number of men, but it had now been inserted in the Estimates. When it was desired to increase the number of a corps, it was formerly usual to consider the application on its merits at any time of the year. Sometimes it happened that an increase of establishment was given to corps which were not, from their character, likely to be permanent. At the present time, his hon. and gallant Friend the Under Secretary and the other authorities considered all applications for increase of establishment for the ensuing year at one particular time in the year. While, on the one hand, they were not prepared to say that the establishment of Volunteers should be entirely unlimited, yet the authorities held themselves free to deal with the Volunteer establishment for the forthcoming year at the period mentioned. Of course, it would be borne in mind that in some years the increase of the Volunteer Force had been in the ratio of the cost of a battalion of Infantry. When the increase was of that character, limitation of some sort had to be kept in view. With regard to the question of his hon. and gallant Friend (Sir Walter B. Bartelot) as to Sergeant Instructors, he could not at that moment give any definite answer. The question would be noted by the Under Secretary of State, who would give it all due consideration. At the present moment he did not wish to express any opinion concerning it.

Vote agreed to.

(9.) £208,800, Army Reserve.

SIR ARTHUR HAYTER said, he should like to know the position of the Army Reserve. It did not seem to him that it had increased as much as could be wished. In Class I, it had increased from 22,000 to 23,000; but Class II. was stationary at 24,000.

SIR ALEXANDER GORDON said, that with regard to the Reserve of officers, he should like to know whether they were included in this Vote or the Non-Effective Vote? Officers who had left the Army and had retired into private life might make good officers of a Reserve Force, but ought not to be eligible for Staff situations on the breaking out of a war in preference to officers who had been continuously doing regimental duty, and who would, therefore, be more efficient. He should like to know whether they were to be borne as Effectives or Non-Effectives?

COLONEL STANLEY said, that with respect to the last question, it would be a very important consideration as to where the charge for Reserve officers should be shown. Practically, up to the present time there were 190 officers who were under a liability to serve from having retired on a pension. The question of efficiency of officers could not be passed over so lightly. The Reserve of officers was necessitated principally by reason of the number of officers required for subsidiary duties—such as keeping open lines of communication, and other matters, in war time. As regarded officers who had already had experience in the Army, their technical knowledge in the latest drill would be of less importance than their general knowledge as men of the world, and their experience as officers who had seen service in various parts of the world. They hoped by that means to get into the Service a number of officers who had served in India and other places, but who, unfortunately, had been compulsorily lost to the Service. It was a sad necessity that the country should have to part with them; but by these means their services would be utilized, if occasion should unhappily arise. As to the number of the Army Reserve, he was not able then to give detailed information. All he could say was, that it must be borne in mind that last year there was a great pressure, and the Reserve men were allowed to volunteer back.

920 men so volunteered back into the Army, and were transferred for service at the Cape. 4,453 were passed last year, but the net increase was only 1,566, there being lost by death or discharge as many as 1,203. There certainly was a great deal of reason for disappointment as to the way in which the Reserves had fallen short of the numbers originally estimated. The chances of civil life and diseases contracted in civil employment, and other causes, had caused a large number of men discharged from the Army to be lost to the Reserve. He might say that it was a matter on which the Government might make proposals to the House.

Vote agreed to.

(10.) £386,700, Commissariat, Transport, and Ordnance Store Establishments, Wages, &c.

GENERAL SIR GEORGE BALFOUR said, that on a former occasion he had asked the right hon. and gallant Gentleman the Secretary of State for War if he would kindly insert in the Army Estimates the number of police employed. The sum of £23,368 was charged for Police Establishments, but the number of police should be stated. There was another point to which he wished to call attention. He was very sorry to see that the sum for the Commissary General was divided between Vote 15 and Vote 9. That division was, in his opinion, very much to be regretted. He thought, also, that the establishments at Cyprus were much too great.

COLONEL STANLEY said, that there was a slight clerical error in the Estimates. With regard to what the hon. and gallant Gentleman had said, he might state that he was most anxious to give every possible information in the Estimates. On a future occasion, therefore, he would endeavour to give the number of police employed. It must be borne in mind that the establishment of the Store Department at Cyprus was not necessarily in the same ratio with the number of men employed, and, in his opinion, was not excessive.

GENERAL SIR GEORGE BALFOUR said, that there were two Paymasters at Cyprus and one *aide-de-camp*. There was also a charge for a surveyor and a servant, and he certainly looked upon that item with suspicion. Last year

the Government showed very great disinclination to any increased expense at Cyprus. He was quite sure that the right hon. and gallant Gentleman would not allow any establishments to be maintained in Cyprus for purposes which the House of Commons had not sanctioned. Considering the number of stores in Cyprus, he certainly thought that two Storekeepers would have been sufficient.

COLONEL STANLEY said, that there was a good deal of misconception existing concerning the establishments at Cyprus. With regard to the general question raised by the hon. and gallant Gentleman as to the transfer of items from one Vote to another, if he remembered rightly the item on account of the Commissary General was transferred to Vote 15 from Vote 9, in consequence of a recommendation of Lord Northbrook's Committee. Subsequently it was said that the amount ought to be charged in Vote 9, and it was accordingly re-transferred.

Vote agreed to.

(11.) £2,790,000, Provisions, Forage, &c.

MR. OTWAY said, he failed to see what economy was to be gained under this Vote, inasmuch as it comprised a large sum for the billeting and lodging of soldiers which was not charged to the same extent in previous Estimates.

COLONEL STANLEY said, the complaint of the hon. Gentleman was easily capable of explanation, inasmuch as the Vote represented a decrease of £217,000, as compared with last year's Votes. This arose from a decrease in the price of provisions, and also from a decrease in the number of the Forces. As far as the lodging and furniture and allowances were concerned, the decrease arose mainly from the shortening of the period of training from 27 to 20 days. As far as billeting was concerned, the Government were making inquiries in order to ascertain the extent to which brigade depôts could be utilized for this purpose. As far as the cost of transport was concerned, there had, undoubtedly, been an increased cost; but this was due in part to the fact that under the short-service system men had to frequently be moved in order to fill up the numbers at the depôts. It had been found necessary this year to move large bodies of troops

in order to keep up the reliefs, and so the cost had been increased. There had also been an increase in the cost of the Auxiliary Force amounting to about £6,000, including allowances to the Colonial Forces. Additional allowances were made where it was found that the ordinary grant was not sufficient.

MR. H. SAMUELSON said, that a short time back the attention of the Government was called to the bad condition of the camping ground at Horfield, which was not fit for the use of the Militia, and that if they were compelled to continue to use it, it would be difficult to maintain discipline in the ranks. At the time these representations were made, a promise was given that the camping ground should be inspected; and he should like to know what, if anything, had been done in this respect?

COLONEL STANLEY said, inquiry was made at the time, and his impression was that, owing to unforeseen circumstances, a large sum of money was spent upon the field in question. The whole matter, with reference alike to the training ground and the brigade depôts, was postponed until after the Report of General Airey's Committee was received, in the belief that some reference would be made to it in the Report. As far as he was personally concerned, he found it impossible to go down and inspect the camping ground at Horfield; but he might possibly be able to give further information if the question was repeated.

MR. H. SAMUELSON said, he would repeat his question on the Report of Supply.

GENERAL SIR GEORGE BALFOUR asked for further information as to the Colonial allowances.

COLONEL STANLEY said, he would consider very carefully the question which had been suggested by the hon. and gallant Baronet. At present he could give no information on the point which could be of practical value, for the reason that he had not inquired into it. He might state, in general terms, that the Colonial allowances, as compared with what the Colonies paid, produced an almost even balance.

Vote agreed to.

(12.) £825,100, Clothing Establishments, Services and Supplies.

MAJOR NOLAN pointed out that in former times the clothing of batteries of

Artillery devolved upon the Quartermasters, but now it fell upon one sergeant, to whom no allowance was made for the work which he had to do. He had already pointed out this fact to the Secretary of State for War, and had urged upon him that a larger rate of pay ought to be given to the sergeant upon whom this duty devolved, inasmuch as the duty was in itself an onerous one, and the sergeant had to pay money out of his own pocket to maintain the storekeeping department which was in his charge; or, if he did not actually find the money himself, the cost was borne by the officers in command of batteries.

COLONEL LOYD LINDSAY said, he would make inquiry as to the question which had been raised by the hon. and gallant Member.

MR. WHITWELL said, that when Mr. Gathorne Hardy—now Viscount Cranbrook—was at the head of the War Department, a considerable sum was devoted to the provision of stores; and he wished to know whether the supply of stores since served out for the troops in Afghanistan had been replaced, and whether the stock was as large as before that issue?

LORD EUSTACE CECIL: Yes.

Vote agreed to.

(13.) £1,185,000, Warlike and other Stores.

(14.) £853,000, Superintending Establishment of, and Expenditure for, Works, Buildings, and Repairs at Home, and Abroad.

SIR WALTER B. BARTELOT asked when the Militia depôt would be removed from Eastbourne to Lewes?

MR. H. SAMUELSON asked, whether there was not a power vested in the colonels of regiments to raise money for the benefit of the corps which they commanded upon property which by law belonged to them?

COLONEL STANLEY replied, that this would depend upon the position in which the commanding officers stood as trustees of the property belonging to the corps they commanded; and, as the circumstances differed in almost every case, he could not, in general terms, answer the question of the hon. Member.

SIR ARTHUR HAYTER asked when, if ever, there was to be an altera-

tion made in the construction of the "huts," in which the Cavalry were now housed at Aldershot, in order that the men might have permanent structures in which to live?

LORD EUSTACE CECIL said, he hoped that by next August the huts would be replaced by buildings of a permanent character.

MR. OTWAY said, that £7,000 were asked for the barracks at Exeter, and inquired whether the Government insured such buildings against damage by fire?

COLONEL STANLEY said, it was not usual for a Government Department to insure buildings under its charge against fire.

Vote agreed to.

(15.) £162,200, Establishments for Military Education.

(16.) £86,400, Miscellaneous Effective Services.

(17.) £215,900, Administration of the Army.

(18.) £33,900, Rewards for Distinguished Services, &c.

(19.) £92,000, Pay of General Officers.

(20.) £892,700, Retired Full Pay, Half Pay, Pensions and Gratuities, including Payments allowed by Army Purchase Commissioners.

MAJOR NOLAN asked for information as to the intentions of the Government in reference to the enforced retirement of captains after 20 years' service. Did they intend to proceed with that portion of the Retirement Scheme?

COLONEL STANLEY replied, that it was not possible to carry out the terms of the Royal Warrant on Retirement, which adhered strictly to the letter of the terms. The Warrant was drawn by persons who knew, perhaps, better than any others the circumstances which rendered it necessary; and it was, therefore, deemed necessary to carry it out in its entirety.

MR. OTWAY wished to ask the right hon. and gallant Gentleman another question. When purchases were abolished, there could be no question that it was necessary to have compulsory retirement in order to obtain a proper flow of promotion; but the scheme adopted had resulted in producing great in-

Major Nolan

equality, especially in certain regiments. He visited a regiment the other day of a most distinguished character, and he ascertained that the officers of that regiment found that they had no chance whatever of becoming field officers under the new system of compulsory retirement. As a consequence, they naturally took but little interest in the duties they had to perform, and were looking forward with regret to the day when they would become captains, because they were all satisfied that there was no chance of their rising any higher in rank. What was required, if this system of compulsory retirement was to be maintained, was that some discretion should be given to the Field Marshal, or to the Secretary of State for War, to transfer officers from regiments where promotion had been unfairly slow into those where it had been very rapid. The regiment of which he was speaking was linked with one where promotion had been singularly rapid; and if the right hon. and gallant Gentleman the Secretary of State for War, or the Field Marshal, had had power to transfer officers from a regiment where promotion was slow into a regiment linked with them where it was rapid the injustice to which he was calling attention would be done away with, and much dissatisfaction would be prevented. He was convinced that the abolition of purchase was a necessity; but, at the same time, he heard these matters very much discussed, as he travelled about the country, amongst a number of different persons, and he should be glad to see if some change of the kind he suggested could not be brought about.

GENERAL SIR GEORGE BALFOUR joined heartily in this complaint as to the stagnation in the flow of promotion; but, at the same time, he hoped that no discretion would be given in the matter, either to the Field Marshal or to the Secretary of State for War. He quite admitted that there would be always discontent among officers on this forced retirement, and he did not himself at all like to see men of the ages of 37, 38, and 39 forced to leave the Army; but, on the other hand, to give the Secretary of State for War the power to prevent a man from being retired would be to place in his hands an authority which no man having Parliamentary responsibilities could possibly exercise for a moment.

MR. OTWAY wished to correct an entire misapprehension as to his meaning. He had no desire to place any power in the hands of the Commander-in-Chief, or of the Secretary of State for War, to promote an officer out of his turn. But he suggested that where officers in one battalion had slow promotion, and promotion had been very rapid in the battalion which was linked with them, that officers might be transferred from the one battalion to the other, with the result of giving some men a step sooner than they would otherwise have got it without in any way showing favouritism to anybody. He merely proposed to transfer officers in due course of seniority from one linked battalion to another.

COLONEL STANLEY: No doubt, this is a very important point. Unquestionably, officers who have joined the Service since 31st March, 1873, are liable to be transferred from one battalion to another; but, as a matter of fact, I think it will be granted that it would be an invidious thing to force an officer thus to accept promotion; and, undoubtedly, I am aware that officers do not apply to be so transferred. With regard to the question of the hon. and gallant Gentleman the Member for Galway (Major Nolan), there is, undoubtedly, a great deal in what he said; but, at the same time, it is a very large question, and one upon which I should not be prepared to give an answer at the present moment. If, however, he will put a Question to me, or to my hon. and gallant Friend near me (Colonel Loyd Lindsay), on Thursday, or some day after that, I will endeavour to go into the question in the meantime with the proper financial authorities, and to meet what appears to me to be, so far as I understand the matter at present, a reasonable request. Of course, all actuarial calculations have to deal with matters of supposition rather than with matters of fact, as that is especially in the case of matters of this kind. Where retirements have to be calculated upon, there is no possible means of ascertaining what officers will take advantage of the scheme of retirement; and, therefore, these calculations, to a certain extent, must be hypothetical. With regard to the remarks of the hon. Gentleman the Member for Chatham (Mr. Otway), I do not understand that it is intended that the Secretary of State for War should

have power to transfer officers absolutely from one regiment to another. He did not propose that, and it would be an invidious power to exercise. Where, however, promotion is rapid in one regiment, and where, according to the custom of the Service, the senior subaltern of another regiment has no claim for immediate promotion, the utmost care is taken in selecting an officer to fill the vacancy in the regiment, so that the man may be chosen who has the longest service and is the most likely to be retired. There is one point not yet raised upon which I should like to make a statement. There are certainly regiments in which it has been that the colonels promoted before 1871 have a right to retain their places, and it seems to have been thought that they would not come under the operation of the five years' rule, but that they would be entitled to hold their places as long as they pleased. That is obviously very prejudicial to the claims of the officers under them, and very recently steps have been taken; and, in the course of next week, I shall be able to give an answer on the question very definitely—to intimate to those officers that they have not that absolute right to retard the promotion of everybody below them, however fit they may be—and I do not say they are otherwise—for the exercise of command. But that exercise cannot be given to them without some regard to the officers whose promotion they are retarding.

Vote agreed to.

(21.) £126,200, Widows' Pensions, &c.

(22.) £16,500, Pensions for Wounds.

(23.) £34,300, Chelsea and Kilmainham Hospitals, (In Pensions.)

(24.) £1,312,000, (Out Pensions.)

(25.) £196,500, Superannuation Allowances.

MR. WHITWELL observed, that there was a considerable increase in this Vote, and it was desirable that they should have some explanation on the subject. It was proposed to be accounted for by recent changes at the War Office. If that were so, he should like to be told whether it was not possible to find some employment for the clerks who had recently been put

Colonel Stanley

on the Superannuation List? There was one gentleman retired at 30, another at 34, and so on. He found, also, that at that age one had a pension of £142, and another of £173, and so on. It was very probable that these clerks ought to be dispensed with; but, still, there was always a demand for officers in some Department or other of the Government; and when he saw something like 20 clerks, all of the ages of 40 to 43, superannuated at the cost of some £20,000 annually, he thought it was desirable to know whether these officials could not be engaged in some other Department of the Government?

COLONEL STANLEY said, that the question was a very natural one. The hon. Gentleman had remembered that a re-organization had taken place in the War Office during the last two years, and, as a consequence, some of the gentlemen employed there had availed themselves of the opportunity to retire given them under the Admiralty and War Office Act two years ago. The terms of that Act were exceptionally liberal, though he did not say they were unduly liberal. As a consequence, some gentlemen had chosen to retire; and he was glad to say that those who had left were quite competent to undertake the duties of the Office, while, at the same time, they had substituted lower paid labour, in what was, after all, to a great extent, merely mechanical work. He had every reason to think that the result of the change was one which would be satisfactory in the Office, while it would be to the advantage of the public. With regard to the gentlemen superannuated, he knew that many of them had already obtained employment in other ways, and that the experience they had acquired in the Public Service was not altogether lost. The increase of this Vote must not be taken by itself, but in connection with the general Re-organization Scheme.

Vote agreed to.

(26.) £39,300, Militia, Yeomanry Cavalry, and Volunteer Corps.

MR. OTWAY said, he should like, as this was the last Vote, to ask a question not directly pertinent to the subject now before them. They had got through the Estimates with unexampled rapidity, and he must say he thought a great deal of the credit for that

was due to the tone adopted by the right hon. and gallant Gentleman, and his willingness to answer all the questions that had been put to him. He wished to know, as the Estimates would be completed that night, when the Continuance Bill would be brought in?

COLONEL STANLEY said, the question was still under discussion whether the Continuance Bill should be brought in before his right hon. Friend the First Lord of the Admiralty had taken the Vote for the Seamen and Marines. The point was not yet settled; but he would undertake not to bring in the Bill, if it could be introduced before the heavy Vote was adopted, without giving due Notice of his intention to do so.

Vote agreed to.

(27.) £1,100,000, Army, Indian Home Charges.

GENERAL SIR GEORGE BALFOUR said, that whilst strongly objecting to this heavy charge on India, yet he had no desire to obstruct the passing of this last Vote of the Army Estimates. He and his Friends on that side were only too willing to give the right hon. and gallant Gentleman the Secretary of State for War all the money for the Army Service. The Committee had, at one sitting, voted upwards of £16,000,000—an almost unprecedented proceeding—in order that Parliament might be dissolved as early as possible, so that the country might get a new one.

COLONEL STANLEY desired to compliment the hon. and gallant Gentleman on the frankness with which he had spoken, and for his readiness to explain the motives by which himself and his Friends around him were influenced. With regard to the kind compliment which had been paid him that evening, he had only to say that he regarded it as his duty to answer the questions to the very best of his power, and he could only thank the Committee for giving him so many opportunities for doing so. With regard to the settlement of Indian matters, at present we were at a standstill. A Committee had been appointed under the Presidency of Lord Northbrook—than whom no man was more competent to deal with the matter—to settle the amount to be paid by India and by England for several years past, but the Committee had not yet been able to Report; and, therefore, the general de-

cision upon this point was for the present adjourned.

Vote agreed to.

House resumed.

Resolutions to be reported *To-morrow*;

Committee to sit again upon *Wednesday*.

EAST INDIA LOAN (EAST INDIAN RAILWAY DEBENTURES).

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

MR. E. STANHOPE said, he was happy to inform the Committee that the purchase of the East Indian Railway had been concluded, and the railway had now passed into the hands of the State, although it remained under the management of the Company. The Committee was aware that in the Act of last year no arrangement was made for providing the money which would be required in the future. It was settled that the Government would have to come to the House for capital for the future enlargements of the line, and for power to pay off the existing debentures of the Company. Some of the debentures would fall due at the beginning of next year; and, therefore, the Government had thought it right to apply to Parliament for sufficient powers to raise money for the discharge of those debentures, which hon. Members would find included in the Schedule. The hon. Gentleman concluded by moving the following Resolution:—

“That it is expedient to authorise the Secretary of State in Council of India to raise the sum of £2,950,000, in the United Kingdom, for the purpose of paying off and redeeming Debentures of the East Indian Railway Company.”

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL said, that he accepted as reasonable the proposition of the Under Secretary of State for India to raise a sum of money for paying off the debentures of the Company falling due in the ensuing year. He was well pleased that arrangements had been concluded for taking the railway into the hands of the State; while, at the same time, he was obliged to say that, in his opinion, the wheels of the transaction had been too well oiled by the extremely liberal terms granted by the Government.

Resolution agreed to; to be reported To-morrow.

POST OFFICE (MONEY ORDERS) BILL.
(*Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson, Lord John Manners.*)

[BILL 62.] SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

SIR HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON said, he would like to state to the House what he proposed to do with regard to this Bill. The Government proposed to place upon the Table of the House Papers by which hon. Members would see the Regulations under which the Post Office would practically carry out the Bill, and he had also laid on the Table Amendments to the Bill, which he himself proposed to move, and which would, to a certain extent, modify and alter its character, so far as it then stood in print. One of the Amendments was that the form of the Post Office Order proposed to be established under that Bill should appear in a Schedule to the Bill itself, instead of being left to the Regulations to be framed by the Post Office. The form of money order would be stereotyped in the Bill. He had thought also that probably objection might be raised in Scotland and Ireland, as well, perhaps, as in England, with regard to the issue of money orders for the sum of £1, and he, therefore, proposed to restrict the issue of denominations below £1, and in the denominations as put in the Regulations 15s. would be the limit of the sum to be issued under these money orders. It had also been said that there was a fear of these orders issued to the public becoming too much of a paper circulation. To obviate that—although he was not prepared to admit that such would be the case, because, in fact, these orders would carry with them a poundage, which he thought would prevent any great issue—he proposed to reduce the time for which they were available from one year to six months. He had another Amendment, which provided that after six months, except under special circumstances which would have to be established, an order would be forfeited. He was prepared, when the time came, to argue that that issue would be an immense facility to the public generally, and a great advantage to the commercial world. He did not wish to enter upon that argument then; but he thought that the objections which had been taken to the Bill might as readily have been taken to the money

orders issued when they were first established, and when the Post Office authorities were allowed to give the facilities to the public, which had been long enjoyed, without any attempt on the part of the Post Office to interfere with the private business of bankers, who had themselves sanctioned and encouraged the money order system. As he was anxious that the House should be in full possession of the Regulations to be enforced, he would ask that the second reading of the Bill be postponed for a fortnight.

Second Reading deferred till Monday 15th March.

VOLUNTEER CORPS (IRELAND) BILL.

(*Mr. O'Clery, Lord Francis Conyngham, Major Nolan, Major O'Beirne, Colonel King-Harman, Colonel Colthurst, Major O'Gorman, Colonel The O'Gorman Mahon.*)

[BILL 25.] SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

MR. O'CLERY, in moving that the Bill be now read the second time, said, it had been brought before the House last Session with the general concurrence of hon. Members of all Parties, and he had reason to hope that it would receive that evening the same support which had been accorded to it on that occasion.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Mr. O'Clery.*)

SIR JOHN LESLIE said, that the hon. Member for Wexford County was, in his opinion, mistaken if he thought that, in the social condition of Ireland at that moment, he had found a remedy for the existing state of things by the institution of a Volunteer Force in that country. He had thought last year, and thought still, that it was an over-straining of the conciliatory intentions of the Government to allow the Bill to pass that House. The Bill had appeared to him not to possess the authority requisite for so serious a change, and for so important an alteration in the affairs of the country as the institution of a new armed Force. Surely it would be obvious to everybody that the circumstances of Ireland were entirely different from what they had been six months previously. When the people came armed with barbarous weapons to platforms where speeches were uttered to them calling

upon them to lay aside the spade for the rifle; when they were told that every man should not only possess a rifle, but know how to use it; when they came to listen to a new code of civil law, which might be summed up in the words, "Boys, dishonesty is the best policy," he maintained that, under such circumstances, it was obvious that the social condition of the country had changed. But he would also remind the hon. Member for Wexford County that the Bill had not even last year earned the support of his own Party, the Leader of which, at all events, the hon. Member for Cork, spoke of it with the greatest indifference, as did also the hon. Baronet the Member for King's County (Sir Patrick O'Brien). Another of the hon. Member's political comrades, in an interesting and instructive correspondence on the purity of language, had denounced it as a sham, and had also proved to demonstration by that correspondence that true patriotism could only be found in connection with a fine Irish brogue. Moreover, in what the hon. Member himself had said, on first introducing the Bill, he must be considered to have condemned it, for he had excepted from its operation one of the Provinces of Ireland. He took it for granted that, in making this exception, the hon. Member did not intend to cast a stigma upon the Province of Ulster, for one of the principal reasons given in support of the measure was that the refusal of a Volunteer Force to Ireland cast a stigma upon that country. Now, he maintained that Ireland was already well represented in the Volunteer Forces of this country, among which the Irish regiments were second to none. He held, also, that England was the proper centre for the Volunteer Forces, which were only supposed to exist for the purpose of resisting invasion. There was no prospect of an invasion of our Irish coasts—they were more exposed to danger from within. He asserted, in answer to another of the arguments—namely, that of assimilation, which had been used in support of the Bill—that, as in Ireland the police were armed, and in England not, there could be no assimilation whatever between England and Ireland upon this question. He did not think it necessary to go any farther in urging his objection to the Bill, nor did he know what might be the intention of the Go-

vernment with regard to it; but he trusted that, under the altered circumstances of Ireland, hon. Members would see the inexpediency of introducing the Bill, and he, therefore, begged to move that it be read a second time this day six months.

Amendment proposed, to leave out the word "now," and at the end of the Question to add the words "upon this day six months."—(*Sir John Leslie.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question."

MR. MACARTNEY said, he had been astonished at the facility with which the Bill passed through the House last year. He thought that had hon. Members who were present when the Bill was brought forward been better acquainted with the state of party feeling in Ireland, and with the danger of putting arms into the hands of those who were already inclined to fight without them, they would have hesitated to give the measure their support. Until the state of the country was changed it would, in his opinion, be a most dangerous thing to introduce into Ireland a fresh cause of discord and a fresh means of arming one portion of the country against the other. It never happened in England, nor in Scotland, as it did in Ireland, that thousands of men attacked each other, and fought battles in which there were killed and wounded on both sides. It was, he supposed, in the recollection of hon. Members, that in the district represented by an hon. Friend below him, a battle was fought not more than 10 years ago, in which firearms were used, and that it required a large force of Constabulary, and three or four regiments of the Regular Forces, to put an end to the disturbance. His countrymen, whether the staid Northern or the fiery Southern, were all excitable, and he could not believe it would be for the peace or good of the country that the Bill should pass. He thoroughly agreed with what had fallen from the hon. Baronet the Member for Monaghan (Sir John Leslie), and hoped that the House would not read the Bill a second time.

MR. P. MARTIN said, that last year the Bill was read a second time, if not with the assent, certainly with the approval of Her Majesty's Government. He did regret that, on the present occasion, the Bill should be opposed by two

hon. Members from the North of Ireland. The speech of the hon. Baronet the Member for Monaghan ought to have ensured the passing of the Bill, for he admitted Irishmen in this country made excellent soldiers and admirable Volunteers. But it was true, after being thus compelled to praise those resident in this country, he said Irishmen at home could not be at this time entrusted with arms. Both Members had drawn vivid pictures of the scenes of disturbances and violences which, no doubt, did so frequently take place in the North of Ireland. But what was the reason why the North presented so dark a contrast with the South and Midland portions of Ireland? Because, at the present moment, there was in the North of Ireland a body called "Orangemen," whom the Government liked to encourage, and who, on certain occasions, were allowed to hold complete control of the North. Under those circumstances, it would be better for that body, as well as for others in the North of Ireland, that they should be placed under the control proposed by the Bill, and that the Government authorities should have power to regulate the use of arms in the North of Ireland as elsewhere. It was somewhat singular that the hon. Member for Tyrone (Mr. Macartney) should call attention in that House to the scenes that had disgraced the city represented by the hon. Member for Belfast. He fully agreed that there was no city in Ireland which had been the scene of more extreme disorder than the City of Belfast. In that respect, the observations of the hon. Member for Tyrone were perfectly right. If he thought that the refusal to read this Bill a second time would remove arms from the hands of the Orangemen in the North of Ireland, then he should certainly oppose the measure. But what would be the result? Arms would still remain in the hands of Orangemen in the North even if this Bill was rejected. Was it to be now gravely asserted that Irishmen in the Midland and Southern portions of Ireland were not to be allowed their Constitutional rights because the North of Ireland was disturbed? If there were any clauses in the Bill that would require consideration they could be considered, and, if necessary, amended in Committee; but he did think it would be a most unreasonable thing that mere declamation, such as they had heard from

the two hon. Members from Ulster Counties, should be a sufficient reason for the House refusing a second reading to a Bill substantially the same as that which had been sanctioned by and passed through the House last Session. So far as one could form a judgment from reports and the Charges of Judges, he thought the Government could not assert there was exceptional crime in Leinster or the South of Ireland. Notwithstanding the severe distress under which they were suffering there was an absence of disorder in those places, and their sufferings were borne with unexampled tranquillity and moderation. It would be a very bad precedent if the House should refuse to give this Bill a second reading, merely on such arguments as they had listened to from the two hon. Members on the other side.

MR. J. P. CORRY said, that the Orangemen in the North of Ireland were no more armed than the inhabitants of any other part of the country. As was well known, Belfast was under the Peace Preservation Act, and every arm, therefore, was licensed. No one carried arms except by authority. Unfortunately, in times past, they had been subjected to very serious disturbances in Belfast; but he was quite satisfied to contrast the loyalty of the North of Ireland against the disloyalty which had been manifested in other parts of the country within the last 12 months. He did not wish to detain the House; but he thought it right, as a Representative of Belfast, to make these observations in reply to the statements of the hon. Member for Kilkenny (Mr. P. Martin).

MR. CALLAN said, that he regretted very much that they had not had any expression of opinion from the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland in regard to this Bill. Last year, in consequence of the assistance of the Government, the Bill was carried through a second reading, and proceeded so far as to obtain a second sitting in Committee. They were aware that pressure had been brought to bear upon the Government since that time; and, perhaps, in obedience to orders submitted to them by some of the Representatives from the North of Ireland, the Bill, which in the last Session of Parliament received the sanction of Her Majesty's Government, was now to be opposed. Probably, Her Majesty's Government had consented to indulge

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the Representatives of the North of Ireland, knowing that in the next Session they would be troubled with them no longer. He must compliment one of those Gentlemen who, he believed, had made his farewell speech in that House—namely, the hon. Baronet the Member for Monaghan (Sir John Leslie)—for the very able arguments he adduced in opposition to the Bill. But, as he did not consider that there was really anything in them, he had taken no note of them. The hon. Member for Tyrone (Mr. Macartney) had adopted his usual rôle of attacking the Catholics in Ireland. He must say that he was as well acquainted with Ireland as the hon. Member for Tyrone, and he could deny the truth of every statement which he had made. He had said that every year in Ulster they had disturbances and unpleasant party fights. He was glad to find that the hon. Member characterized those disturbances as party fights; for, in the county which he represented, no one was credited with having lent a more willing and helping hand to the creation of bad party feeling than the hon. Member himself.

MR. MACARTNEY rose to Order. He wished to know whether the hon. Member was in Order in accusing him of having created a bad party feeling?

MR. CALLAN said, that his statement was, that the hon. Member was credited in Ireland with having more than any other person created a bad party feeling in his county. One day, driving between Enniskillen and Londonderry, he was informed that there were no party fights in that part of the county excepting when the hon. Member was there. With regard to the observations of the hon. Member for Belfast (Mr. J. P. Corry), he had no doubt whatever that he had felt acutely the charges made by the hon. Member for Kilkenny (Mr. P. Martin), and he was right in standing up for his disorderly constituency. The hon. Member had further congratulated the North of Ireland on its loyalty, and compared it with the disloyalty that he said had prevailed in other parts during the past year. He presumed that the hon. Member alluded to the meetings of the Land Leagues. He would read to the House the substance of an account which he had found in a Conservative newspaper with respect to a meeting at Portadown. The account stated that a land

meeting was summoned last Wednesday week, at which a gentleman named Shillington occupied the chair. Last month, he (Mr. Callan) was present at a meeting in County Louth, at which several Members of Parliament also attended, and there was an assemblage of about 8,000 people. They had bands and banners, and played "Cheer Boys Cheer," "Garry Owen," "St. Patrick's Day," and "God Save Ireland!" He made a most loyal speech, and they all went home quite sober. Not a single case was brought before the magistrates the next day. But at the meeting at Portadown there was present Sir William Verner, a gentleman who was anxious for Parliamentary honours, and who was going to stand in the tenant right interest. The meeting was interrupted by the strains of a band playing "Croppies Lie Down," "The Boyne Water," and other tunes. The loyal gentlemen whom the hon. Member for Belfast praised advanced upon the meeting, gave one wild cheer, and charged the platform. A scene of great confusion took place—chairs and anything else handy being used as weapons. Here, therefore, was an instance of the Loyalists of the North of Ireland charging down upon a meeting and disturbing the tenant righters and Home Rulers, and retiring to the triumphant strains of the "Boyne Water." He did not see how conduct of this kind was evidence of loyalty, or how the perpetrators of it could be praised for the observance of law and order. The Bill was surrounded with safeguards, and the Government had it in their power to prevent any harm being done. Last year the Government assisted the Bill in its passage through the House; and he hoped that, on the present occasion, they would show that they were not the tools of the Orangemen of the North of Ireland by allowing the Bill to pass.

MR. J. LOWTHER said, that as the House had been reminded, this Bill last year was passed through a second reading in the House of Commons with the assent of Her Majesty's Government, but eventually failed to obtain the assent of Parliament. It became, therefore, the duty of Her Majesty's Government to consider the position of the Bill in the present Session. He must say that he was most anxious to see how far the condition of the country could permit him to

afford support to the measure. Having regard to the condition of Ireland at the present moment, it must be candidly admitted that they were bound to look very carefully at a proposal which put weapons into the hands of any portion of the population of Ireland. Hon. Members opposite had saved him from what would be an unpleasant task—namely, that of offering reasons why the measure should not become law. He was bound to say that the instances afforded by the hon. Member for Dundalk (Mr. Callan) were the most conclusive arguments against the Bill. What did the hon. Gentleman state, but that the most prosperous part of Ireland was frequently the scene of very great disorder. He did not suppose that it would be proposed to exclude Ulster from the Bill; and, certainly, the hon. Member had advanced very strong reasons why that Province should not be included. That was not the first time they had heard in that House of the late disturbances that took place at Portadown. He was not in a position officially to confirm the account; but he believed it to be true. The hon. Member had stated that there were two parties opposed to each other at that meeting, which could by no means be considered to consist of the residuum of the population, but of persons who might be considered to form the middle class. When they heard such scenes of disorder described, it was not encouraging to the House to place weapons of a more formidable character in the hands of those persons. Clause 2 of the Bill provided certain safeguards with regard to its administration, and enacted that it should be lawful for Her Majesty to accept the services of persons desiring to form Volunteer Corps whom the Lord Lieutenant should recommend. He must say, having regard to the present state of Ireland, that he should not feel himself justified in advising the Lord Lieutenant to sanction the formation of any corps. Without considering what might be the case in more favourable circumstances, yet, if at the present time the Lord Lieutenant were to recommend Her Majesty to permit the formation of Volunteer Corps, very serious remonstrances would arise from the neighbourhoods so favoured. Hon. Members who supported the Bill relied almost entirely upon the safeguards provided by Clause 2; and without that clause, no

doubt, they would not have ventured to submit the Bill to the House. He should, however, be guilty of recklessness if he allowed the Bill to pass, and did not advise the House that at the present moment he saw no practical opportunity of carrying it into effect. They could not at that time even contemplate the formation of armed bands sanctioned by Parliament. For his own part, he would gladly see the establishment of a state of affairs which would admit of the Bill being safely passed into law; but, having regard to the unfortunate condition of the country, both from a social and an economical point of view, and having regard to the other circumstances mentioned, he thought it would be unwise for the House to adopt any measure of this kind; and, therefore, he should support the Motion of the hon. Member for Monaghan.

Mr. O'DONNELL said, that he could hardly be supposed to be of the same opinion as the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland; but, on this occasion, he agreed with him in thinking that Ireland was not at present in a fit state to permit of this Bill being passed. Until it had enjoyed for some years the benefit of intelligent legislation, and been governed by an intelligent Administration with some idea of its wants, it would be a risk to authorize the present Government to arm any part of the Irish people, more especially those in the North, who, in former times, represented an armed foreign aggression. They might be perfectly certain that the greatest partiality and unfairness in the execution of the measure, more particularly in the choice of the officers of the proposed corps, would be shown by the present Government. He considered the Government to be the real obstacle to the passing of such a Bill as this. He thought the fact should be fully recognized, that the main obstacle to anything like progress being attained in Ireland was the present Government. To give Ireland such a measure as this, with the present Government in power, would be to inflict an unmitigated curse on the country. For these reasons, he could by no means condole with his hon. Friend the Member for Wexford upon the prospective rejection of the Bill. He rather congratulated him that his measure would be postponed till a time when a Government was in power which

would not seek to stir up class against class and nation against nation. When they had obtained a Government which ceased to do that, then his hon. Friend might attain his object, which would then tend to promote a real union between Great Britain and Ireland, formed upon solid reasons of mutual respect and equality, and cemented by the strong sense of nationality upon each side. The present Government simply regarded Ireland from an electioneering point of view, and merely cared for what would serve their purposes.

MR. O'CLERY said, that the House and the country generally would receive with surprise the announcements made to the House by the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland. He did not see that there were any more reasons why the Bill should be opposed by the Government in the present Session than in the last. In point of fact, the rows to which attention had been called had occurred between contending portions of the supporters of the Government. There had been many rows in England, but that was no reason why Volunteers should be denied to it. Englishmen ought to be ashamed, considering the fine Volunteer Force they had, to make it known that Ireland, which contributed £90,000 a-year in support of English and Scottish Volunteers, should not be allowed to have a Volunteer Force of its own. Perhaps some good might result from the rejection of the Bill, in this—that Ireland would be furnished with an argument why she should not be taxed for the payment of the English Volunteers. He thought that consideration should make Englishmen blush for the rejection of such a measure as this. Considering the way in which the Bill was received last Session, he certainly was surprised at its rejection on the present occasion. As regarded the remarks made upon that side of the House, he might say that the Bill was three months before the House last Session, and was in no way intended to further the interests of any political party in Ireland. If the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary had any objection to the measure, he ought to have made it last year. In his opinion, the rejection of the measure would be received in Ireland as a token of a covenant of the Government with the few Orange Representatives in the

House. They had been labouring for years to try and bring about a better state of feeling in Ireland; but it was perfectly evident that their efforts were futile, for the Orange Representatives were still masters of the country. The feelings of the majority of the Irish Members were entirely disregarded, and three or four Orangemen, by obtaining the ear of the Government, were masters of the situation. He thought it his duty to press the measure before the House; and he should also feel it his duty to enter his protest against the Vote for the English Volunteers when the Estimates came before the House upon Report. He did not wish to make any objection to the English Volunteers, for he considered the Force a great credit to the country; but he considered that he was bound to object to them so long as the spirit of fair play, of which Englishmen were so fond of boasting, was not extended to Ireland. It would, therefore, become his bounden duty to object to the English Volunteer Force, and he should persist in that objection until the second reading of this Bill was passed. Every Englishman should be proud of his country's Volunteers; but he did not think it was right to deny to Ireland the same right as that enjoyed by the Sister Country. He regretted very much that the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary had refused to allow the Bill to be read a second time.

Question put.

The House *divided*: — Ayes 12; Noes 81: Majority 69. — (Div. List, No. 30.)

Words *added*.

Main Question, as amended, put, and *agreed to*.

Second Reading *put off* for six months.

MOTIONS.

SUGAR INDUSTRIES.

Ordered, That the Select Committee be re-appointed to inquire into the effects produced upon the Home and Colonial Sugar Industries of this Country by the systems of taxation, drawbacks, and bounties on the exportation of Sugar now in force in various Foreign Countries, and to report what steps, if any, it is desirable to take in order to obtain redress for any evils that may be found to exist:—That the Committee do consist of Seventeen Members:—Mr. BOURKE, Mr. ALEXANDER BROWN, Mr. SAMPSON LLOYD, Mr. BELL, Mr. THORNHILL, Mr.

JAMES STEWART, Mr. JAMES CORRY, Mr. NORWOOD, Mr. BALFOUR, Mr. COLLINS, Lord FREDERICK CAVENDISH, Sir JAMES M'GAREL-HOGG, Mr. ORR EWING, Mr. MORLEY, Mr. ONSLOW, Mr. COURTNEY, and Mr. RITCHIE:—Power to send for persons, papers, and records; Five to be the quorum.

Ordered, That the Minutes of Evidence taken before the Select Committee on Sugar Industries of the Session 1878-9 be referred to the Select Committee on Sugar Industries.—(Mr. Ritchie.)

FRAUDULENT DEBTORS (SCOTLAND) BILL.

On Motion of The LORD ADVOCATE, Bill to provide for the better punishment of Fraudulent Debtors in Scotland, *ordered* to be brought in by The LORD ADVOCATE and Mr. Secretary CROSS.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 94.]

ROAD DEBTS ON ENTAILED ESTATES (SCOTLAND) BILL.

On Motion of Colonel DRUMMOND MORAY, Bill to amend the Law in regard to charging Road Debts on Entailed Estates in Scotland, *ordered* to be brought in by Colonel DRUMMOND MORAY and Sir WILLIAM EDMONSTONE.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 95.]

EPPING FOREST BILL.

Order for referring Bill to Examiners read, and *discharged*:—Bill *withdrawn*:—and leave given to bring in another Bill instead thereof.

EPPING FOREST (NO. 2) BILL.

On Motion of Sir HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON, Bill to continue for a limited period the powers of the Arbitrator under "The Epping Forest Act, 1878," and to provide for the record of the result of the Arbitration, and for the exchange of lands in Epping Forest, *ordered* to be brought in by Sir HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON and Mr. GERARD NOEL.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 96.]

House adjourned at a quarter after One o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Tuesday, 2nd March, 1880.

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILLS.—*First Reading*—Prayer Book Amendment* (24); Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (Banbridge, &c.) * (25).

CRIMINAL LAW — EXECUTIONS IN GAOLS—EXECUTION OF WILLIAM CASSIDY.—OBSERVATIONS.

LORD HOUGHTON, who had on the Paper a Notice to call the attention of the House to the presentment of the jury empanelled to sit on the body of

William Cassidy, executed in Cheetham Prison, with respect to the admission of reporters, said, that a week ago he moved for a document on this subject, which up to the present time had not been presented to the House. He should like to hear from the noble Earl who represented the Home Office some explanation as to why the document had not been laid upon the Table.

EARL BEAUCHAMP explained that he had no communication on this subject with the noble Lord, who, a week before, moved for the document in question without consulting him personally. He had, however, inquired at the Home Office, and ascertained that there was no objection to its production. An order was made accordingly. He was not aware that it would be necessary for the document to be circulated amongst their Lordships before the noble Lord called attention to this subject. It was no fault of his own that the Papers had not been laid upon the Table before.

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY remarked that the fault rested at the Home Office, and not upon the noble Earl.

LORD HOUGHTON gave Notice that he would call attention to the subject this day week.

HIGHWAY BOARD ACCOUNTS.

MOTION FOR A RETURN.

THE DUKE OF BEDFORD moved for a

"Return of the General Order of Accounts issued by the Local Government Board to highway boards, under the 'Highways and Locomotives (Amendment) Act, 1878': Similar Return in respect of the accounts of the surveyors of highway parishes."

THE DUKE OF RICHMOND AND GORDON had no objection to the Motion, and thought it would be satisfactory to their Lordships to be put in possession of the information which the noble Duke had applied for.

Motion agreed to.

THE COMMISSION ON AGRICULTURAL DISTRESS.

QUESTION. OBSERVATIONS.

LORD WAVENEY rose to enquire, When it may be expected that the report of the Commission last appointed to consider the question of agricultural distress will be presented? The noble Lord observed, that the subject was of immense

importance; but, still, he did not desire to bring it forward in detail. Their Lordships would remember that in consequence of the serious damage done to the agricultural interest in the early period of last year a Commission was appointed with very extensive powers. It was divided into Departments, and its researches were extended not only over Great Britain, but to the United States, where a deputation, or sub-Commission, was sent. He asked, would it not be well that the results of those investigations should be at once published? Successive seasons had depressed the agricultural interest, and especially the scientific branch of agriculture, to a point which, he believed, was lower than had been reached before. The appointment of the Royal Commission was, therefore, a timely and wise step. Productions brought to the market were of an inferior quality, with regard to cereals, cattle, and sheep, which formed a large proportion of the remunerative results of agricultural labour. These evils had pressed with aggravating force on the most scientifically managed and best cultivated districts. In the East of England, which yielded to none in what was necessary for the production of food, the crops had been of an inferior quality, wheat being so bad that millers were obliged to purchase foreign corn to mix for grinding. The well-being of the labouring classes was largely involved in this question, the pressing importance of which led him to urge the Government to publish the Report of the Commission as early as possible. He was quite aware that whatever distress occurred the landlords would willingly bear their share, and would do all that they could to lessen the burden on the tenantry.

THE DUKE OF RICHMOND AND GORDON: My Lords, I do not think it is necessary that I should follow the noble Lord through all the observations he has made; but with some of them I cannot agree. I am not disposed to agree with the gloomy view of agricultural prospects he has taken, and with the very gloomy view which he seems disposed to take of the price of cattle and sheep at the present time. I think the price of mutton is going up. The price of wool is very much higher than it was some time ago; but on these small details I am not called upon now to

touch. Nor am I concerned to discuss the powers of limited owners; because the noble Lord will have a better opportunity, on a future occasion, of discussing the question when the noble and learned Earl on the Woolsack moves the second reading of his Bill on that subject than he has at present. The noble Lord speaks of the Commission over which I have the honour of presiding as proceeding in Departments; but in this the noble Lord is in error. It is a Royal Commission, issued by the favour of Her Majesty, and the topics which it has to inquire into are very various. Its inquiry is to be a very general one; it is to be accurate; and it is to be very searching, I have no doubt. This inquiry is to be held by the Royal Commission itself, and is not divided into Departments. In order to procure the information which it was not possible for themselves to personally obtain, they sent out gentlemen to different parts of the country. Two Assistant Commissioners were sent to America to procure information on the spot, and they have now come back, but have not completed their Report, as they have not got all the information from America which they desired. They are applying for some further details on matters on which they wish to be informed. The Assistant Commissioners at home have prepared and sent in their Reports; but they are by no means exhaustive of the subject. In addition to the evidence obtained by these gentlemen, the Commission itself must take evidence, not only in this country, but also in Ireland, to satisfy themselves, from personal examination of witnesses, on various points which require to be cleared up before any opinion can be arrived at. The Commission have not examined anything like the number of witnesses which will be required before completing their Report; and this being so, it is impossible for me to inform the noble Lord when its Report will be laid on the Table.

PRAYER BOOK AMENDMENT BILL [H.L.]

A Bill to amend the Book of Common Prayer—Was presented by The Lord EBURY; read 1st. (No. 24.)

LOCAL GOVERNMENT (IRELAND) PROVISIONAL ORDERS (BANBRIDGE, &C.) BILL [H.L.]

A Bill to confirm certain Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board for Ireland re-

lating to the towns of Banbridge, Monaghan, Thurles, and Trim; and to waterworks in the town of Kinsale; and to the Skule Bog United District—Was presented by The LORD PRESIDENT; read 1st. (No. 25.)

House adjourned at a quarter before
Six o'clock, to Thursday next,
half past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Tuesday, 2nd March, 1880.

MINUTES.]—SUPPLY—considered in Committee
—Resolutions [March 1] reported.

PRIVATE BILL (by Order)—Second Reading—
Bristol Corporation.

PUBLIC BILLS—Ordered—First Reading—Metropolis Waterworks Purchase [97]; Valuation (Metropolis) Act (1869) Amendment* [98]; East India Loan (East Indian Railway Debentures)* [99].

Second Reading—Metropolis Improvement Schemes Modification Provisional Orders* [77].

Select Committee—Leases* [30], nominated.

Committee—Hypothec Abolition (Scotland) [34]—R.P.

PRIVATE BUSINESS.

BRISTOL CORPORATION BILL (by Order).

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed,
“That the Bill be now read a second time.”—(*Mr. Fry.*)

MR. WAIT said, he rose to move that the Bill be read a second time upon that day six months. In making that Motion he must say that he was a member of the Corporation of Bristol, and he could speak from his own knowledge of the Corporation, and of the city and its interest. He opposed the present measure because he regarded it, instead of being a progressive measure, as one of a thoroughly re-actionary character. It proposed to deal with a question which he had no doubt was a real and genuine grievance—namely the re-arrangement of the wards of the City of Bristol. He was very far from saying that a re-arrangement of those wards was not necessary. The present arrangement was very far from satisfactory, and, in fact, a re-arrangement was absolutely neces-

sary. What he objected to in the present Bill was that it was altogether incomplete in its character. There were very large suburbs of Bristol which ought to be included in any re-arrangement of the city boundaries; but the Town Council, in this Bill, had made no attempt whatever to include those outlying districts within the city. He need hardly say that when these outlying districts were included within the boundaries of the city a re-arrangement of the wards would at once become a very easy matter. What he contended was that before any re-arrangement took place these outlying districts should, in the first instance, be contained within the city. The Town Council could then proceed with a re-arrangement of the wards. If it were impossible, or even undesirable, to include these outlying districts, then, instead of opposing the Bill, he should be very glad to co-operate in supporting it; but, so far from being undesirable and unnecessary, the Boundary Commissioners, who were appointed under the Representation of the People Act, 1867, recommended, in their Report made in 1868, that the city should be extended so as to include the parish of St. George and the district of Bishopston, part of Horfield in Gloucestershire, and a further part of Bedminster in Somersetshire; but it failed to pass through Parliament, and the Boundary Act of 1858—31 & 32 Vict. c. 46—was passed, Bristol being omitted. The rates of the district in 1868 amounted to £47,877, and the population to 18,663. The rating in 1880 had increased to £95,397, and the population to 35,565; in fact, both the rating and the population had doubled within that period, and the weight of the recommendation of the Commissioners had in so far increased. The population of these suburbs was urban in every respect—urban in their employments, in their expenditure, and in their dangers. They had Local Boards of their own, and they possessed every advantage that could contribute towards the constitution of a great city. There was another great and important reason why he desired that the boundary of the city should be extended and the recommendations of the Commissioners adopted. It was, he thought, very important indeed, in a sanitary point of view, that the City of Bristol should have jurisdiction over its own

suburbs. The City of Bristol had gone to great expense in regard to matters of health and improving the sanitary condition of the town; and it was in the power of one of the suburbs to be a serious source of evil and mischief and contagion to that great city. It seemed only reasonable that the city, therefore, should have control over the whole of the urban community. It was perfectly true that there was some opposition on the part of the inhabitants which he proposed to include within the boundaries of the city. A portion of them naturally wished to enjoy the advantages which were inseparable from the neighbourhood of a great centre of industry, and they had an equally and corresponding dislike to contribute to the burden of that city. Some of them, again, were actuated by political motives, for he believed that they were nearly all of one political complexion in these suburbs; but the objections were by no means universal. There were a large number of persons who felt that their interest and prosperity would be increased if they were united to the City of Bristol. It was perfectly true that the scheme had been almost unanimously, or even largely, approved by the Town Council, and he must have been one of those who approved of it; but he was willing to admit, and he did admit in this matter, that he, with a great many others, had changed his mind, and he would rather see the Bill thrown out, so that a complete measure might be introduced, and a matter that had long been unsettled might receive a final settlement. He believed that a Memorial, which had been very extensively and widely and influentially signed, had been presented to the Local Government Board, which the right hon. Gentleman below (Mr. Slater-Booth) presided over. Whether the right hon. Gentleman had anything to say on the subject he did not know; but the Memorial which had been presented to him expressed the sentiments of those who had signed the document, and of a great number who had not signed it. His contention was that the recommendation of the Commissioners gave that greatly increased weight, from the increase of wealth and population which had taken place in Bristol since it was first made. He did not think it would be denied by the Town Council that this Bill would hinder the development of the city; and

on that ground he thought it ought to be referred back to them for amendment, and a new Bill, embracing the points to which he had referred, should be introduced. In that case, they would have a measure which would give satisfaction, he believed, to the whole of the inhabitants, and which would insure that any improvements hitherto indefinitely deferred would be undertaken for increasing the prosperity of the city. He begged to move that the Bill be read a second time upon that day six months.

Amendment proposed, to leave out the word "now," and at the end of the Question to add the words "upon this day six months."—(*Mr. Wait.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question."

MR. FRY said, he should ask permission to detain the House but a few moments, while he endeavoured to state as shortly as possible the reasons which induced him to hope that the House would not accede to the Amendment of his hon. Friend the Member for Gloucester (Mr. Wait). His hon. Friend had informed the House that the object of this Bill was to arrange the municipal wards of the City of Bristol. It was admitted by all those who had considered the subject that the object of the Bill was to remove and correct certain glaring inequalities which had previously existed. The division into wards of the City of Bristol had been made, as in other places, by the Commissioners under the Municipal Corporations Act; but it had never been looked upon in the City of Bristol as satisfactory, and it had never been confirmed under the provisions of that Act of Parliament by the Sovereign in Council. But, according to the provisions of that Act, the arrangement remained in force until steps were taken to set it aside. The House would see that in a large city like Bristol great changes must have taken place during the 45 years which had elapsed since that Bill was passed. He would not trouble the House with many observations on that point, because the condition of things in Bristol, as regarded municipal representation, was admitted to be at present far from satisfactory, and the object of the present Bill was to remedy a real and substantial grievance, and not a sentimental one. He would give the House one instance of the existing

inequalities. At present, there was one ward which had a rateable value of £51,000, and contained 1,044 burgesses. That ward was entitled, under the present arrangement, to six members. But there was another vastly larger ward, with a rateable value of £126,000, and containing 6,192 burgesses, as compared with 1,000 in the small ward, yet it only returned three Town Councillors. On this part of the subject, he would only trouble the House by quoting a letter addressed by his hon. Friend the Member for Gloucester to the Local Government Board, in which he spoke of the present condition of municipal power in Bristol in these words—

“I believe a re-distribution of wards in the City of Bristol is a measure much needed, the present inconsistencies being quite indefensible.”

He could give many other instances of inequality and injustice in the present system; but he thought he had made out to the House that this Bill was intended to remedy a substantial and a great grievance. He would only detain the House very shortly with the history of the proceedings which led to the Bill. The question had been under consideration in Bristol by the Town Council and the inhabitants at large for more than five years; and, inasmuch as every Town Councillor in Bristol had been elected since the question had been before the ratepayers, he thought the House might fairly accept what he should show to be the unanimous resolution of the Town Council in favour of the Bill, as showing that the inhabitants of Bristol were also almost unanimous in its favour. In 1875, a Committee was appointed by the Town Council, and in their Report they recommended that a re-adjustment of the wards should take place. In 1878, another Committee was appointed to suggest a plan, and they reported in favour of the scheme embodied in the Bill now before the House. In 1879, a resolution was passed to promote the Bill now before the House. It was carried by the Town Council on the 29th of April by a majority of 41 to 6, showing an overwhelming preponderance of opinion in the Town Council itself in favour of the measure; and not only so, but under the provisions of the Borough Funds Act a public meeting of the inhabitants, owners, and occupiers had to be held.

Mr. Fry

That meeting was held in May last, and no poll was demanded; but the resolution adopted by the meeting might be said to have been arrived at unanimously in favour of the measure. Again, no longer ago than the 28th of January last, the Bill now before the House was laid before the Municipal Council of Bristol, and was then unanimously approved. Therefore, he thought it would be impossible to make out a stronger case, showing that the inhabitants of Bristol, as represented by the Municipal Council, were in favour of the measure now before the House. He need not inform the House how difficult a matter it was to come to an agreement between political Parties in a large town like Bristol in a matter of that kind. The discussion had extended fully and fairly over the last four or five years; and although it had been attended by some difficulty, after a full discussion what was, in fact, a treaty of peace between the two political Parties had been arrived at. He ventured to assert that there was no evidence whatever of any substantial opposition to the Bill. It was true that there had been a Memorial to the Local Government Board. He had not seen the document; but it was signed, he understood, by about 90 individuals, of whom he presumed his hon. Friend the Member for Gloucester was one. But the city of Bristol contained 200,000 inhabitants, and some 24,000 burgesses; and, therefore, he did not think the House would attach much weight to a Memorial to the Local Government Board from the small number of 90 inhabitants. He had no doubt that they were respectable and influential persons, but they formed a very small minority; and he would ask why they did not come forward and petition the House in the usual way? Why, instead of presenting a Petition to that House, did they merely memorialize the Local Government Board upon the subject? Seeing that there was a meeting of the ratepayers held as lately as last year, he thought it was the duty of these gentlemen, entertaining such views, to have attended on that occasion in order to express their opinions and make an appeal to the inhabitants in order to ascertain whether any considerable number of the citizens of Bristol would support the views they entertained. So far as his hon. Friend the Member for

Gloucester was concerned, it was well known by all who had the pleasure of his acquaintance that he was a prominent and popular citizen of Bristol. As he himself had informed the House, he had been a member of the Town Council during the whole period that this question had been agitated; and he must ask his hon. Friend why he did not oppose the Bill as lately as last January—six weeks ago—when the unanimous vote of the Town Council was given in its favour? The hon. Gentleman intimated that he had changed his mind. He had a perfect right to do so. Probably the man who never changed his mind was far from a wise man. But he would suggest to his hon. Friend that if he had changed his mind before January last, it was his duty to have made a representation of the fact at that time, and to have brought forward the views which he entertained against this proposition. Last year the very question now before the House was mooted in the Council, and a proposal was made to postpone any action upon the Bill until the question of the enlargement of the boundaries had been considered. It was negatived by a large majority; and in the majority on that occasion he found the name of his hon. Friend. He would now ask permission of the House to say a word or two as to the grounds of the opposition which had been raised against the Bill. So far as he understood it, their opponents did not object to the provisions of the Bill. They admitted that, in justice to the City of Bristol, the wards ought to be re-arranged; but they alleged that the municipal boundaries of the city ought to be extended at the same time. Now, he would remark that the question of Parliamentary boundaries was a question for the House itself to decide; but the question involved in the present discussion was a question of municipal boundaries, and only related to local affairs—such as sanitary affairs, and local taxation. These things were most strictly within the province of a local municipal body like the Town Council of Bristol; and he would submit that the House must attach great weight to the opinion of the Town Council of Bristol upon a matter of that kind. It was true that the Boundary Commissioners, in 1868, proposed to enlarge the boundaries of Bristol in the way stated by his hon. Friend. But the Report of the Boundary Commission was received with great dis-

satisfaction; and when the Boundary Bill was introduced in the following year to give effect to the recommendations of the Commissioners Bristol was omitted from that Bill. He had the authority of the Town Clerk of Bristol, who had been the legal adviser of the Corporation of Bristol for 40 years, for saying that the circumstances had greatly changed since 1868; and populations had grown up in other parts of the neighbourhood of Bristol than those which were considered by the Boundary Commissioners; and that, if the boundaries of the city were to be extended, the changes proposed by the Boundary Commissioners were not those which would apply now. But what he would put to the House was this—that there was an entire absence of opinion on the part of Bristol in favour of an extension of the boundaries of the city. He might even put the case higher, and say that there was a strong feeling of opposition in Bristol to such an extension. Last year a resolution was proposed in the Council that the consideration of the Bill should be deferred until the question of extending the municipal boundaries had been considered, and that proposition was negatived by 46 votes to 6. Therefore, he was justified in the assertion that there was a strong feeling on the part of Bristol against the extension of the boundaries. Then, again, what was the feeling of the outlying districts themselves? If the feeling against this proposal was strong in Bristol itself it was very strong in the outlying districts. The principal districts sought to be included were the parishes of St. George, and the district of Bishopston, in Horfield, and they had both petitioned the House against the suggested change; and not only so, but the local sanitary authorities had passed resolutions and presented Petitions to the House against any such measure being adopted. Both St. George's and Horfield had formed their own Local Boards, and were able to deal with all sanitary questions in a satisfactory manner, paying by means of their own rates for their own sanitary arrangements. They provided their own water, their own gas, and the rest of it; and he would appeal to the House that, such being the case, there was no precedent for including in a borough districts of that kind, which had their own local authorities, against their will. This was not a case in which a large city or borough came to the House and asked

that surrounding districts should be included. But he had shown the House that the city of Bristol was opposed to such a change, and that the feeling of the surrounding districts was strongly, and he might say almost unanimously, opposed to it. He would submit that, under these circumstances, it would be unjust to compel a union between districts when neither of the parties desired it. His hon. Friend had intimated that he would be prepared to modify his suggestion; but the House, he thought, would agree with him that the question for consideration now was the passing of the Bill, or the rejection of it altogether.

MR. WAIT said, that he suggested that the progress of the Bill should be deferred and the clauses amended.

MR. FRY considered that it would be impossible to pass another Bill this year; and if his hon. Friend succeeded in obtaining what he asked no legislation could take place upon the subject this Session. He would not detain the House further. He thought he had shown the House fairly that the feeling in Bristol, and in the surrounding districts, was strongly in favour of this Bill; and he would only add a hope that in the interests of peace and good faith in the City of Bristol, and of those municipal institutions the authority and influence of which the House had always been anxious to maintain, the Bill would be read a second time.

SIR EDWARD WATKIN said, that on other occasions he had objected to the principle which the House was asked to adopt in the present instance. Persons who had been allowed to present Petitions to the House for the introduction of Private Bills had, it seemed to him, something more than a private grievance—something amounting, to a large extent, to a Constitutional grievance, when it was proposed that the measure which they had been induced to introduce should be rejected on the second reading. It was the Constitutional right of the subject to petition that House. Private Bills were introduced on petition; and a Bill could not be read a first time except by the House granting the prayer of a Petition demanding the introduction of such Bill. For the convenience of themselves, the House referred that Bill to a Private Committee which, practically, consisted of themselves; and having allowed the Bill to be so introduced, and thus

having given the promoters their sanction to what they were doing, then they turned round and said—"You shall not have a hearing." The hon. Member for Gloucester was opposing a Bill which interested the City of Bristol; but if what the hon. Member who spoke last said was correct, the hon. Member for Gloucester was himself a member of the Bristol Corporation, and in that capacity had already given his sanction to the Bill. Surely that was a very odd course of proceeding. If that were so, then, certainly, his opposition, to say the least of it, was out of place and inconsistent. The question which he (Sir Edward Watkin) wished to submit to the House was, were they to go on with this practice of practically seducing people to apply for Bills to be introduced into the House, and then turning round, and saying—"We refuse to hear your case." He thought it would be well for the House to take a decided line upon this question, and he would ask for the opinion of the Chairman of Committees upon it, though he had never yet heard that hon. Gentleman take the line which he ventured to suggest—namely, that there was something of a Constitutional question at the bottom of these refusals of the justice of a hearing to Petitioners to that House. He thought it would be most unjust to refuse to a great Corporation like that of Bristol a hearing before the House, when they had permitted the introduction of a Bill on the Petition which had been deposited.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH remarked, that he was anxious to say a few words to the House on the question, not as a Member of the Government, but as one of the Members for the county of Gloucester, which was much affected by the measure, as the House would have already learned from the able speech of the hon. Member who moved the second reading of the Bill (Mr. Fry). But he did not think it quite fair that the matter should be considered purely from the point of view in which the hon. Member had put it. He (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) had not had the advantage of hearing the speech of his hon. Friend the Member for the city of Gloucester (Mr. Wait); but he had no doubt that in his speech he had made it plain that there were many interests in the case beyond those of the inhabitants of the city of Bristol. The hon. Member for Hythe (Sir Edward Watkin) had found fault with the

hon. Member for Gloucester for his action in the matter, and had treated him as if the course he had taken were absolutely unjustifiable; but he (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) might remind the House that this was by no means a new question. So long ago as the year 1867 a Commission of very high authority, charged to inquire into the boundaries of the various constituencies in England and Wales, recommended that certain districts adjoining the City of Bristol should form their connection with the city, and be united with it for Parliamentary purposes. Well, that was a fact which had been admitted by the hon. Member for Bristol; but the hon. Member said that this was not a question of an extension of Parliamentary boundaries, but a municipal question alone. He (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) wished to treat it purely on municipal grounds, and, being interested in the county of Gloucester, he said that on these grounds it was not fair that these districts should continue to be part of the county of Gloucester, but that they should be united for municipal purposes to the City of Bristol, to which they properly belonged. If the House assented to the measure now before them, that question would be indefinitely postponed. It was a measure for dealing only with the wards within the city, whereas, if the whole question were dealt with, the municipal boundaries would be considered as well. He had figures here to show the urgent need for this consideration. He found that in 1867, when it was reported that these districts ought to be united to the City of Bristol, there were in the ecclesiastical district of Bishopston 347 houses, with a population of 1,763 inhabitants. In 1880 the number of houses amounted to 813, and the population to 4,065. In addition, he might say that between 150 and 200 houses were in course of erection, and would, no doubt, be quickly inhabited. In the parish of St. George's, in 1867, there were 2,614 houses with a population of 12,500; in the present year the number of houses was 5,179, the population 25,000. In that part of the parish of Bedminster which was defined by the Report of the Commissioners, the number of houses in 1867 was 802, and the population 4,400. This year the number of houses was 1,427, and the population 7,500. Now, what

was the result of that as affecting the county of Gloucester? The result was simply this—that at every Quarter Session they had to provide for some increased expenditure for the police and the administration of justice in this part of the county, which certainly ought to be included in the city to which it belonged. He thought that the time had fairly come when the county of Gloucester should be relieved from these taxes upon it for the police force and for the administration of justice within these urban districts. For this reason, he asked the House not to sanction this imperfect measure as it was now proposed, but to express an opinion that the question ought to be dealt with as a whole, and that if the matter required consideration it should include the question of the city boundaries as well as the re-arrangement of the municipal wards.

MR. KNATCHBULL-HUGESSEN said, he thought it was unusual for a Cabinet Minister to come down and speak against a Private Bill. He hoped, therefore, he might be excused, although he had not heard anything of the merits of the case before entering the House that evening, for taking a part in the debate. In the first place, he wished to express regret that his right hon. Friend did not announce that this question was not a question in which the Government was interested, but only, in fact, a match between the county of Gloucester and the City of Bristol. [An hon. MEMBER: He said so.] They had heard that the Municipality of Bristol, by a majority of 46 votes to 6, decided that they wished to have the question of the division of the municipal wards settled; but that they did not wish to have that question mixed with the question of Parliamentary boundaries. What they said was—"We wish to have the question of re-dividing the wards of the city settled." He would ask the House, could there be a more legitimate subject in the world for the decision of a Committee? They would be enabled to find out, by the examination of witnesses on the one side and the other, whether the wishes of the City of Bristol for a re-division of the municipal wards, or the desires of the county of Gloucester to be relieved of an additional expenditure at the Quarter Sessions by an extension of the municipal boundaries, ought to prevail. Of all questions this was the

sort of one that ought to be remitted to a Committee; and he would ask hon. Gentlemen on both sides of the House whether that course should not be adopted, if they were anxious to preserve their system of Parliamentary Committees? A question of this kind could not be debated in a full House upon its merits, but must be remitted to a Committee if it was to receive fair and full consideration. If they were to maintain that principle it was for hon. Gentlemen on both sides of the House to agree that on no consideration would they make that case an exception, but that they would send it to the only tribunal which could fairly consider it.

MR. SCLATER-BOOTH observed, that his right hon. Friend (Mr. Knatchbull-Hugessen) had stated that he had not had time to study this Bill, and his speech showed very clearly that he had not. The question which he said ought to be submitted to a Committee was one which it could not deal with at all; and that was the ground, and the only ground, on which the question cropped up at all. His hon. Friend the Member for Gloucester (Mr. Wait) did not dispute the propriety of a re-distribution of the wards of the City; but the question was whether the inhabitants of the district had a right, while proper steps were being taken for re-arrangement of the wards, to intervene and ask the House to throw out the Bill upon the second reading because it did not go further. He had no wish to take part in the discussion; but, as his name had been mentioned, and as a Petition had been addressed to him at the Local Government Board, he must take the liberty of stating that he should feel no compunction whatever in seeing the Bill extended into one for enlargement of the municipal boundaries. It so happened that some persons in the City of Bristol had addressed a Petition to him which, in his opinion, ought to have been addressed to the House. He had only got up on that occasion in order to state its contents, because he thought that they ought to be in the possession of the House, especially as they were very short. The memorialists desired that the Bill should not pass without the further extension of the municipal boundaries of the City of Bristol, so as to include certain outlying districts. The case of the Corporation of Bristol had

been extremely well stated to the House by the hon. Member for Bristol (Mr. Fry), and the House had also had the advantage of hearing the hon. Member for Gloucester state the grounds of his opposition. His right hon. Friend the Member for East Gloucestershire (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) had also had an opportunity of making a statement from a county point of view; and the question now rested with the House whether they would read the Bill a second time, or reject it, or defer it in order that further time might be given to the inhabitants for making their voice heard. He might repeat again that his only object in rising was to express his opinion that, when persons desired to object to the principles of a Private Bill, they ought not to address a Government Department, but should address themselves to the House.

COLONEL KINGSCOTE said, that he had that day, or rather the day before, presented to the House four most numerous signed Petitions from the parishes interested in this Bill against the Amendment of the hon. Member for Gloucester (Mr. Wait.) He might also say that he was a little bit astonished to find that his right hon. Friend the Member for East Gloucestershire (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) should come down there and speak in support of the Amendment, on the ground that the Bill might increase the rates of the county. Now, by his own showing, the population of St. George's and Bishopston had of late years considerably increased, and there had been a large increase of houses and rateable value far in excess of the expenditure upon these particular districts. No one would wish less than himself to increase the expenditure of the county; but he could not see how a district in which the rateable value was constantly increasing could add materially to the expenditure of the county. St. George's and Bishopston had their own urban authorities under the Public Health Act; they had their own sewage rates, and their own gas and water rates. In point of fact they were completely small towns of themselves; and they had petitioned with one voice in favour of this Bill. An allusion had been made by his right hon. Friend opposite (Mr. Knatchbull-Hugessen) to political matters. He was sorry that he had said anything upon that point; but if he wanted information he (Colonel Kingscote) could

give it to him. He thought his right hon. Friend would find that the gentlemen who presided over the two meetings which had been held, and at which these largely-signed Petitions were adopted, were gentlemen holding opposite political opinions to himself. He did not see anything in that matter, and he did not ask the House to reject the Amendment of his hon. Friend the Member for Gloucester on that ground; on the contrary, what he did ask was, that the Bill should be allowed to go before a Committee to be fairly considered upon its own merits. Nobody but his hon. Friend the Member for Gloucester, and a very small minority in the City of Bristol, had expressed any desire, and that only within the last five or six weeks, to secure the rejection of this measure. He could point out to him privately where this opposition sprung from, and he was sorry to see that his hon. Friend had lent his assistance to it.

MR. RAIKES said, that the hon. Member for Hythe (Sir Edward Watkin) had anticipated any expression of opinion on his part in this matter, by blaming him for not laying down in the House a certain doctrine which commended itself to his mind as a Constitutional one. Now, he (Mr. Raikes) had not attempted to lay down that proposition in the House, because it appeared to him to be an unconstitutional one. The hon. Member for Hythe and anyone who thought with him were apparently of opinion that whenever a Private Bill encountered opposition in that House it was contrary to the Constitution that it should be opposed on the second or third reading, or in any other part of its progress. He could only say that he agreed with him in the principle thus enunciated; but, at the same time, there could be no doubt that as the House was well aware of the Private Bills which passed through the House the enormous majority did pass through these stages unopposed, and it was a small percentage only that was opposed. It appeared to him that Bills of this kind ought only to be opposed when they raised an important principle, or when it appeared that the course of proceeding was contrary to generally recognized precedents. If the hon. Member for Gloucester had succeeded in satisfying the House that that had been the case in the present instance, in that event, no doubt, he would carry the House with him in opposing the

second reading of the Bill; but if, on the other hand, the House was of opinion that he had failed to substantiate that proposition, they would, no doubt, give the Bill a second reading, and refer it to a Select Committee. He confessed that he had sat there waiting to hear his right hon. Friend the President of the Local Government Board speak what was the mind of the Government upon the matter, because he thought that that must be an opinion which must greatly weigh with the House. The interests involved in an extension of the borough of Bristol were of so important a character that he desired, before coming to any conclusion, that he should hear what the Government, speaking on their responsibility, had to say, and he had no doubt that the House would have adopted their view; but he did not find that his right hon. Friend had concluded by pressing any adjournment of the discussion; and therefore he took it that, in the opinion of Her Majesty's Government, the question of principle had not been sufficiently raised to justify them in taking any step antagonistic to the Bill. If he rightly construed this aspect of affairs, it seemed to him that a sufficient case had not been made out to justify the House in refusing to read the Bill a second time. The materials of the case were very simple and very plain; they had been justly and fairly stated by the hon. Member for Bristol (Mr. Fry), who moved the second reading of the Bill; and they were not disputed by the other side. There was no question that the re-distribution of these wards was a thing that was generally desired in Bristol; that it had been approved by the Corporation by very large majorities; that it had passed the ordeal of public meetings, and that it had been the outcome of a thorough understanding between the two Parties in that city. Therefore, there could be no question in his mind as to the propriety of reading the Bill a second time, if a larger question of general principle was not to intervene, and if no responsible authority was prepared to urge that it was undesirable to deal with the re-distribution of wards in the borough before considering the larger question of the Parliamentary boundaries. On the whole, he felt inclined to acquiesce in the course proposed by the hon. Member for Bristol; but, before he sat down, he

must point out a fact that perhaps might escape the notice of many hon. Gentlemen there. When a Corporation were thus the promoters of a particular Bill, representing, as they did, the inhabitants, that fact precluded any portion of the ratepayers from petitioning against the Bill; therefore, the House must be aware that if they read the Bill a second time they were, practically, remitting it to the Committee on Unopposed Bills, because he was not aware of any interest which could appear before a Select Committee in opposition to it. The question was one of considerable gravity, and it was for the House to decide; because, in a case of this sort, they were really laying down as a fact that they thought the Bill should proceed as it stood, and that it should proceed without undergoing that sifting and examination which it would get before an opposed Committee. He wished to point out this to the House as one consideration before it. Having given the best attention he could to the subject, and having considered all the matters which had been stated on both sides, he thought the House would do well not to depart from its general custom in this instance, but to read the Bill a second time.

Question put.

The House divided:—Ayes 163; Noes 98: Majority 65.—(Div. List, No. 31.)

Main Question put, and *agreed to*.

Bill read a second time, and *committed*.

QUESTIONS.

AFFAIRS OF AFGHANISTAN.

MR. OTWAY asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether his attention has been given to a telegram from Lahore, published in the "Daily News" of Saturday last, and since repeated in the other daily papers, setting forth certain conditions as those of the British Government for the settlement of affairs in Afghanistan; and, whether Her Majesty's Government have received any official communication which will justify the statement sent by telegraph from Lahore on Saturday?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: No, Sir; the statement is purely imaginary.

Mr. Raikes

PUBLIC HEALTH—ADULTERATION OF FOOD AND DRUGS ACT, 1875.

MR. VERNER asked the Secretary to the Treasury, seeing that there is an appeal to the Chemical Staff of the Somerset House Laboratory in cases where the analysis made by public analysts is disputed, If he will explain why there is not a similar reference to that laboratory in the case of a merchant who is dissatisfied with the decision of the Customs officers?

SIR HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON: Sir, it is not quite correct to say that there is an appeal from the verdict of public analysts to the laboratory at Somerset House. What the Act of 1875 says is that upon the request of either party in a case, the justices, or Court of Appeal, may in their discretion cause any article of food to be sent to the Commissioners of Inland Revenue for analysis. And I understand the object of this clause to have been to provide the Courts with the means of obtaining an independent scientific opinion, rather than that they should give a verdict against the opinion of a public analyst. At any rate, it gives no absolute right of appeal. In respect of tea, the Act puts the Commissioners of Customs in the position of a Court of Law. Their discretion is absolute and final; and as it is important that they should exercise that discretion promptly and without delay, it was probably thought right to keep the machinery by which they arrive at their decisions as simple as possible. So far as I am aware, exception has very rarely been taken to the decisions of the Board, and the present arrangements seem to me to work satisfactorily.

ROYAL SCHOOL OF MINES.

MR. BELL asked the Vice President of the Council, Whether it is true that part of the instruction formerly given at the Royal School of Mines in Jermyn Street has been transferred to South Kensington; whether it is the intention of Her Majesty's Government to move the remainder of the school to South Kensington; and, if so, when; and, whether it was not declared by the Right honourable W. E. Forster, on June 29th 1871, that no such removal as that referred to should be effected

without previously submitting the question to the judgment of the House of Commons?

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON: Sir, as much misconception seems to exist about what has been done to the Royal School of Mines in Jermyn Street, it would, perhaps, be as well if I were to state what has been done. Some years back the greater part of the instruction given at the School of Mines in Jermyn Street was transferred to South Kensington, where it was supplemented by laboratory and practical instruction, which could not be provided for in Jermyn Street. This removal was strongly advocated by the Commission upon Scientific Instruction, presided over by the Duke of Devonshire, and was also in accordance with the wishes of the Professors whose classes were so transferred. The only courses now remaining in Jermyn Street are those in metallurgy, mineralogy, and mining; and even with the addition of a hired house, and the location of the metallurgical laboratory outside the Museum, the space now occupied by the Museum and School of Mines in Jermyn Street is inadequate, and the arrangements in consequence far from convenient. We were last year informed by the Office of Woods and Forests that it was impossible, under any circumstances, to retain this house on the site upon which the metallurgical laboratory is beyond 1884; and as the immediate removal of the metallurgical class would give the additional space required inside the Museum, arrangements were made at once for this transfer. At present it is not our intention to move the remaining classes in Jermyn Street. I cannot find any answer by Mr. Forster in *Hansard* to the effect that the question of removal should be submitted to the House; but it seems to me clear that whatever answer was made in 1871 it referred only to the arrangements then in contemplation, and which were shortly afterwards carried out.

INDIAN FAMINE COMMISSION— THE REPORT.

SIR DAVID WEDDERBURN asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether the Report of the Indian Famine Commission is now in course of preparation in England or in India;

and, if in England, how many of the Commissioners are now in this Country, particularly how many Native Members of the Commission; and, when it is probable that the Report will be presented?

MR. E. STANHOPE, in reply, said, the Report was in course of preparation in England. Five of the Commissioners were in England. No Native Members were here, as they excused themselves on account of the climate; but before any of the Members left India the Commission discussed and agreed upon the principal points to be reported on. The first part of the Report, dealing with measures for famine relief, will probably be presented this month, and the second and last part before Midsummer.

HALL-MARKING (GOLD AND SILVER).

SIR HENRY JACKSON asked the President of the Board of Trade, Whether the Government intend to bring in a Bill for carrying out the recommendation of the Select Committee which reported last Session in reference to consolidating and amending the Acts relating to the hall-marking of gold and silver manufactures?

MR. J. G. TALBOT: Sir, the recommendation referred to in the Question of the hon. and learned Baronet has not been lost sight of at the Board of Trade; but, looking to the amount of Business which the Government have already undertaken during the present Session, they do not consider that it would be practicable to introduce a measure upon this rather complicated question with any hope of bringing it to a successful issue.

ARMY—KNIGHTSBRIDGE BARRACKS.

COLONEL MAKINS asked the First Commissioner of Works, How soon it is probable that the hoarding on the south side of Knightsbridge Barracks will be removed, so as to give the public the use of that part of the roadway which it now incloses?

MR. GERARD NOEL, in reply, said, that the Knightsbridge Barracks were not under the Office of Works, but under the War Department. He was, however, informed that the barracks would be completed by the end of April, when, of course, the hoarding would be

removed, so as to give the public the benefit of that part of the roadway referred to.

TURKEY AND GREECE—RECTIFICATION OF THE FRONTIER.

MR. W. CARTWRIGHT asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, If he can give any information to the House in reference to the reported suspension of negotiations between the Porte and Greece for a rectification of frontiers; and, if he will state when the promised Papers relating to this matter will be in the hands of Members?

MR. BOURKE, in reply, said, that the Foreign Office had not heard that the negotiations in question had been broken off. They had heard that fresh proposals had been made by the Turkish Government to the Greek Government, but did not know what the details were. He hoped the Papers would be in the hands of hon. Members in a very few days.

SCOTCH JUDICIAL APPOINTMENTS—SHERIFF SUBSTITUTE OF KINROSS.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL asked the Lord Advocate, If he will arrange that the vacant office of Sheriff Substitute of Kinross shall not be filled up till there is an opportunity of considering whether the jurisdictions in Fife and Kinross cannot be re-arranged, so as to provide better for places more important than Kinross?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (MR. WATSON): Sir, it is not intended to fill up the vacant office, because there will be no difficulty in making arrangements by which the whole judicial work of the county, which is a small one, may be efficiently performed. At present, what will be the best arrangement is a matter engaging the consideration of my right hon. Friend the Secretary of State for the Home Department and myself. I may say the office has been vacant upwards of a month, and a great many parties interested, or who conceive themselves to be so, have made representations on the subject; and I would suggest to the hon. Member for Kirkcaldy whether he would not better attain the object he seems to have in view by asking those bodies he has referred to in the Question to make similar

representations, instead of by putting a Question in so vague a form as he has done. Whilst an arrangement cannot be indefinitely delayed, I shall be very glad to receive any recommendations they have to suggest on the subject.

THE CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES.

MR. DILLWYN asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Why it is proposed to take Classes II. and III. of the Civil Service Estimates before Class I?

SIR HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON in reply, said, his hon. Friend must know very well that No. I. was very seldom taken first. Perhaps he might even say that it was the invariable mode to proceed in the order in which he had placed the Votes on the Paper.

POST OFFICE (MONEY ORDERS) BILL.

MR. THOMSON HANKEY said, he wished to put a Question to the hon. Baronet the Secretary to the Treasury with reference to a statement he made yesterday respecting the Post Office (Money Orders) Bill. He understood the hon. Baronet to say that he had postponed the Bill for a fortnight. When he brought the measure forward, would he object to move that it should be read a second time *pro formâ*, in order to give an opportunity of re-printing the Bill with the proposed Amendments, so that it might be made intelligible to the public? In its present state, he would defy anyone to understand it.

SIR HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON, in reply, said, he was afraid he could not comply with the request of his hon. Friend. Last night he placed on the Table the Amendments which he intended to propose, and which would be printed and circulated as a separate Paper. After the Bill had passed the second reading, he would move that it should be re-committed *pro formâ*, with a view to its being re-printed with the Amendments.

PRIVILEGE—(TOWER HIGH LEVEL BRIDGE (METROPOLIS) COMMITTEE).

CONSIDERATION OF CASE OF CHARLES EDMUND GRISSELL.

Case considered.

MR. SPENCER WALPOLE: Sir, I hold in my hand a Petition from Mr.

Mr. Gerard Noel

Charles Edmund Grissell, and I desire to explain the circumstances under which I undertook to present it to the House. Two days before the commencement of the Session I received a letter from Mr. Grissell, in which he asked me whether I would agree to present a Petition for him relating to his case. My answer was that I thought it would be better that someone who was not a Member of the Committee to which the question had been referred should present the Petition; but, inasmuch as I understood him to say that in his Petition he would express great regret for what had happened and would submit himself completely to the House, I said I would so far take charge of the Petition as to present it. At the same time, I gave him no advice relative to the Petition, as to which he must consult his own friends. The day before Parliament assembled I received from Mr. Grissell a Petition which, it was clear to my mind, would not be considered by the House as satisfactory to them, and I accordingly wrote to Mr. Grissell, stating that the offence was so grave a one—much more than a mere fault as he had designated it—that my belief was that the House would not pass by the matter so easily as he seemed to imagine, and I was perfectly confident the House would expect him to make a much more complete submission than the language he had used in the Petition appeared to me to convey. From that day till yesterday I heard nothing from Mr. Grissell. Yesterday afternoon, in consequence, I suppose, of a Notice appearing upon the Paper referring to the subject, together with the Motion of my right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer, I received a letter from Mr. Grissell, asking whether I would grant him an interview. My answer was that it appeared to me that any interview would be useless, inasmuch as I could say no more to him than I had already told him in writing, and that, therefore, I must decline to see him. Since yesterday, and in the afternoon of this day, I have received a Petition which I think is fully respectful to the House, and, as I read it, completely submissive; and I, therefore, feel no hesitation whatever in presenting it to the House for their consideration. I will now move that the

Clerk at the Table shall read the Petition.

Motion agreed to.

Petition of Charles Edmund Grissell presented, and read, as followeth:—

“To the Honorable the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled.

“The humble Petition of Charles Edmund Grissell, of Curzon Street, May Fair, in the county of Middlesex,

“Sheweth—

“That a Select Committee of your honorable House reported in August last that your Petitioner had committed a Breach of the Privilege of your honorable House.

“That your Petitioner was thereupon ordered to attend at the Bar of your honorable House, but that he had previously been obliged to leave London in accordance with the direction of his medical adviser.

“That on his return he was arrested in virtue of a Warrant issued by your honorable Speaker, and was committed to Her Majesty’s gaol of Newgate.

“That your Petitioner deeply deplores the grave offence of which he was adjudged guilty, and desires to tender his humble apology and the expression of his sincere regret to your honorable House.

“That your Petitioner desires to make the fullest submission and to throw himself upon the merciful consideration of your honorable House.

“Your Petitioner therefore humbly prays that your honorable House will be pleased to accept of his humble apology and the expression of his deep regret for his grave offence.

“And your Petitioner will ever pray.

“CHARLES E. GRISSSELL.”

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: Sir, there one or two observations which naturally occur to one in hearing the Petition which has just been read. In the first place, it would certainly have been more satisfactory if that Petition had been presented by Mr. Grissell on the first re-assembling of Parliament. He might then have seen the gravity of the offence which he committed last Session; and it would have been more satisfactory if he had, on his own motion, submitted himself and apologized to the House. Of course, another observation that might be made on the Petition itself is, Mr. Grissell scarcely sets out in full the nature or extent of the offence which he committed in disregarding the authority of the House. He speaks of a summons having been sent to him in August last; but, in point of fact, it was on the 22nd of

July that Mr. Grissell was ordered to attend the House on the following day, the 23rd. On the 23rd of July, however, the Serjeant at Arms reported that Mr. Grissell was not in attendance, and he read a telegraphic message, from which it appeared that Mr. Grissell was at Boulogne. Mr. Speaker thereupon issued a Warrant for his apprehension, and on the 13th of August the Serjeant at Arms reported that he had taken Mr. Grissell into custody. On the 14th of August the House committed Mr. Grissell to Newgate for evading the execution of Mr. Speaker's Warrant, and on the following day Parliament was prorogued and he was discharged. The Petition, in setting forth the nature of the case, does not show really what the full circumstances were. I do not believe the House will feel any desire to be vindictive in such a matter; but, at the same time, I think it right that notice should be taken of this grave Breach of the Privileges of the House, and I will move the following Resolution:—

"That Charles Edmund Grissell, having evaded punishment for his offences against the Privileges of this House until the close of the last Session, be sent for in the custody of the Serjeant at Arms attending this House, and that Mr. Speaker do issue his Warrant accordingly; and that he be reprimanded, at the Bar, by Mr. Speaker, for his contempt of this House."

MR. W. E. FORSTER: Sir, I do not think the House will desire now to discuss what further steps should be taken with regard to Mr. Grissell; but it seems to me that the course proposed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer is, at all events, the first step which should be taken, and, therefore, I beg to second the Motion.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That Charles Edmund Grissell, having evaded punishment for his offences against the Privileges of this House until the close of the last Session, be sent for in the custody of the Serjeant at Arms attending this House, and that Mr. Speaker do issue his Warrant accordingly; and that he be reprimanded, at the Bar, by Mr. Speaker, for his contempt of this House."—(*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.*)

MR. C. BECKETT-DENISON said, it was very difficult for a private Member to offer an opinion of his own on such a delicate question as this after the Leader of the House had spoken; but as two points were combined in the same Resolution, he must say he ex-

pected that Mr. Grissell would have made his appearance at the Bar of the House before any Resolution was come to as to what should be done to him. Although he cordially agreed with the Chancellor of the Exchequer that no hon. Member of the House would wish to appear vindictive in such a case, yet he could not help remembering that another gentleman, Mr. John Sandilands Ward, remained in custody for the space of 10 days; and it was not until he had made ample submission that he was, upon a medical certificate, released. He had pointed out at the time that there was a great danger of the lesser offender meeting with the severer punishment; and he feared that that would be the result of the adoption of the Resolution. He should have been glad, therefore, if the Chancellor of the Exchequer's Resolution had confined itself to commanding Mr. Grissell's presence at the Bar of the House.

MR. RYLANDS said, it appeared to him that the Motion of the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer was a proposal which, if it meant anything, meant that Mr. Grissell, if he would now allow himself to be taken into the custody of the Serjeant at Arms, and brought to the Bar of the House, would be let off with a reprimand by Mr. Speaker. He (Mr. Rylands) could not think that was by any means a course which it was desirable to pursue. He ventured to remind the Leader of the House that Mr. Grissell treated the House last Session with the greatest contempt, and that he had added to the offence by keeping out of the way, only delivering himself up at the very end of the Session. Indeed, he turned the whole proceedings into a farce. Under these circumstances, the proper course would be to pass a Resolution that Mr. Speaker issue his Warrant for Mr. Grissell's apprehension, and when he was in their custody—the House not having made any terms with him—they could then decide what should be done with him. [*Cheers, and cries of "Move!"*] He had not wished to move an Amendment; but as it seemed the feeling of the House, he would move that there be omitted from the Chancellor of the Exchequer's Resolution the following words:—"And that he be reprimanded, at the Bar, by Mr. Speaker, for his contempt of this House."

The Chancellor of the Exchequer

SIR WILLIAM FRASER: I second the Amendment. The way the Chancellor of the Exchequer proposes to deal with Grissell seems to me altogether inadequate. I would remind the House that both Grissell and Ward have committed so serious a Breach of the Privileges of the House as can be conceived. They stated that they could influence a Committee of this House by corruption. The Select Committee that inquired into the matter, under the presidency of the right hon. Member for the University of Cambridge (Mr. Spencer Walpole), reported that they had been guilty not only of a Breach of the Privileges of the House, but also of perjury. One of the delinquents has been punished by the House; the other evaded the Warrant by going abroad, making no valid excuse as to his health, but remaining abroad till the evening of the day before the House was prorogued. He then gave himself up, and had received the nominal punishment of one night in Newgate. I understood from the Chancellor of the Exchequer at the end of the last Session that Grissell was sent to Newgate for evading the Warrant; and that that punishment did not purge him of the contempt of which he had been guilty. This is not a case of vindictiveness, but of just punishment: if ever a case called for punishment it is this. I know nothing about these men, and pray I never may. Considering them as A and B, they merited punishment. Grissell would not feel a reprimand, but would leave the House saying "You could not punish me; or you dared not." To bring a man of that sort to the Bar of the House to be reprimanded was virtually to inflict on him no punishment at all.

Amendment proposed, to leave out from the word "accordingly" to the end of the Question.—(Mr. Rylands.)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

MR. EVANS hoped the Amendment would be carried, as it was a very great improvement on the original proposal. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford must, he (Mr. Evans) believed, think so too, for he had used the words that the course proposed to be taken by the Chancellor of the Exche-

quer would the proper course to take "in the first instance." But if the Motion were carried as it at present stood, the House would feel itself bound in honour to go no further, when Mr. Grissell appeared at the Bar, than to reprimand him. He (Mr. Evans) very much questioned whether that was a sufficient punishment. He hoped no one would believe him likely to be actuated by vindictive feeling; but Mr. Grissell had set the authority of the House completely at defiance, and had acted in such a manner as to make the action of the House ridiculous to the outside world. That deserved more than a reprimand. They should bring him to the Bar, hear what he had to say, and then, after proper deliberation, they could decide upon what punishment they should inflict.

MR. BERESFORD HOPE sincerely trusted the House would adopt the Amendment. How should they stand if the Motion which the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in his goodness and kindness of heart proposed, were to pass as it stood? The lesser offender, Mr. J. Sandilands Ward, had been substantially punished—at least, so it was said; though he (Mr. Beresford Hope) did not think the punishment had been severe enough—for the House, in a very indulgent mood, making allowance for the ticking of the clock, let him off sooner than it perhaps ought. The greater offender was now before them, the person named in the Motion of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. What was his offence? In the first place, as the Committee presided over by his right hon. Colleague had found, he had been guilty of what amounted to perjury as well as contempt of the House. In the next place, *abijt, evasit, erupit*, and went to Boulogne. When the Serjeant at Arms sent a messenger after him, he found this gentleman, who had to seek the sea air under a doctor's certificate, seemingly in good health. Anything more flagrantly insolent could not be imagined. This gentleman—or, rather, this person—having committed the grave offence of perjury, in the most impudent manner, ran off to Boulogne, laughing at the House, and because he was a clever adventurer, and there was undoubtedly such very grotesque elements in the case, they had laughed with him, and perhaps laughed a little too much—and

so were now expected to leave out of account how he had exposed the Privileges and Prerogatives of this House to the contempt of all the world, and particularly of that class of society to which he himself belonged. Then, at the end of the Session, he came back in order to undergo the farce of a few hours in Newgate. Let them consider, besides, the history of the Petition sent in at the very last minute, and the higgling over it. The whole thing was impudent and offensive; one step aggravated another; one thing made the offender less worthy of their compassion than another. If they let him off with a reprimand, to which he would listen with his tongue in his cheek, they would expose the House to the ridicule and petty persecution of all other men whose views of business morality and getting on in the world were like those of Mr. Grissell.

MR. DODSON said, that as a Member of the Committee the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer had done him the honour of communicating to him the proposal which it was intended to submit to the House; and he expressed, so far as he was concerned, his willingness to support that Motion. At the same time, he appealed to the right hon. Gentleman whether, in view of the feeling which had been strongly manifested on both sides, he would not consent to modify his proposition in the manner suggested?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: I have not the smallest objection to take the course which has been suggested by the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Dodson). What I feel on these questions is that it is, above all things, undesirable to outrun the sense of the House; and I therefore certainly made a proposal which I considered to be a mild one, but which I thought might, at all events, have received the assent of the House. I did so after communication with the right hon. Gentleman opposite and other hon. Gentlemen whom I thought it right to communicate with. It was a question of great doubt with them all whether the proposal I made would be sufficient to meet the circumstances of the case. It is perfectly evident, from the feeling of the House, that it would not be sufficient; and, therefore, I have no objection to consent to the omission of the words in the latter part of the Motion.

Mr. Beresford Hope

Question put, and *negatived*.

Main Question, as amended, put.

Ordered, That Charles Edmund Grissell, having evaded punishment for his offences against the Privileges of this House, until the close of the last Session, be sent for in the custody of the Serjeant at Arms attending this House, and that Mr. Speaker do issue his Warrants accordingly.

MOTIONS.

GAME LAWS.—RESOLUTION.

MR. P. A. TAYLOR*, in rising to move—

“That, in the opinion of this House, the existing Game Law Code, maintained for the purpose of preserving certain wild animals for sport, is unjust to the farmer, demoralizing to the labourer, and injurious to the whole community, and should therefore be abolished,”

said: Mr. Speaker, I am sure the House will acquit me of having unduly pressed the question of the Game Laws upon their attention, considering the immense importance which, in my opinion, attaches to them. I observe, somewhat to my surprise, that it is as much as nine years since I last introduced the question of their abolition. Finding on that occasion that I met with but small, and that not increasing support, while there also appeared but little desire to discuss the question at all, I felt that I should be doing less good by wearying the House by an annual Motion on the subject than by endeavouring to act on public opinion in the country, and I accordingly at once assisted in the formation of the Anti-Game Law League. I cannot claim full credit for not bringing on the question during the present Parliament, seeing that for the last two or three Sessions I have only been prevented from doing so by ill-fortune at the ballot. I am particularly glad, however, in having the opportunity of doing so now—first, because it is extremely desirable that in this last Session of an expiring Parliament the farmers, as well as other classes interested in the question, should have the opportunity, previously to the General Election, of seeing by the Division List what course is taken by their Representatives, and especially by the farmers' friends in this House—real or assumed. There is another reason why it is especially important that the question should now be discussed, seeing

that for the last two or three years the shadow of agricultural distress has again come upon all parts of the country. We hear on every side of bankrupt farmers, of lowered production, and of unsatisfactory prices. We have heard recently, Sir, of numerous farms being to let, of diminished production, and increased prices; and it seems to me that it would be desirable that we should have an opportunity of discussing in this House whether this question which I have to introduce to your notice to-night, that of the Game Laws, is or is not an important element to be considered in the question of agricultural distress. I am not going to discuss agricultural distress this evening; I am only going, at present, to discuss the question of whether the Game Laws are one element in agricultural prosperity, and whether they are a potential element in the question of agricultural distress. I will afterwards proceed to discuss other questions to which this inquiry may lead.

Now, I am quite aware, so far as I have learned the views of the farmers throughout the country, and so far as they must be disposed to speak their views through the various agricultural associations, that they do not seem to make a very strong point of the Game Laws in respect of agricultural distress. Perhaps that may partly proceed from what my hon. Friend the Member for South Norfolk (Mr. Clare Read) thought so important in the position of these agricultural associations, that it was quite unnecessary for farmers to form themselves into independent bodies and farmers' alliances—namely, that in this agricultural discussion they had the enormous advantage of being under the presidency and influence of the local landed proprietor. I have certainly observed that where the farmers appear to be more free from these shackles of that partizan interest, they have spoken out with considerably more force, both with regard to the Land Laws and the Game Laws. I will, however, first proceed, with the permission of the House, to give a few reasons why I believe the Game Laws are a very active element in the question of agricultural distress.

I will first call into the witness-box my hon. Friend the Member for South Norfolk, who, on opposing my Motion on this subject in the year 1871, declared that—

“The landlord might let a farm at a high rent eat the tenant up with ground game, and ruin him, and yet be sure of every sixpence of his rent.”—[3 *Hansard*, cv. 1372.]

I take it there is a potentiality in that statement very serious for the farmers' interests. Another rather distinguished tenant farmer, Mr. J. Shephard, who gave evidence before the Committee in 1873, declared that “landlords have it in their power to ruin a tenant simply by a little negligence in respect to game.” Happy farmers! If they have a malicious landlord they can easily be ruined, and if they have a negligent one they are pretty sure to be. Again, the hon. Member for South Norfolk says—

“In a great number of cases of insolvent farmers in Norfolk, their ultimate ruin is attributable to the over preservation of game.”

It is surely hardly necessary for me to read any more extracts to show that there is a potentiality of danger to the farmers in this question of the Game Laws.

Since this question of the distress of the farmers has been raised, many organs of popular opinion throughout the country have sent Special Commissioners down to inquire into the subject; and I will read two or three lines from a letter of the Special Commissioner of *The Daily News*, who was sent to the county in which I now live, Sussex. He says—

“It is principally of hares and rabbits that the greatest complaint is made, and by many farmers these latter are classed as vermin, the damage which they commit being, where they are allowed to accumulate, almost beyond measure, and their presence being altogether incompatible with even decent cultivation. But it is not the rabbits and hares alone which are so annoying, for if the winged game do not of themselves commit any serious injury, the keeping of them harbours rats, and wherever pheasants are fed, there, or else in the very near neighbourhood, will be found an accumulation of rats. The destruction of these pests is made the more difficult by the thickness and frequency of the cover afforded by the hedgerows, and this again is a cause of further complaint, besides the fact that the sporting landlord does not deem the damage committed by rats to be worthy of acknowledgment or compensation. The indifferent cultivation of the farms in this neighbourhood I have heard generally attributed to the preservation of game.”

Again, a land agent, writing to *The Land Agents' Record*, which is, I believe, a valuable organ to all persons connected

with the purchase or transfer of land, says—

“The relations of landlord and tenant at the present time are peculiarly interesting. Never within living memory have such a number of notices to quit been given by tenant farmers. Many landlords would prefer making large reductions in rent to giving up the game; but if they are wise they will not retain such a source of annoyance and heart-burning in their midst. No one but those who have suffered from game and rabbits know the mischief and loss they inflict, or the angry feelings they daily arouse.”

There is, perhaps, some hope of this matter interesting even landowners now, because the depression among the tenants seems to have spread even to the landlords; and we hear that they have many farms which they cannot let, or for which, in order to secure tenants, they are, at any rate, obliged to accept lower rents. One great landlord, says the Commissioner of *The Norfolk News*, has now 5,000 acres on his hands, and in every case game is the cause. An estate of 6,500 acres, of which 4,000 are on the landlord's hands, was lately put up for sale without finding a purchaser. Its prime element of value was that “21,000 head of game had been killed on it during the year.” It is now come to this—“that the country will be uncultivated, or the head of game must be greatly diminished.” I take it, Sir, that I have now made my first point that the Game Laws are potentially, at any rate, a question of enormous importance in the discussion of agricultural distress.

But now, what are these Game Laws that we are met to discuss? A number of Gentlemen in this House speak of them as though they are very rational and reasonable laws, and say that if they did not exist now, we should have to do our best to create them at the earliest possible opportunity. That is not my view, and I will venture to give the House my explanation of what I understand them to be. They are laws which give a sanction to the old feudal principle of class privilege in regard to wild animals, permitting them to be used for the sport of one class. Of course, their effect is not in any way altered because the feudal is not the only principle now, and because the plutocracy has come in to share the privilege of the landed interest. I am not aware that the new landlords are likely to be any more careful of the interests of the farmers, or of the labourers, than the

previous landlords were in old times. Blackstone says, and I cannot do better than quote his words—

“From this root (the Forest Laws) is sprung a bastard habit, known by the name of the Game Law; both alike were founded upon the same unreasonable notions of property in wild creatures, and both were productive of the same tyranny to the commons.”

But the matter is worse than this; these wild animals belong to the community, they belong to the people of the country. Blackstone again upon this point says—

“It is indisputable that the wild denizens of the field marsh and forest, known to lawyers under the name of *Fera nature*, are the common property of men, be their degree what it may.”

The wild land of the country, and the wild animals of the country, belong alike to the whole of the community, and if legislated for, can only be legislated for in the interests of the whole of the community. The peasant has just as much right as the Duke to hunt and kill and eat the wild animals of the country, always provided he does no damage to the land on which they are killed.

But, then, this leads me to a more serious charge; and I declare that, in my opinion, I do not in the least exaggerate when I say that the Game Laws are a permanent statutory violation of the Common Law of the land, of common justice, and of common honesty. They enable the landlord to say to the farmer—“There is land which I let you at a certain rent under certain covenants; but between the lines you must read this—that when you have your stock, your cattle, your bullocks, and your sheep, or whatever else you may choose, on the land—that then another stock is to come upon it in indefinite quantities at my pleasure, and the hares and rabbits, vermin to the farmers, shall be placed on the land as I choose; and that there shall be only this peculiarity in this kind of property—that you shall pay for them while they remain mine.” The landlord says to the labourer—much as other game preservers said 800 years ago when they made the New Forest—“Our pleasure is sport, cost what it may to the country; and we will retain our amusement by the power we have in the Legislature.”

What some landlords think of these laws I will show by a very few words from a landowner who is not ashamed

to care for his peasantry—a statesman who is not ashamed to denounce abuses. The Marquess of Ailesbury, speaking at the Savernake rent audit recently, said—

“The peasant comes home to his cottage, and there is hardly enough to make a dinner for his wife and children; over the next hedge are a lot of half-tamed pheasants, and the temptation is too much for the hungry man, and he commits an offence which those wicked laws constitute a crime, for which he is to be sent to prison. How can any just man attempt to defend such laws? He did not often sit on a bench of magistrates; but whenever he had done so, and poaching cases had come before him, he had always treated them with the utmost leniency possible, because he felt the glaring injustice of the laws he was compelled to administer.”

But this is approaching a word which is very dreadful under ordinary circumstances, and which, when it comes of the people, and is used of the property of the rich, goes under the ugly name of confiscation. You may say, how can it be confiscation when it is according to law? But there may be such a thing as legal confiscation.

Let me give an illustration. There are land reformers going about the country, one of whose proposals, and one which is approved by large numbers of the population, is that the people should resume the land—that there should be no absolute fee-simple property in land. I say, if that measure were carried into effect without compensation to the landowners, that such an act of injustice and confiscation would be committed as was scarcely ever before known in the history of the world. But I will not admit that it is better when the property of the poor is taken for the benefit of the rich. It is then Socialism turned topsy-turvy, and not improved by the process. What is the difference? The Socialist would, by artificial legislation, take from the rich for the supposed benefit of the poor. Your Game Law system, under equally artificial legislation, takes from the poor for the pleasure and amusement of the rich. These Game Laws that we maintain so snugly have, indeed, nothing like them in the civilized world. France and Germany have equalled, if not surpassed, us, in the infamy of their Game Laws; but the Revolution of 1789 put a stop to them in France, and the Revolution of 1848 ended them in Germany.

I know it is said that there are Game Laws all over the world, and the Reports of certain Consuls and Envoys have been published, in order to show that to be the fact; but I maintain that anyone who reads those Reports fairly will see that there is none of them to compare in severity or atrocity with the Game Laws in existence in this country. Recollect that many elements must be taken into consideration; and I say, taking all those things into account, there is not a country in the world disgraced by a Game Law system such as ours. I shall be told there is a Game Law in America. My hon. Friend the Member for South Norfolk, my hon. Friend the Member for South Leicestershire (Mr. Pell), have come back from that country, with a wondrous story that Republican America has a Game Law system. I have heard my hon. Friends spoken of for this assertion as “the Innocents Abroad.” I do not think this is quite a true joke, and I think they rely too much on our innocence at home. I suppose my hon. Friends have got a catalogue *raisonné* of the dreadful deeds done there in America. But have they found there such a thing as farmers imprisoned and subjected to hard labour for snaring a rabbit outside their own hedges, or a list of criminals to compare with the 10,659 criminals made in one year by our Game Laws here? It is not a very easy thing to speak of a Game Law system in America, where every State makes its own laws; but, nevertheless, bold as it seems, I will challenge my hon. Friends, and I will assert that there is no Game Law from one end of the United States to another, in the sense in which we use the term, or in which it has any meaning at all. It is quite true that the Americans preserve all the wild animals of the country as we do, quite apart from our Game Laws; that they have laws and systems by which they protect the whole *fera natura* of the country; and that they are patriotic enough to care for picturesqueness, and for scientific discovery. But that is not a Game Law. It is true they preserve blackbirds, sparrows, and other birds; but that is not a Game Law either. When the late lamented Mr. Motley was here from America as their Minister he took great interest in this question; and I got a letter from him, four lines of which I will read, with the permission of the House. After describing their

laws with regard to wild animals, he says—

"Practically, however, this legislation is in the interest, not of an aristocratic class—for there is none in the United States—but of the farmers and labourers, who own the land, and who do not object to its being shot over, except when the trespasser, by so doing, damages growing or standing crops. Our Game Laws are not aristocratic, but democratic or scientific."

I can tell my hon. Friend and hon. Gentlemen opposite that amongst the things which astonished educated Americans when they come here—for many of them have told me so themselves—is the theory and practice of our Game Laws. They cannot understand that there should be a class in England that seeks to maintain them, and, worse still, a population that will endure them. That to them is one of the most astounding things they meet anywhere.

As regards the question of the extent of the traffic in game, I had a curious illustration in a circular sent me the other day. It appears that large profits are made by the letting of land for game, and this circular comes from a shooting agency in Fleet Street. I am told that there are others, and that this gentleman is by no means one of the largest, yet he has for patrons two Dukes, six Earls, four Lords, ten Baronets, plenty of esquires—and all Scotch proprietors. The shooting he offers—and he is by no means the largest agent—amounts to nearly 1,000,000 square acres sacrificed to game. Some of the conditions of which he speaks in regard to the various properties are instructive and amusing. Mr. So and so

"will send his list post free to a carefully-selected list of gentlemen, numbering several thousands, and embracing most of the aristocracy, the Members of the House of Commons, and the leading professional and mercantile men over the Kingdom."

These are the notes in which he describes the various properties he has to let:—

(No. 1) "Securely fenced off from sheep." (No. 2) "Facilities would be afforded by the proprietor for gradually removing the present sheep stock." (No. 3) "Episcopal church on the property, where a clergyman generally officiates—during the sporting months." (No. 4) "The forest is amply stocked with deer, having been cleared of sheep for 40 years. It is stipulated that no sheep shall be kept on the ground by the lessee. The proprietor reserves power to destroy hares and rabbits for the protection of his young plantations."

Mr. P. A. Taylor

[*Laughter.*] Yes, of course, he would destroy the hares and rabbits to protect his young plantations. If he were as ready to destroy them to protect the crops of his farmers, hon. Gentlemen opposite would have more right to cheer.

(No. 5) "The lands, as a whole, would form an excellent deer forest, being in the immediate neighbourhood of lower cleared land."

Oh, happy farmers! who enjoy the lower cleared lands where this deer forest is to be created.

(No. 6) "No keepers required, as estate is surrounded by carefully preserved lands."

Does it not strike hon. Members that this is one of the most remarkable illustrations that could possibly be made by the statement that in politics, as in other things, extremes meet?

Here we have, in this little island of ours, from the effects of what you may call over-civilization, from the enormous accumulation of wealth, from our manufactures, from the monopoly of land, and from various other things, precisely those evils re-produced that hitherto have only been supposed to exist in the wildest and most desolate regions, and amongst the most savage barbarians. When we see accounts of the Red Indian driven back by the Anglo-Saxon in America—back from the lands that his forefathers owned, back and still farther back—we pity him, for it is all that we can do. We recognize, as a fatality of history, that the savage must pass away before the Anglo-Saxon and civilization. Agriculture has to be spread; cities have to be founded; arts and sciences follow in their wake; and how can the Red Indian live with them? He requires thousands and tens of thousands of acres of prairie for his buffaloes to roam; he needs a trackless forest for the wild animals on which he lives, and by whose skin he is clothed; he requires for his own wants what would provide for 10,000 men, and so he must pass from the world. But what shall we say, when we come to our own little island swarming with humanity as ants swarm in an ant hill, and find that here we have a system which is incompatible with the existence of the Red Indian in America actually growing up on our own shores? Estates, parishes, divisions—yes, even counties in Scotland—are being sacrificed to this passion. These game-preserving magnates are as much out of

their place—nay, far more out of it—than the Red Indian in the back woods of America. They are in a false position, and, for the sake of themselves and their country, the sooner they come out of it the better, for the people will not long permit such an anomaly—such an injustice—even though wooed by the siren strain of that well-known couplet, which I will venture slightly to paraphrase, and say—

“Let wealth and learning, laws and commerce, die,
But leave us still our game monopoly.”

Now, Sir, as to the question of the damage done to the farmers, it is not, of course, for me to say what it may be, for I am no agriculturist; but I have obtained from agricultural authorities what they think it to be, and it appears from their statement that the damage is so enormous as to be positively incalculable. Mr. Wright, a valuer in the county of which I have the honour to represent the chief town—Leicestershire—says that he allowed between £800 and £900 to one tenant, and that on some parts of the land the allowance was £12 to £13 an acre. Mr. Hewitt, at the Sussex Chamber of Agriculture, said, as regards rabbits, that—

“Last year he made a valuation of a certain farm of the damage done by rabbits. He put it down, and was confirmed in his opinion by others, at £25 per day. These rabbits entirely destroyed the crops, and the farmer had to plough up his fields.”

With regard to the damage done to agriculture by hares, the Agricultural Commissioner of *The Daily News* in Lincolnshire says—

“Game depredation means that anywhere in the neighbourhood of coverts you get three quarters of barley per acre instead of five. Your wheats are damaged by hares and rabbits in a way which makes the estimation of damage rather difficult. Riding past a crop you might think it level and upstanding; but go into it, and you find innumerable tracks leading to plots which are eaten down and thus cleared as playgrounds. Rabbits nibble the roots and stems of young quick, and destroy scores of yards together of good hedgerows, in addition to which the keepers ruin the hedges in innumerable places in digging after the ferrets when catching rabbits.”

Now, my hon. Friends the Members for South Norfolk and South Leicestershire must be able to correct me if I am wrong in all this; and if I am not, I want to know what alternative they have

to propose? The Agricultural Commissioner of *The Daily News* says, again—

“I heard of one case in which a field of turnips, lying far away from any other roots, was wholly consumed by flocks of hares, inasmuch that the tenant, in an ironical mood, wrote this note to the landlord:—‘Please send a load of turnips or the hares will starve.’”

At a lecture given in Sussex, at the Botley Farmers’ Club, on “Hindrances to Agricultural Progress,” one gentleman said—

“There can be no doubt that the loss by game of agricultural produce, irrespective of impediments to the cultivation, is enormous. It is not disputed by practical men that at present only one farm in five can be rented free of the game, and, probably, this freedom applies only to one-eighth of the leased land in the Kingdom.”

But people say that, so far as the farmer is concerned, he has compensation if he can prove damage. Well, in the first place, I must premise that this is not simply a question between the landlord and the farmer. Even supposing that the farmer can be satisfied with the compensation which he receives, the country and the labourer would still remain to be reckoned with. But everybody who has ever studied the matter knows for a fact that compensation to the farmer for loss by game is simply a sham. Mr. Gray, of Dilston, declared that he never knew a farmer get half what he was entitled to; and a farmer must be a very prosperous man if he can bear to venture into the Law Courts against his landlord. Here is what happened to one of them.

“The owner of the estate lived far away, and the shooting got into the hands of a lot of lawyers, who soon had it filled with ground game. In one case a tenant was noted for his trim, well-kept hedges—they were like garden fences. These were all pulled up by the game preservers, and stuck into the ground to prevent poaching by nets. Sheep grazing in the field got the thorns fast in their wool, and they became almost wild with the annoyance. The farmer, too, was almost wild with the damage done to his growing crops. He got the damage valued, and sued the parties, getting a satisfactory verdict; but the lawyers took the case to a higher and more expensive Court, and there the original verdict was reversed. The farmer was condemned in all costs, and he was financially ruined, finishing all up by taking poison.”

[Laughter.] I am very sorry that the fact of a farmer being driven to suicide by these Game Laws should be a matter for laughter amongst hon. Gentlemen on the opposite Benches, who, I thought,

always prided themselves on being the farmers' friends.

But then we are told that this can be dealt with by freedom of contract. I have already pointed out that even if the farmers were satisfied it does not follow that the country should be; but I may also say that there are various kinds of freedom of contract, and there are various ways of acquiescence in a particular course. The freedom of contract allowed to the farmer is of much the same kind as the freedom allowed to the convict when the hangman taps him on the shoulder and points the way to the gallows. He does not resist; he says not a word, and he goes quietly because he knows his case is settled. Be it remembered there is no class in the country whose position is more hopeless than that of the farmer. A trader can take his capital and invest it in some other business; but the farmer knows no other trade than that to which he has been brought up, and he must put up with any injustice or be turned out of his land, and left to his only other remedy—that of emigration. A most amusing illustration of the idea that farmers are free to contract is shown by the condition of the Scotch and the English Game Laws. Here, if a lease is silent respecting game, the property in it resides in the occupier; in Scotland, if there is no clause in the lease, it resides in the landlord, and nobody cares twopence whether it is the one or the other, because the landlord has only to nod or wink, and that is just as good as a clause in the lease. If the law gives him the game he keeps it, and if it does not he takes it. The noble Lord the Member for Haddingtonshire (Lord Elcho), from the line of examination which he pursued before the Committee, is evidently of opinion that the landlord should get all he can for his property, and that if he can get more money by growing deer than by growing corn or sheep he is perfectly free to do so. That is a novel way of asking a question often asked before—“Am I not entitled to do what I like with my own?” It is scarcely worth while asking that question now. But the question may be answered in one of two ways. First, you may not do what you like with your own; or, secondly, you may do what you like with your own; but your land is not the sort of

property with which you can do as you like. Then we are told continually that we are interfering with the sentimental relation between landlord and tenant, and disturbing that blessed harmony which is supposed to exist between the two. Those who talk in that sort of way must be rather surprised at the number of cases in which there have been meetings of farmers to express sympathy and to give testimonials to evicted farmers. I take it that the case of Mr. Hope, of Fenton Barns, is not forgotten in the farming world; and I may add to that two little illustrations which I have in my notes. Mr. Claydon, an Essex farmer, holding 1,000 acres, whose family had been 70 years on the farm, was evicted because he would not submit to a clause preventing him from shooting rabbits, or catching rats in banks. Mr. Clark, a tenant farmer in Norfolk, said at his auction—

“My fathers have resided here nearly 100 years. I leave because, in my landlord's own words, I have been disposed to discuss the question of game. I trust that the time is fast approaching when the tenant farmers will support each other in this matter.”

Now, I call upon my hon. Friends the Members for South Norfolk and South Leicestershire to stand forward as the champions of that cause.

I have now dealt with the way in which these laws affect the farmers—next let me say a few words as to the labourers. I have endeavoured to divide what I have to say into various portions, so as to show how these laws affect various classes in the community; but I am quite aware that it is very difficult to make that division a perfect one, because these divisions must necessarily run into each other. That which is injurious to the farmer cannot be beneficial to the community or to the labourer. Still, I make this division for convenience, and I will repeat myself as little as possible. Now, with regard to the labourer, what strikes one first, as the right hon. Member for Birmingham (Mr. Bright) said some time ago, is that these Game Laws confine his right in his native land to the highways. He and his family and his children can no longer walk by the woods, or pick the wild flowers, or find birds' nests. If a man goes on the land he is accused of poaching, and if women or children venture there they disturb the game. As

Mr. Joseph Arch, that eloquent defender of his class, has said—

“These laws destroy the produce of the labourers’ gardens, and make the very existence of small freeholds an impossibility to the labourer, because these little oases are disgusting to the landlord. No more is it open to the labourer or his family to wander by the brook or in the glen in search of flowers, blackberries, or birds’ nests—the man himself is charged with poaching, and his family, at least, disturb the game.”

But, above all, the damage done to the labourer is that these laws are wholesale manufacturers of crime. Upwards of 10,000 criminals suffered last year under the laws. Nothing more disastrous can be done to the community or to humanity than to make people disrespect the law, by setting the law to punish, as a crime, that which their conscience does not tell them is a sin. They may, indeed, go innocently into the gaol the first time; but *facilis descensus averni*, and having been there once they are pretty sure to go there again. “Oh,” I have heard gentlemen say, “poachers, scoundrels, thieves; if they don’t take our game, they would take our poultry or something still more valuable.” [“Hear, hear!”] I am very sorry to hear that cheer, because the assertion is one utterly without foundation. There is no class in the country at the present time which regards poaching as a crime, any more than smugglers in the old days of the Revenue Laws regarded smuggling as a crime. How could it be regarded as a crime? It would be a disgrace to the country gentlemen if it were, because it is an offence which they are continually committing themselves. Mr. Young, the Secretary to the Board of Excise, said in his testimony before the Committee—“A great many gentlemen shoot all the year without taking out a licence.” I had also a list sent me of gentlemen who had shot without a licence. What does a country gentleman do if he wishes to have an enormous number of pheasants? He obtains them from somebody—I will not say he steals them, because that would be to accuse him of a crime—but I will say he procures them. Lord Stradbroke, writing to *The Times* two or three years ago, said—

“Only yesterday a box containing pheasants’ eggs was sent from a station in East Suffolk addressed to the gamekeeper of a noble Earl in

Scotland, and I can prove that such boxes are continually sent by a notorious receiver to different places in England.”

Now, I say it would be a libel on the country gentlemen of England who are addicted to this practice if I did not maintain that they themselves do not think poaching a crime. The other day a chairman of a bench of magistrates was fined for a breach of the Game Laws for killing pheasants three weeks before they were in season. It may be asked, was there not a great outcry of public opinion? There was. But the public opinion was not against him for violating the Game Laws which he was there to administer—and, I am told, was wont to administer with something more than usual severity—his neighbours were angry that he should do so mean a thing as to shoot before the time pheasants, which had not been turned into a preserve and slightly tinged with wildness. The Chairman of the Board of Conservators, in Wales, writes—

“My experience is that everyone, from the highest to the lowest, has a sympathy with the poacher, and willingly purchases without asking questions. I could tell you of clergymen, medical men, leading solicitors, in a large way of business, tradespeople, and others who all supply themselves from this source.”

Is it not rather mean, with evidence such as that before us, to brand the lowest class of poachers with being criminals and thieves? I think it is hardly worthy of gentlemen.

The next thing to which I wish to call your attention is the astonishing violence with which these laws are maintained. Shakespeare tells us that “things bad begun make strong themselves by ill.” The wonder is the country should endure the brutal violence with which these laws are carried out. I will give one or two instances. At Bridlington Petty Sessions two poachers were charged with night poaching; and Green, a game watcher, was charged with shooting one of them. Stanion, a keeper, called to Appleby, a poacher, to stop, or he would warm him. He then ordered Green to fire, and Green took deliberate aim at Appleby, who dropped down. He was examined by Dr. Alison, who found that he had 48 gunshots lodged in his thigh, back, and the right side of his head. That is hardly the way in which the law should be administered in a civilized country—to say nothing of a Christian

country. Again, a head-keeper was watching with his under-keeper and two other men in a wood. A couple of mock pheasants had been placed in a tree, and the keepers were near the spot. About half-past 1 in the morning they saw several men coming up the ride, who went towards the tree where the mock pheasants had been placed, and directly afterwards shots were fired. Now, a great deal has been said against England as a nation of shopkeepers; but this is surely much worse than mere shopkeeping. If a tradesman hung up pewter spoons made to imitate silver ones, and, when a thief came to steal them, he fired at him, he would surely be hung if the man so shot died of his injuries. Here is a case from Mildenhall, in Suffolk. On the men seeing the keeper they ran off. He then let loose an immense mastiff, 22 inches high, partially muzzled, which succeeded in catching Mutum, and pulled him down. Whilst Mutum was defending himself from the attack of this dog, which Wharfe, the keeper, admitted was a ferocious one, he was struck on the head, stunned, and secured. Prisoners said they had both been bitten by the dog, and Mutum complained of being severely struck by Wharfe whilst trying to keep the dog off. The Bench, in consideration of the severe punishment they had received from the keepers, mitigated the punishment to two months' imprisonment, and sureties for 12 months. We have all heard, I suppose, of the cases in Wales last year, which really, in some parts of the country, almost amounted to civil war on a small scale. There was a fight between the keepers and the poachers, and the latter barricaded themselves in a stable and were besieged. A Correspondent of *The Times* sends an interesting incident of what occurred in Barbadoes during the administration of Mr. Pope Hennessey. In speaking of that gentleman I should like, in passing, to say how much individually I respect him, because, wherever he may be, he seems to carry equal justice and humanity to the people over whom he is placed. *The Times* Correspondent writes—

"I have heard but of one complaint against the troops. It was that of a planter who declared that the soldiers had misbehaved themselves, because, though his rabbits and pigeons had been stolen, they had not shot a single nigger."

Mr. P. A. Taylor

That unfortunate planter was in a wrong position. He should not have been a planter in Barbadoes, but a landlord in England. God knows we show little respect in shooting our niggers when after rabbits or pheasants—so little, indeed, that Canon Kingsley, no hater of the aristocracy or true sport, was stung into writing, in his well-known ballad of the "Poacher's Widow," what hon. Gentlemen opposite may, perhaps, deem a severe condemnation—

"There's blood on your new foreign shrubs,
squire;

There's blood on your pointer's feet.

There's blood on the game you sell, squire,
And there's blood on the game you eat."

I say, again, that there is nothing like the Game Laws in any country in the world for severity or atrocity. I will go further, and say there is no other portion of our criminal jurisdiction equalled in the partiality, harshness, and absolute illegality with which they are administered. At the South Eastern Circuit, at Lewes, before the Lord Chief Justice, it appeared that when the keepers went out to watch they took with them a large dog to hunt poachers, which ran after them, and attempted to bite one of them. It has always been thought that the use of dogs for hunting men was confined to the interior of Jamaica; but we now find that we have improved on all these things. The Lord Chief Justice then observed that the use of a dog for such a purpose was most improper, and if keepers were proved to have allowed a savage dog to worry a man, although he might be a poacher, they would get themselves into serious trouble. Only, unhappily, it appears that these keepers never do get themselves into serious trouble. Later on it appeared that after a scuffle between the keepers and three men who were trespassing in search of game, the latter ran off, followed by the keepers, and one of the latter knocked a poacher down who was running away. The Lord Chief Justice again interfered, and told the keeper he had no right whatever to do that. He had no doubt that the stick used was not a light one, and he might have killed the man. If he had, his offence would at least have been manslaughter, and possibly something even more serious. He advised the keepers to be careful in future, and not to repeat such acts of violence.

[“Hear, hear!”] Why this squeamishness on the part of hon. Gentlemen opposite? Surely their expression of feeling is out of place. Do they deny that they send out bands of armed watchers to arrest and fight the poachers, and if they do, that they admit all that has here been said? Here is another case, tried only last month at Liverpool, before Lord Coleridge. The poacher ran away. He usually does run away; and, indeed, if he can get off, he of course prefers to do so. The gamekeeper fired at him, and hit him in the back; another shot was then fired, but he could not say whether it hit him or not. He went into the wood and became insensible, and lay there until he was found some time after by the keepers. After he recovered he was brought up, and imprisoned for 14 days for poaching. All honour to Lord Justice Coleridge, who, in sentencing the gamekeeper who thus wounded the poacher, said that although poachers were engaged in a pursuit that was a violation of the law their lives must be protected, and sentenced the gamekeeper to 12 months’ hard labour. That surely was not a great punishment for a deliberate attempt to murder. If that poacher had died, I know no reason why that man should not have been put in the dock and tried for murder, and why his employer should not have stood by his side as an accessory to the murder before the fact. In truth, one great advantage of the abolition of the Game Laws would be that the door which opens on the gallows would no longer be slammed in the face of such unquestionable deserts. The Marquess of Ailesbury, speaking of this sort of dealing with poachers, said that through these iniquitous laws four persons had lost their lives in that neighbourhood—two policemen murdered, and two men were hanged for the murder. He said to his brother—

“Thank God it was not on our estate; how could we ever have justified ourselves in our own eyes again had our game preserving brought about such a horrible catastrophe?”

Next, as to my second charge against the Game Laws—the enormous and prodigious penalties by which they are enforced. I will not trouble the House with many illustrations; but I will just quote this case. An old man named Harrison was charged at the Evesham

Petty Sessions with having shot at a rabbit near his allotment ground. That was surely not a very severe offence, and the defendant was strongly recommended to mercy by the complainant, on the ground that he had served his country as a soldier with credit. For this offence the poor old man was sentenced to pay 40s. and costs, and, in default of payment, was sentenced to two months’ hard labour in Worcester Gaol. I may mention, for the comfort of hon. Gentlemen opposite, that the fine was afterwards paid, and the man released. In another case, reported by *The Scotsman*, where the defendant, a farm servant, was convicted of what the Sheriff termed merely a “technical offence,” he was fined 1s. and ordered to pay £5 expenses. In another, at Epsom, a defendant who pleaded guilty to having been on land in search of rabbits, was sentenced to three weeks’ hard labour, personal security for £10, two sureties £5 each, or in default six months’ imprisonment. Now, I may appeal to the House whether there is any portion of our criminal jurisdiction whatever where offences are punished with such tremendous severity?

I have charged that the Game Laws are administered with great partiality. That needs no proof. Of course they are partially administered, because they are administered by the very class who have an interest in the laws they maintain. I have not a word to say against the country gentlemen. They are Englishmen, no better and no worse than their fellows, put in a thoroughly false position; and probably do no worse and no better than any other class in an equally false position would do. Who would consent, in an issue between employer and workmen, to allow the jury to be composed altogether of masters or of tradesmen? The thing is ridiculous. The point is, indeed, very well put by *The Saturday Review*, when it says—

“The magistrate who convicts a thief acts in the interest of every man in the court. The magistrate who convicts a poacher commonly acts in the interest of nobody but those on the bench. The number of magistrates who would consciously pervert the law to convict a poacher is probably very small; but the number of magistrates who unconsciously carry to the bench the passions of the preserve is very large.”

Now, with respect to the question of general damage, I do not know what specific evidence I can bring. I should

say that the curse of sterility is on these laws. If he is blessed who makes two blades of corn grow where only one grew before, then he who only allows two to grow where there were previously three, is * * —well, he is the other thing. I will not attempt to calculate the damage. I have heard it put at £10,000,000. I have heard it put at £50,000,000, and at a great deal more. It is, in fact, simply incalculable, varying greatly with the season, the locality, and above all, with the caprice of the landlord. My right hon. Friend the Member for Greenwich (Mr. Gladstone), in writing to a gentleman on another subject, said—

“I look upon an augmentation of the supply of animal food, in whatever way it can best be effected, as the most important, perhaps, of all the questions of purely material interest which now press themselves on public attention.”

In view of that statement, I venture to ask my right hon. Friend whether the abolition of the Game Laws has not now become one of the most important of all the questions of purely material interest that now press themselves on public attention? But when we are told by Mr. Caird that we consume annually £107,000,000 of imported agricultural produce every year, what possible excuse can there be for turning loose these hares and rabbits which consume such enormous quantities of its food? My hon. Friend the Member for South Norfolk (Mr. Clare Read) declared some years ago that 40,000 more sheep could be easily kept in Norfolk if hares and rabbits were only kept within reasonable bounds.

Another reason which I would quote beside the positive injury done to the farmer, and the injury to every class of the community, is the fact that the Game Law system is utterly incompatible with high farming. It is obvious it must be so, and the larger the crop the greater the power of vermin to damage it. I say there can be no doubt that enterprising farmers will hardly care to invest much in a farm where a large head of game is preserved. [“Oh, oh!”] Well, if hon. Gentlemen want my authority I will mention that Mr. Pusey said before the Committee of 1846—

“I have seldom had less on my hands than 2,000 acres, and I have inclosed 4,000 acres of waste. I found the two occupations of a game preserver and an improver of land by planting and farming perfectly incompatible.”

Mr. P. A. Taylor

Again, he says, as a sort of illustration of the damage done by game—

“I allowed my gamekeeper to have four acres of land near the covers rent free; but he was obliged to give it up, the game injured him so much.”

Actually a little spot of land round these covers, given to a man rent free, was absolutely valueless. Now my hon. Friend the Member for South Leicestershire (Mr. Pell) said, on the last occasion when this matter was debated in this House, that all this talk was very well before the Corn Laws were repealed, but that now they were repealed, and we had the power of getting free corn from all parts of the world, it was ridiculous to talk about the damage to the community by this loss. That is so bad an argument that I hardly know how to answer it; but I will try to do so by venturing on an illustration. You tie a man's two arms behind his back and turn him out. He rebels, protests, objects, and, as a matter of great favour, you cut one arm free. Growing bolder by this concession, he asks to have the other freed, and then you say—“Ungrateful scoundrel, did not I free one arm, and here you have the impudence to ask for the other?” Please God we will free both arms before long!

There is one other point to which I should wish briefly to allude—the utter disturbance of all the usual processes of nature by your system of Game Laws. In order to keep up your game, you destroy all kinds of predatory birds and animals; and you not only so lose great picturesqueness in the country, and destroy scientific interest, but you do positive injury to the farmer through the increase of things which these creatures would naturally prey upon. While you destroy hawks, weasels, and owls, the farmer is eaten up by pigeons, rats, &c. No one knows more about this matter than the Rev. F. O. Morris, and he writes—

“Six stacks of corn were thrashed out on one day and one the following, and no less than six stone of mice were destroyed on the occasion, besides the number killed by dogs—in all some 2,000 killed in two days or less, on a portion only of the stacks at one farmstead. The rats feed in the winter on the corn put down in the woods for the pheasants, and increase and multiply to a ruinous extent. Their natural enemies—the weasels, stoats, owls, kestrels, and other hawks—are most cruelly destroyed by pole traps, and others set on the ground. As for the

damage done by hares and rabbits to growing crops in fields adjoining woods, it is most grievous."

Why, the fact is, in any other country than ours, did such a nuisance affecting the life and property of the nation exist, we should put a price upon the head of these vermin and destroy them. In the next paragraph will hon. Members please read for "tigers" the word "hares." Dr. Hunter, the Director General of Statistics to the Government of India, states that the ravages of tigers form one of the obstacles to the extension of civilization. Already the Indian Government offers large premiums for the destruction of wild animals; and those Nawabs and Rajahs who still pride themselves upon retaining preserves of savage beasts for hunting purposes ought to subordinate the gratification of their tastes to the public welfare. In Australia they are nearly devoured by rabbits, and accordingly the Legislature has interfered and passed a Rabbit Suppression Bill. They have authorized the common "Shire Councils" to levy a rate of 1*l.* per acre to defray the expense of killing them. All brushwood fences in a rabbit district are to be burnt down, at the option of the Inspectors; and anyone turning rabbits loose is liable to a fine of £10 for each offence.

Now, Sir, I may be asked why I go in for so extreme a measure?—why I do not attempt something moderate, which I should have a chance of carrying? My answer in the first place is, that no modification of the Game Laws can effect any good purpose, for this precise reason—that all the evils that I have described arise from the prodigious head of "game," and nothing but a destruction of a large part of this enormous amount of game can effect the purposes desired. My Motion is also moderate in the sense that it would destroy two extremes—it would put down the battue system, and would take away all employment from the poacher. Now, I am not alone in this opinion. Lord Hatherley stated—

"I do not believe that the great grievance arising from the Game Laws can be relieved by any palliations, and therefore they must be entirely got rid of."

And my hon. Friend the Member for Bury St. Edmunds (Mr. Greene)—to whose genial criticism I should have been very happy to be subject this even-

ing—said on the last occasion I brought this subject forward—

"That there was no step between the maintenance of the Game Laws and the proposals on the subject by the hon. Member for Leicester. Either it was right that game should be preserved or it was wrong. If it was wrong, the system should be attacked."

Now I know it is the fashion to attempt to frighten farmers by talking about the dangers of trespass; but the dangers of trespass have nothing to do with the matter. I am not now discussing the trespass laws—they may or they may not be sufficiently stringent—but this I know—that if the Acts which I propose to abolish were done away with there would be less temptation to trespass than there is now—as the farmers will very quickly see when they have no landlords to preside over their deliberations. For instance, Mr. Hewitt said at the Sussex Chamber of Agriculture—

"Lord Malmesbury said if the Game Laws were abolished, the fact would necessitate a severe trespass law, and increase the rural constabulary by some 10,000 or 15,000 men. ["Oh, oh!"] He was glad to hear that significant cry, for he believed there was not a tenant farmer in the hall who was so insane as to put any credence in the reckless statement of Lord Malmesbury. As farmers they knew that if the temptations to poach were removed that crime would gradually decrease."

I will also quote on this point the testimony of another gentleman, who, with the exception of my right hon. Friend the Member for Birmingham (Mr. John Bright) has done more than anyone against these atrocious laws—the late Mr. Welford. He said—

"No trespasses other than game trespasses are ever committed in England which the law does not effectually prevent or punish. But a trespass law for the purpose of protecting game—or making privileged certain kinds of wild creatures—is a demand to which no tolerance should be given. There is nothing that would do more to sweeten the breath of rural society, and pave the way for goodwill and right feeling amongst all classes in our agricultural districts, than the repeal of the Game Laws."

Now, the impossibility of dealing in a small way with these Game Laws is also fully illustrated by the fact that, after all the inquiries and Committees that we have had, nothing has been done. The fact that I have alluded to, of the impossibility of really diminishing the evils of the Game Laws by so-called moderate reforms of them, perhaps accounts for the fact that so little has been done to carry out the recommendations adopted

in the Reports of either of the Committees of 1846 and 1873, and that little has been practically useless. My hon. Friend the Member for Linlithgowshire (Mr. M'Lagan) is to be complimented upon the zeal and energy with which he carried through his Game Laws Amendment (Scotland) Act. I am sure he will agree with me that, useful as, no doubt, his Act will be, he only touched the fringe of the subject, for it really only tended to give a little compensation to farmers and to tenants, and transferred the tribunal from the justices to the sheriffs.

In regard to the recommendations of the Committees to which I have alluded I will just mention the abolition of cumulative penalties. This was recommended in both Reports, but remains untouched. Regarding rabbits as vermin, as recommended in the Report of 1873, nothing has been done. The abominable system under which the informer gets half the penalty—a gross injustice to the accused, and a terrible temptation to the gamekeeper—this, too, was recommended to be altered by both Committees, but remains untouched. But finally, if the House will allow me, I will give it the most extraordinary illustration of the impossibility of obtaining any reform of the Game Laws that can possibly be imagined. The House is already aware that the punishment for night poaching is of the most severe and atrocious character. For poaching at night without threatening violence a man may be sentenced to 14 years' penal servitude; and for just taking a rabbit at night, with no intention of violence at all, the penalty is seven years' penal servitude. The first Committee, in 1846, recommended that that atrocious punishment should be modified. In the Report of the Committee of 1873, drawn up by a late Colleague of the Government (Mr. Ward Hunt), a similar recommendation was passed. No notice was taken of it in this House. There was a curious little incident showing the feeling in regard to the Game Laws which took place last year. A Scotch farmer was subjected to an atrocious punishment for trying to snare a hare just outside his own hedge. A Scotch Member brought up a question on the subject; and the Secretary of State for the Home Department said he was prepared to bring in a Bill to modify that law. He did bring in a

Bill, declaring that when there was no evidence whatever that violence was committed or was intended, that the punishment for night poaching should be reduced to what it would have been if the offence had been committed in the day time. I at once rose and suggested to the right hon. Gentleman that, however desirable it might be thus to assist the Scotch farmers, the English farmers had every right to the same privilege, and that he surely would not dream of passing a Bill for Scotland which did not extend to England. After some consultation, the Lord Advocate frankly accepted that alteration, and promised if I would withdraw my opposition to the second reading that he would pledge himself to bring in a Bill extending the change to Great Britain. I was, unfortunately, ill at that period, and had no opportunity of watching exactly how the matter went; but I know, in the first place, that this fairly moderate piece of legislation was altered down to absolute nothingness and meaninglessness. It was provided, in the first place, that the poacher must be alone, and that he must have no nets with him; so that it amounted to this—that if he proved he was not a poacher he should only be punished as if he had been caught in the day time. But that change was too strong for the Government Bench, and the Bill was officially burked at 7 o'clock in the morning one day in August. No doubt it may be said when the Government saw it had been reduced by their Friends to so simple a matter they resolved to put it on one side, and to deal with the matter in the Criminal Code Bill. But on examining that Bill I find in it the same atrocious clause, and it is still proposed that a man should be liable to seven years' transportation for taking a rabbit. While that clause remains in that Bill I promise it my most unmitigated opposition; and I will stop short of nothing but that never-to-be-mentioned horror of having my humble name mentioned by you, Sir. In fact, the only alteration in the law of late years has been an alteration of the most aggravating severity; and that is the Act of 1862, called the Poaching Prevention Act. This Act did a great deal towards making game property, not so far as it turned policemen into game preservers, and actually disregarded a vital principle in our Constitution that a

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man shall be deemed innocent until he is proved guilty. At present any poor labourer wandering along the road with a bag on his back may be stopped by any scoundrel gamekeeper, who can claim the right to search him in order to see whether he has or has not game upon him. The Commissioner of *The Norfolk News* said—

“As I have seen and heard much of the evil of game preserving, I will add one or two facts of which I was reminded by my informant in Suffolk, who has had large experience in game districts. He ascribed much evil to the Poaching Prevention Act, by which policemen were turned into gamekeepers, paid by the county and the State. This Act has so operated that while game preserving is as rampant as ever gamekeepers are less and less in request, their places being supplied by policemen. He assured me that a little while ago in *The Field* newspaper he observed 60 advertisements by gamekeepers out of situations, and only two by gentlemen requiring gamekeepers.”

Probably the audacity of class legislation was never manifested in a more distinct manner than in this case, when, having first confiscated the property of the people in the wild animals of the country, the country gentlemen then forced the people to pay for the preservation of the stolen property.

Two propositions have been made under which the present Game Laws might be abolished, to make game property, or to pass a stringent Trespass Law. To pass a Trespass Bill is simply to re-produce the Game Laws in another form; while to make game property is to increase the evil, and to make it more flagrant by making the confiscation of the property of the people absolute and certain. A stringent trespass law—why, the Night Poaching Act is a stringent Trespass Law. If you want to reduce the evil, you must reduce the head of game. If you pass a stringent Trespass Law which does not allow the head of game to be destroyed, you will simply have made a nominal change. A much more valuable change suggested is to remove ground game from the protection of the Act, and to leave only winged game under its protection. I cannot accept the principle that ground game is the only one which does damage; immense harm is done by winged game also. The Bishop of Manchester writes:—“Ground game does more hurt to the farmer; winged game does more hurt to the peasantry.” I apprehend also that of the 10,000 men convicted annually,

far more are victims to pheasants than to hares. Mr. Hammerton, of the Warwickshire Farmers' Club, declared that he had heard farmers say they had had gamekeepers hatching and increasing game for months on their farms; and when they began to peck their food, and were not able to fly, they were taken in baskets and set down in the middle of the fields to eat corn. Mr. Fisher, a Scotch farmer, said before the Committee that “a man in the Highlands had his entire crop destroyed by grouse.” My objection to this change is a fatal one—that it is impossible to separate these two heads of game. If you substitute for the Game Laws a Trespass Law, as regards ground game, who is to tell which a man is trespassing in search of? The landlord will be sure to say that the man is after winged game, the trespasser will declare he is after ground game; and while there is a great head of game left on the land, not only will the evil to the farmer be undiminished, but the evil of poaching and of trespassing will be neither diminished nor done away with. We say simply to abolish the Game Laws is the only way to mitigate the evil.

Now, this is my indictment against the Game Law system. It is a strong one I believe. It is a true and unexaggerated one. I have carried the House through the various classes affected by the law up to the whole of the community. I cannot hope that I have converted the House to my views. The House will, perhaps, excuse me for saying that if there be any subject in this House on which I could not expect it to exhibit absolute impartiality, it would be on the question of supporting these Game Laws. But if I have not converted them, and if we cannot get rid of these laws from within, we must ask assistance from without. I find an historical parallel which encourages me in what I do. We are told that many hundred years ago the fields of the Balearic Islanders were overrun and eaten up by rabbits, which could not be slain by the natives because they were sacred animals. It is interesting to the philosophic observer to notice the continuity of certain religious ideas. The rabbit is as sacred now as it was before the Christian era. Well, the Balearic Islanders found they must get rid of the rabbits, because rabbits and religion together would have been their ruin. But as they were unable to do

it themselves, they sent to Rome for soldiers to do their business, who had no religious scruples on the subject. It is what I propose to do. But the Rome to which we shall have to send is not farther removed than our agricultural districts, and the soldiers who will do our business will be the enfranchised agricultural labourers. In conclusion, I beg leave to move the Resolution of which I have given Notice.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL, in rising to second the Motion, said, he had not been in the habit of taking part in the debates on the subject; but he was of opinion that the Game Laws were radically wrong, and must be swept away, and if he had not been of that opinion, he would have been convinced by the eloquent and impressive speech of the hon. Member for Leicester (Mr. P. A. Taylor). He did not know whether the remedy proposed by the hon. Member was the best that could be discovered; but, at any rate, they would clear the ground. He was in a position to take a somewhat impartial view of the subject, as for the last 35 years—indeed, from the time he was able to hold a gun—he never missed an opportunity of doing his duty in the way of shooting, although with somewhat indifferent success. He quite admitted that, to a certain extent, man was a hunting animal; and that being his nature, he thought it was well that hard-working men—such as the Legislators of that House—should, after they had terminated their labours, return to their savage state, and the pursuit of wild animals. As it was a good thing to turn a horse out to grass, so it was a good thing that a man should be turned to his savage state at times. But this might be carried too far in the interests of the rich. As a consequence of the preservation of game, it was a fact that, at the present time, a Highlander had become almost an extinct animal in his own country, which had been converted into a ground of enjoyment for the rich. In the view of our requirements as a great Empire, it was, he believed, an irreparable error to have caused the wholesale emigration of Highlanders to take place. The result of such a depopulation was that we had not now the men for our Armies that we formerly had. In the Highlands, men had to give way to sheep, and sheep to grouse,

and thereby a great national loss had been sustained. His opinion, however, was that, although the Game Laws might, in many respects, operate for the benefit of the rich, and in some sense, when used moderately and fairly, be from their point of view not undesirable, still that the House should take a wider range and consider what was most beneficial to the whole community. The conclusion from the arguments of the hon. Member for Leicester was, he thought, irresistible—namely, that great and grave evils arose to the community from the existence of those laws, and that, therefore, those evils must be remedied by some very radical change. He would not go into the case of the farmers. They were, no doubt, able, to a certain extent, to preserve their interests by contract; but they could not always take sufficient care of themselves, for it was notorious that contracts were frequently found to be insufficient for the purpose intended, and great losses resulted to them from the action of the Game Laws. But his chief interest was in the general community, who might be said to be represented by the poacher. Now, the poacher was an unpopular person, although, he believed, Shakespeare, Robin Hood, and other distinguished persons, who had come down to us as great men and great heroes, were poachers. However that might be, it was certainly the case that there existed in the general community a justifiable feeling against the Game Laws. As he understood the state of things, it was this—The Common Law of England and Scotland was in favour of the poacher. Trespass upon land was not a criminal offence; its utmost penalty was payment for the damage done to fences or crops. Neither was the killing of game an offence at Common Law. But Parliament had, by statute, created a concrete offence, and trespass in pursuit of game became a crime. It was made a criminal offence by landlord enactments and Land Laws, against which the feelings of the people rebelled. What, then, was the remedy the hon. Member proposed? It was simply the abolition of the Game Laws; and he was not sure that, upon the whole, admitting that it would be an evil as regarded the recreation of the rich, it would not, if it were possible, be a good thing to have the Game Laws wholly abolished, and with the Game

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Laws the game also. But he feared in the present state of things that was not possible. He thoroughly agreed with the hon. Member for Leicester that they could not cure the evil by any mere modification of the present Game Laws. There was one remedy which had been proposed, and which the hon. Member for Leicester stigmatized as idiotic. That remedy would make game property on certain conditions. Unless they abolished the Game Laws and game altogether, he thought the only alternative was to make game property. But he would not do that without compensation. The rights of the people as to free access to land had been greatly abridged in recent times. Not many centuries ago two-thirds of the land of England was common or commonable land. There was free passage over it, and there was the right to the game. Gradually these rights had been taken away, and the greater part of the land inclosed; and the people were absolutely confined to the high roads. The result was great inconvenience, and it would be an additional grievance if the right of the people to the game was swept away without any compensation. The view of the case he had to suggest was that this question of the Game Laws should be treated, not by itself, but in connection with the whole of the Land Question, which was coming rapidly upon us. Unless the Game Laws were to be abolished altogether, the only alternative was to make the game property, as sheep were, under certain conditions; and in that event the people ought to have a *quid pro quo* in their restoration to some of the other rights in the land of which they had been deprived. The kind of *quid pro quo* he would suggest would be to give the people an absolute right of way over the land, with fair compensation to the landlord, whenever it was really necessary, and to make that necessary, subject to the decision of a public tribunal, and to establish the liability of the proprietors to the expropriation of portions of the land for purposes of general benefit—for garden grounds, small properties, and other requirements of the people—with, again, fair compensation to the landlord, as had been suggested by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Greenwich. The hon. Member concluded by seconding the Motion.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That, in the opinion of this House, the existing Game Law Code, maintained for the purpose of preserving certain wild animals for sport, is unjust to the farmer, demoralising to the labourer, and injurious to the whole community, and should therefore be abolished."—*(Mr. P. A. Taylor.)*

SIR WALTER B. BARTELOT, in rising to move, as an Amendment, "That it is not now expedient to deal with the question of the Game Laws," said, the hon. Member who had just sat down (Sir George Campbell) had given many reasons why the Game Laws should not be abolished, and yet he was going to support the Resolution of the hon. Member for Leicester (Mr. P. A. Taylor). The hon. Member for Kirkcaldy told them he had amused himself by shooting; but in the hon. Member for Leicester they had a man who had never, perhaps, indulged in the pastime of shooting or hunting since the day he was born. What did the hon. Member know of the feelings of those who indulged in English sports? He must know very little, if he supposed that by one fell swoop he could, by a Resolution in that House, abolish the Game Laws. He had read a great number of extracts from newspapers; but he had not verified one of them. He (Sir Walter B. Barttelot) did not rise to defend the over-preservation of game; in fact, he disliked it as much as anyone. He believed over-preservation had been fatal in some counties, and that had it not been for it, this outcry against the Game Laws would never have been raised. No one was more fond of good shooting than the hon. and learned Member for Oxford (Sir William Harcourt); he enjoyed it, and would be sorry to see it abolished; he would be the last man to go and live or even stay in the country unless he could enjoy this sport. It did not at all follow that he liked to indulge in it to the detriment of anyone else; and it was not necessary that he need do so. They did not require the abolition of the Game Laws in order to get rid of the evils connected with them. The hon. Member for Kirkcaldy did not think they ought to be abolished, but would make game property providing trespass were abolished. Suppose the hon. Member had an estate near a large town; how would he like a few thousand people trampling over the crops? That

could be satisfactory neither to him nor to the neighbourhood; and such a proposal might be dismissed as one which, if it were tried, would certainly have to be repealed. The hon. Member for Leicester had alluded to one of the most mischievous of practices, the buying of eggs. No gentleman ought to buy eggs; it was a temptation to the poorer classes to take them in order to sell them at the highest prices they could obtain; it made them poachers from their youth; and it was an excessively mischievous thing. But that was no reason why the Game Laws should be abolished. No doubt, there were anomalies connected with the Game Laws, and some poachers had been dealt with too severely; but if the hon. Member for Leicester would look at all the cases that came before the magistrates, he would find that they did act with discrimination, and that they made a difference between trumpery cases and those in which violence had been used. He did not deny that an excessive amount of ground game had in former days done a great deal, he might say an immense amount of mischief; but in his (Sir Walter B. Barttelot's) own county, at least, that complaint had been got rid of as regarded hares and rabbits, by letting tenants come there and have power to kill rabbits. Landlords felt that it was, indeed, to the best interest of both that they should be on good terms with their tenants; they often went out shooting together, and the tenant enjoyed sporting over the property he rented. Did tenants wish to have the Game Laws abolished? If the game on a farm were given up to the tenant he always proved to be the best game-keeper: no one enjoyed shooting more; and whether the tenants had the game, provided they had the power to keep down the rabbits, they would be the last to say the Game Laws ought to be abolished. If they did not give gentlemen some amusement to attract them to the country and to keep them there, they would have absenteeism, which was so much complained of in Ireland. What an amount of writing there was in the newspapers about the 12th of August, the 1st of September, and the 1st of October! Would it not be a disappointment to the people in the towns if there was no game in the country? In France they could not find a blackbird or a sparrow, and now legislation was necessary

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to preserve even the small birds. The hon. Member for Leicester had called to his aid the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham (Mr. John Bright), who never had a good word to say for country gentlemen; but if the Game Laws were abolished then salmon rivers ought not to be preserved; and the hon. Member for Leicester, to be consistent, should include them in his Motion. The right hon. Gentleman was only amiable when he was catching a salmon; but otherwise he described country gentlemen as stupid, good for nothing, and who were only interested in punishing and avenging themselves on poachers. If the Game Laws were fairly administered and over-preservation was stopped, they might be maintained with less mischief than would attend their abolition, and it was for that reason he moved that it was not expedient to deal with them at the present time.

EARL PERCY, in seconding the Amendment, said, that in mentioning Robin Hood as a poacher it had been overlooked that he was also a highwayman, and that it was as good a defence for highway robbery as for poaching to say that it was a temptation to the poor man that the rich man should have something the poor man wanted. The speech of the hon. Member for Leicester (Mr. P. A. Taylor) was a great display of strong feeling and hard words against the Game Laws and their administration; but his strength of feeling was a good deal wasted, because no one would deny that as regarded such administration there were some evils connected with the system of game preserving which all would be glad to see removed. But when the hon. Member said they were an element in the agricultural distress of the country he did not adduce any evidence of a conclusive character. Nothing which the hon. Member for Leicester said, from the beginning to the end of his speech, as proving damage, referred to anything but hares and rabbits. Besides, the instances he quoted related to only one or two districts of the country. Speaking with, perhaps, almost equal authority, he (Earl Percy) might say he knew parts of England where no such cases, nor anything approaching to them, could be brought forward against either landlords or magistrates. Then, the hon. Member for Leicester compared the state of things in France under the

old régime to what now existed in England. But no such comparison could be instituted. He did not need to follow the hon. Member in all the accusations he had brought against the working of the Game Laws. Without defending the stringency of those laws, he must observe that many of the cases brought forward were cases in which the law had been stretched in a manner in which those who wished the Game Laws preserved disapproved. The hon. Member for Kirkcaldy (Sir George Campbell) had shown most conclusively, as his hon. and gallant Friend the Mover of the Amendment (Sir Walter B. Barttelot) said, what was the real value of the Game Laws in a national point of view. The hon. Member for Leicester said a poor man had now no right to go anywhere but along the highway; but that certainly was not the fact. In no country that he (Earl Percy) was acquainted with was there greater freedom enjoyed by the public to traverse the lands of proprietors than in England, and for this simple reason—that the Game Laws enabled them to put a stop to any abuse of the right. He heard with some alarm the proposal of the hon. Member for Kirkcaldy that there should be right of way over every man's property; but if, in the absence of Game Laws, they were to preserve their property from mischief by trespass, it would be necessary to have a strict Law of Trespass. They had been told that if country gentlemen were deprived of the right they had to enjoy sport, they would most likely leave their homes and live elsewhere. There was a great deal of truth in that; but he put the question on higher ground. That which distinguished this country was what was called our country life, under which a body of gentlemen possessed of property, and having the interests of the people at heart, took part in the sports and directed the local affairs of their district, thus showing that they were of use and influence in the world. Of this influence the hon. Member for Leicester sought to deprive them. This was a question which concerned the whole nation. If, as he (Earl Percy) believed, country gentlemen were the most respected and respectable class in the country, if they did good work and maintained a position which gave to the country character and weight, he said it would be an evil day

for the country when those were driven from it who formed so essential an element in its direction and in its power. He hoped that day was far distant; and though he should be sorry to base his objection to the Motion of the hon. Member for Leicester solely on this ground, yet, seeing in it an element of great danger, and taking other objections also into consideration, he begged to second the Amendment.

Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "it is not now expedient to deal with the question of the Game Laws,"—(Sir Walter Barttelot,)—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

PRIVILEGE (TOWER HIGH LEVEL BRIDGE (METROPOLIS) COMMITTEE).
ARREST OF CHARLES EDMUND GRISSELL.

The Serjeant at Arms reported to the House that, in pursuance of the Order of the House, and in obedience to Mr. Speaker's Warrant, he had taken Charles Edmund Grissell into custody.

MR. ASSHETON CROSS : Mr. Speaker, in the absence of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, I move that Charles Edmund Grissell do stand committed to the custody of the Serjeant at Arms; and that you, Sir, do issue your Warrant accordingly; and that the Serjeant at Arms do bring him in custody to the Bar of the House to-morrow at 12 o'clock.

Motion agreed to.

Ordered, That Charles Edmund Grissell do stand committed to the custody of the Serjeant at Arms attending this House; and that Mr. Speaker do issue his Warrants accordingly.

Ordered, That the Serjeant at Arms do bring the said Charles Edmund Grissell, in custody, to the Bar of this House, To-morrow, at Twelve of the clock.

GAME LAWS.—RESOLUTION.

Question again proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

SIR ALEXANDER GORDON said, it was amusing to hear that the Seconder of the Resolution did not agree with it, because he said that, in his opinion, the

Game Laws should not be abolished, but altered. In that he agreed entirely. Nothing had created more irritation in connection with this subject than the practice of selling game; and those who wished to preserve the Game Laws should do their best to put a stop to that practice. So far from the Game Laws being objected to as a whole, he had known farmers object to the small quantity of game. Farmers liked to have a few hares to shoot in order to entertain a friend. If he voted for the Resolution, it would be in the sense of the Seconder and not of the Mover, for he thought that it was desirable not to abolish but to modify the Game Laws. He had himself introduced a Bill on the subject which had satisfied that not very easily satisfied body, the Scotch Chamber of Agriculture. It proceeded upon the principle of abolishing the protection of ground game; and he believed that if that were done there would be little more agitation against the Game Laws. The Court of Session in Scotland had last year decided that rabbits were vermin, and as such ought to be destroyed by farmers without taking out a gun licence; but the Chancellor of the Exchequer had refused to instruct his officers to recognize that decision in so far as to exempt farmers from the necessity of taking out a gun licence in order to shoot rabbits; and a similar difficulty, raised as to the shooting of wood pigeons without taking out a gun licence, had created great irritation, and had led to a good deal of agitation against the Game Laws; because people had got the idea that, unless the Game Laws were abolished, they could not shoot rabbits and pigeons without a licence. In conclusion, the hon. and gallant Baronet repeated that he should vote for the Resolution in the sense put upon it by the Seconder, and not in that of the Mover, because he was not for the abolition, but the reform of the Game Laws.

MR. CLARE READ said, he stood in a peculiar position with regard to this question. He did not agree with his hon. and gallant Friend who moved the Amendment (Sir Walter B. Barttelot), which he (Mr. Clare Read) thought was somewhat shirking the question. He did not agree with his hon. Friend who moved the Resolution (Mr. P. A. Taylor); and he was equally unable to agree with his Seconder, or the hon. and gallant

Gentleman who had spoken last (Sir Alexander Gordon), as they both objected to the repeal of the Game Laws, and yet were going to vote for such repeal. He looked at the question almost entirely from an agricultural point of view, and would endorse a saying which was attributable to the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham (Mr. John Bright)—namely, that a farmer had a right to protect his crops from all wild animals that preyed upon them. That was his (Mr. Clare Read's) notion—that a farmer should have the inalienable privilege of killing hares and rabbits which devastated his farm. He went even further than that; he would not deprive a landlord of that power, for he had seen instances in which game was kept in such a quantity by a tenant as to seriously injure the property of the landlord. The rabbits and hares pulled down fences, destroyed quickset, and ate away the underwood; and actually, in some cases, they destroyed the young timber. If the law granted this joint right, he believed that in the majority of cases there would be no collision between the landlord and tenant. Almost the whole of the agricultural grievance centred in ground game. With the exception of wood pigeons, all kinds of birds did a certain amount of good—more good than harm—and he would be very sorry indeed that game birds should be extirpated. His hon. Friend the Member for Leicester had ridiculed his statement that there were Game Laws in America; but, although he might be an “innocent ignorant,” he certainly did see and hear of Game Laws there. You constantly saw notices put up that trespassers who hunted or fished would be prosecuted. Even in the wild State of Minnesota, where there were thousands of acres of unoccupied land, there was a very stringent law regarding the preservation of wild fowl and birds. In almost every State there was a close time; and even in New York, he believed, the people were not allowed to kill a sparrow. The consequence was that there was such an enormous number of sparrows in New York that he was quite sure they must be a dreadful nuisance. It was rather curious that, while the English farmer complained of hares and rabbits, the Irish farmer rather rejoiced in the hare, so that last Session a Bill had been introduced and passed to enact

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a close season for hares. He hoped that such a proposal would not be made for England. It was quite true that he (Mr. Clare Read) had stated some years ago that thousands more sheep could have been reared in Norfolk but for the large quantity of ground game that was to be found in that county. He had very great pleasure in testifying to the decreased quantity of ground game in the Eastern Counties at the present time. In fact, hares and rabbits were done away with on many estates. When the hon. Member for Leicester said this was a year of exceptional severity in the agricultural districts, he (Mr. Clare Read) would also observe that the year was also an exceptional one as regarded the small quantity of game in those counties; and, therefore, he did not think game could be said to have anything to do with deficiency in the crops. He agreed with the hon. Member for Leicester in thinking the Police Poaching Act objectionable. It was anomalous that a police-constable should have the right to search a man in the highway if suspected of poaching, but not if suspected of robbing a hen-roost. When, however, it was asserted that a starving labourer was under peculiar temptation to poach rather than steal, he begged to express his dissent. He could not see why a game preserve should be more tempting than a hen-roost or a sheepfold. Under the existing law, a landlord could eat a tenant up by means of game, and yet the Law of Distress would give him the power to recover his rent. That seemed to him an injustice. The landlord might—he did not say it was often done—let his farm, and afterwards let his game. The consequence would be that the game tenant would have no sympathy with the agricultural tenant, and the latter might be ruined; and though he did not say such cases happened frequently, still he thought the law which allowed them ought to be amended. He was not a total repealer, but a reformer of the Game Laws. He thought a remedy might be found for the farmer as well as for the landlord, by modifying the existing laws. Although there were one or two Committees which had made suggestions and certain modifications which had not yet been carried into effect, he was not without hope that whenever leisure time came, Parliament would take into con-

sideration the present Game Laws with the view of providing an adequate remedy.

DR. KENEALY: Mr. Speaker, I do not intend, in the few remarks which I shall make, to enter into the general question of the Game Laws. The millions in this country, the bulk of the population, have made up their minds as to their arbitrary and oppressive nature, and as to the mode in which they are administered; and they are nearly all against them. But of what force or use is their opinion? This House, consisting mainly of Whig and Tory landlords, is not at all likely to repeal the Game Laws. The Whigs are as resolved as the Tories, and the Tories are as resolute as the Whigs upon this; and I shall, therefore, waste no time in argument, because I believe that argument is useless here at the present time. But I desire to mention one or two facts which have been lately brought before me; and they are of such a nature that they will weigh with those who read our debates, if they do not tell in the House itself. These facts are connected with Richmond Park, and with its Ranger, the Duke of Cambridge. This noble Duke reserves a great portion of that park for his game preserves, and he charges the public for his game-keepers. I do not know by what right he does either. I have always thought and believed that Richmond Park was a public park, and was public property, and was open to all the public; but the Duke of Cambridge thinks differently, and acts accordingly. In the old Tory days of one of your Predecessors, Mr. Speaker, in that Chair—I mean Mr. Addington, who afterwards became Prime Minister—King George the Third was so pleased with him, that, when he presented him with Richmond Lodge, he made an offer to inclose 60 acres of land with it; but Mr. Addington refused on public grounds, and because it was a public park; and it was only after some importunity that he finally consented to have 10 acres inclosed; and with these he remained satisfied as long as he occupied the Lodge. But we live in different times now; and I hear that the Duke of Cambridge has inclosed a large part of the park, and made it into preserves, and excludes the public, and does a great many things which he could not do if he were not supported by the Game Laws. I shall mention the case of Mr. Waite,

which has been brought before me. I hear that Mr. Waite is a respectable man; but, under the Duke and the Game Laws, he has been treated with hardship, and I even think with injustice. He was walking some time since in Richmond Park with a dog. He saw a rabbit, for the place is thick with them, and he took it. Very few persons would resist the temptation in a park that belongs to the public, and Mr. Waite did not resist. He was pounced upon by the Duke's gamekeepers, and he received no less than four summonses. First, he was summoned for trespass; second, for trespass on a Royal preserve; third, for going there with a dog; fourth, for taking a hare. He was tried before magistrates, and for these four offences—which were really only one—he was fined £7, or four months' imprisonment with hard labour. Can we wonder that such laws, thus administered, are odious in the eyes of all persons? I shall therefore vote with the hon. Member for Leicester (Mr. P. A. Taylor).

MR. PELL, as a Game Law reformer, regretted that the hon. Member for Leicester, (Mr. P. A. Taylor) should have presented his case in a grotesque and exaggerated form, such as one might have expected to find in a chapter of that celebrated satire of Swift's, *Gulliver's Travels*. It was an extravagant picture of the state of things which existed in this country some years back. The hon. Gentleman's remarks would have been more to the point if they had set forth the objections to the Game Laws, the abstract principle of which lay in a nutshell. It was this—that hares and rabbits ought not to be exterminated, inasmuch as they were articles of food, but ought to be kept in their places. He would admit that the Game Laws required modification in some respects. There could be no doubt that rabbits were unduly preserved in some parts of the country, and such an amendment of the law as would keep them within proper bounds was desirable. Considering that a Select Committee had sat for two years to investigate the question, he thought the hon. Member for Leicester might have submitted a more precise and more tangible proposal to the consideration of the House. For his part, he could not support the Motion of the hon. Gentleman; and he was equally disinclined to vote for the Amendment of the

hon. and gallant Member (Sir Walter B. Barttelot). There were many objectionable features in the Game Laws. Many of them had been pointed out by witnesses examined before the Committee to which he had referred, and of which he was a Member. He himself suggested Amendments in that Committee, and he still maintained that legislation was called for. Indeed, he had attempted it once himself, shortly after the Committee had reported. The Bill he then introduced would, he thought, give the tenant farmer an opportunity of protecting himself against the undue preservation of game by third parties. He gave great attention to the framing of the measure, and employed an able draftsman; but it was snuffed out in a moment by the late Member for West Aberdeenshire (Mr. M'Combie), who characterized it as a monstrous Bill. After all, it should be borne in mind that the Game Laws were really Laws of Trespass, and it was a question for consideration as to how far those Laws of Trespass might be relaxed without jeopardizing the give-and-take principle which at present obtained in the country of allowing persons to pass over land, though they had no right of ownership or occupation. Sometimes he had seen 400 or 500 horsemen come across his land, and of these not half were landowners, the majority of them being overworked merchants and men of that class whose occupations were in the City. No doubt, damage was done to the land by hunting; but in these matters the give-and-take principle must be observed. He thought the proper amendment would be—not that the Game Laws should be entirely swept away, but that as soon as possible they should be considered by the House with a view to their amendment.

MR. MUNTZ said, the complexities of the Game Laws were so peculiar that it was very difficult to frame a measure for their removal. While it was difficult to deal with this question by Resolution it would be still more so to bring in a Bill, and if any measure were introduced it ought to be on the responsibility of the Government. If it were done at all, it must be done by the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for the Home Department, and the sooner it was done the better. At present the law left the game entirely in the hands of

the tenant, who, if he agreed to give it up for the use of the landlord, got the land at a lower rent. He believed that, in most instances where game was not over-preserved, and where a proper feeling prevailed between the landlord and tenant, which was generally the case in England, not so much harm was done as the world was trying to represent. Still, he admitted that there was some harm done. The mischief to the crops was caused almost exclusively by the ground game. In one case as much as £60 or £70 was paid for damage to a single field committed by such game. Partridges, on the other hand, did no harm, but good, and the number of pheasants was so comparatively small as not to interfere seriously with crops. He saw no alternative whatever but to abolish ground game, and he believed that if they were abolished there would be little or no grumbling. The law might be altered with that object; but to enact a Law of Trespass was a very different affair. The present Secretary to the Treasury had endeavoured to deal with that; but the Committee that had inquired into the subject had not recommended a change. The night poacher was generally the refuse of society, and it was difficult to deal with him; but the case of a day poacher was very different. Another point was rather important. It appeared from trustworthy evidence that no fewer than 30,000,000 of rabbits were annually grown in this country for the market. That was a serious question, and it came this—Did they lose or gain by them? He believed decidedly that they lost by them, if, at least, it was true that eight rabbits consumed the keep of one sheep. With respect to sheep, he might remark that the hon. Member for Leicester (Mr. P. A. Taylor) had not accurately described Scotch deer forests, which, in fact, were not forests, but large tracts of wild land where deer actually lived. The evidence and the probability was that as much meat was grown in them under the present state of things as could be obtained by feeding sheep. However, the whole question was very serious, and of the greatest importance; it was impossible that it could be allow to rest; and it would sooner or later — the sooner the better — command the attention of the Government of the country, though he envied no Government that was so hardy as

to attempt to deal with it. Still, the Committee of 1873 had presented a very able Report, which would some day be the basis of legislation; and in the meantime, by way of protesting against the policy of inaction, he felt himself compelled to vote for the Resolution.

MR. BERESFORD HOPE thought that the hon. Member for Birmingham (Mr. Muntz) had given a rather strange reason for his intention to vote for the Resolution. He thoroughly agreed with all that the hon. Member had said about ground game, and felt sure that there would be advantage in the laws being altered in reference to those creatures. His principal property, standing as it did in a Metropolitan county, was, to a wide extent, a wild, poor moorland, in which, if not continually checked, hares and rabbits would teem to the equal detriment of the landlord's underwood and the tenant's hop-vines. But ground game was one thing, the harmless wild bird, the partridge, another, and the less than half-wild pheasant a third. He could not see why, if sheep farming was worthy of protection, pheasant farming should be less worthy of that assistance which the laws were supposed to give to the acquisition and preservation of useful and food-yielding property. The hon. Member for Leicester (Mr. P. A. Taylor) would be glad to learn that, comparing all round—sheep, pigs, short-horns, and other farm animals—there was no more artificial creature than the pheasant. It was the stock of the woods as bees and sheep were of the meadows. He (Mr. Beresford Hope) owned property and preserved game, although he was not a sportsman himself; and he wished to know why, on account of a mere anatomical distinction, they should shut their eyes to common sense and refuse to admit that the pheasant was to all intents and purposes a product of civilization, and as such entitled to protection equally with the other stocks and crops of the farmer. Pheasant farming was as genuine an industrial process as sheep farming. But it was argued that pheasants did damage. That certainly was, however, merely a question of degree, and the damage done by them was a simple question of money between the landlord and the tenant, while a man who was not a fool, before taking a farm, would ascertain the conditions under which his landlord was a game preserver. To at-

tempt to elevate into a political grievance the bargaining which had inevitably superseded the old-fashioned relations between the typical Sir Roger de Coverley and his tenantry was to play fast and loose with common sense. The whole arrangement was a bargain; game might do damage in the fields, as sheep or pigs straying into the woods would do damage to the young shoots; and the question literally was, whether the game was worth the candle. In the case of rabbits, the damage done was so considerable that he was personally for some preventive legislation. As for his own practice, as soon as the 2nd of February came, his keeper and the tenants used continually to be out rabbiting, while the bag belonged to the tenant, and the complaint to which of late years he had become familiar was that the sport was bad. He feared that if he should happily exterminate his rabbits he might be left face to face with a tenantry discontented at the loss of their February fun.

MR. HOPWOOD, in supporting the Motion of the hon. Member for Leicester (Mr. P. A. Taylor), said, the Game Laws were demoralizing and unjust. Nobody had anything to say in favour of them save on the ground of "sport;" and, therefore, they were asked to maintain laws that were unjust. In carrying them out, hon. Gentlemen were allowed to act as magistrates in their own cases, and very frequently to perpetrate very gross injustice. If that was a fact, of which, in his opinion, there was little doubt, it seemed to him to be a shocking and frightful evil that the administration of the law should be marked with such injustice or held up to contempt in the eyes of the lower classes. It entered their minds that those above them were unjust; that the word of a gamekeeper was worth more than their own; that a gamekeeper might shoot a poacher, and might hunt men with dogs. If a poacher was shot at, it was just a chance if the gamekeeper was brought up; but if it was the gamekeeper who was shot at, the poacher was sure to be prosecuted. The existing system led to excessive game preserving, and caused an incalculable amount of crime and suffering. In confirmation of that, he would ask the attention of the House to the result of one battue, as published by the Rev. F. O. Morris, in which the total number slaughtered was given at many thousand

head of game. He gave particulars of three battues, the number of head of game, and the number of tons weight of slain. Did any sensible Member in the House approve of that mode of shooting? It was the love of killing, and nothing else. What had the 52,000 or so of persons who took out game certificates done for the country that it should give them these hurtful laws to support them in the enjoyment of their "sport," which, too often, was mere butchery? The blood-stained code of our Game Laws was monstrous and indefensible in its severity. For the first offence there was imprisonment for three months, and sureties had to be found for six months more. For the second offence the imprisonment was for six months, and sureties for 12 months had to be found; so that, for taking a rabbit or attempting to take one as a second offence, a man might be kept 18 months in prison. If three men with a stick were found on land at night in search of game they were liable to 14 years' penal servitude, a punishment double that inflicted upon persons guilty of the gross crime of perjury. The number of convictions under the summary jurisdiction of justices in 1877-8 was 12,583; in 1876-7 it was 13,521. A large number of these—he gave the numbers—were sentenced to imprisonment, amounting in the total to 55,000 days' imprisonment, one, at least, to be laid to the door of every holder of a licence. A large number were sentenced to fines. Many besides had to go to gaol for want of sureties. He hoped the Secretary of State for the Home Department would inquire how many were in gaol now for want of sureties. In addition to these were the Assize cases for night poaching, nearly 100 in number, besides those cases which were ranked as murder, but had arisen out of the painful conflicts which the conduct of keepers and the action of these laws produced. Add together the imprisonment, the loss of life, the demoralization of peasants, the destruction of food, the cost of prisons, of prosecutions, of police, and he would ask were such laws worth the sacrifice involved? Did they deserve to be maintained?

MR. W. S. STANHOPE said, that the hon. and learned Gentleman who had just spoken (Mr. Hopwood) seemed to take his notions on this subject rather from newspaper reports than from

Mr. Beresford Hope

practical experience. He (Mr. Stanhope) did not desire to defend those landowners who carried the preservation of game to such an extent as some of those whose cases had been quoted; but he thought that was a matter which was gradually righting itself, and that there was now very little complaint on the part of tenants against landlords in the greater part of the country, on the score of over-preservation of game. Having been long connected with the gaol of Wakefield, and being chairman of its committee, he could say that for several years the number of those committed in that part of the country for breach of the Game Laws only varied from $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 per cent of the total number of prisoners. That was certainly not so tremendous a result as the statistics of the hon. and learned Member who had just sat down would lead them to suppose. There was one point in connection with this subject which he wished to impress upon the House—namely, that in this country we had the most lenient form of Trespass Law, and that was owing to the operation of the Game Laws. There was in towns a number of persons of bad character ready to issue out and commit depredations on the neighbouring property. He happened to be the owner of a property of 1,200 or 1,400 acres between Bradford and Leeds. A good many years ago, when he was a young man, that property was in the hands of a tenant, a well-known preserver of game, who looked after the property as if it had been his own. Considering the nearness of the towns, he had a very large amount of game; but as Leeds grew nearer the gentleman moved to a more suitable place, and was succeeded by a large manufacturer who would not allow game to be preserved on the estate. Everything ought to have gone on well, according to the hon. and learned Gentleman; but the reverse was the case. In the first place the game disappeared, then the tenants found all their poultry was gone, Leicestershire sheep also were destroyed, and so on. Gates and gate-posts disappeared, and even trees of large size. At last the tenants said something must be done, and they formed an association among themselves for the preservation of game on the estate. That association, established 15 or 16 years ago, still existed; and the result was that it was now possible to keep sheep on the property, and

other animals which farmers wanted. In the West of Yorkshire a very large area was moorland, and much of it had been seized by the large towns to supply themselves with water. For that crop they paid no rent. Having erected a reservoir they assumed a right over the whole watershed, perhaps some 2,000 or 3,000 acres belonging to other people, and insisted that the water should be turned off in a state of purity fit to drink, and no manure could be put upon the moor. In his own case, being about a mile from the reservoir, he had been dragged into a Chancery suit, and, finding that the whole of the rates of a town 18 miles distant would be employed against him, he had to capitulate and pay heavy costs. Therefore, the theory about the cultivation of waste lands disappeared so far as the moors of Yorkshire were concerned. The question was, what was the best use to put these moors to? They might be used for sheep or for grouse. For grouse the rent would be five or seven times more than for farming, and the arguments against the Game Laws hardly applied there. In these days of agricultural distress, the only agricultural property rising in value was game, and the value of that had almost doubled. Was property of that kind to be sacrificed to a mere theory? Putting all these things together, he thought this was not a question for declamation, but rather for calm consideration, to see how far these laws could be put on a more practical and satisfactory footing.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT said, at last they had reached the true solution of the problem of agricultural distress. The hon. Gentleman who had just sat down (Mr. Stanhope) had found out that other crops did not pay, and that game did. The Game Laws, therefore, according to the hon. Gentleman, ought to be kept up to enable country gentlemen to obtain the most profitable kind of crops. The hon. Gentleman said that the moors could not grow sheep, but they could grow grouse. The Game Laws were necessary for the maintenance of grouse, and, therefore, ought to be kept up. That appeared to him (Sir William Harcourt) to be a *reductio ad absurdum* for the maintenance of the Game Laws. Now they had the practical issue before the House. Whatever difficulty they might have felt as to the extent to which

the Motion of his hon. Friend the Member for Leicester (Mr. P. A. Taylor) went, there could be no mistake about the Amendment of the hon. and gallant Member for West Sussex (Sir Walter B. Barttelot), which was seconded by the noble Lord the Member for North Northumberland (Earl Percy). The principle of the Amendment was "No Surrender." The Amendment raised the issue in the plainest form. They would have no alteration in the Game Laws. That was the direct issue. He had been a little curious—and he had been sitting there the whole evening—to see what line "the farmers' friends" would take upon that issue, both in England and in Scotland. There were a good many of the Scotch farmers' friends there, and they knew very well that they were all against over-preserving. But they all knew what the farmers wanted; what was said out-of-doors as to the present state of things about over-preserving, and that the Game Laws were the cause of it. What alteration were they going to make? They had been told by the last speaker that the system of large preserving was coming to an end. That might be quite true as regarded the last 12 months, because the season was adverse. But in the five years past could it be said that it had diminished? There were other things also said. Then the farmers' friends were all against ground game. The hon. Member for South Leicestershire (Mr. Pell) was always making speeches against rabbits, but never gave a vote against rabbits. When the Agricultural Holdings Bill was before the House there was a proposal to give the farmer protection against rabbits, and compensation for the damage they occasioned; but on that occasion the hon. Member for South Leicestershire, amidst cheers, walked out of the House. That was the way in which the "farmers' friends" dealt with their grievances. They were always ready to enlarge upon the farmers' grievances; but when a practical proposal came before the House they were not so active. The hon. Member for South Norfolk (Mr. Clare Read) extenuating, said—"Black is not so black, nor white so very white." So they always found a reason for not voting for remedies proposed. But when they went into the counties they were all against the damage done by hares and

rabbits. But what was the remedy the farmers' friends were going to propose to-night for the evils produced by ground game? Nothing whatever! for when the hon. and gallant Baronet proposed an Amendment that there should be no change in the Game Laws all the farmers' friends were with him at once. The pattern farmers' friend (Mr. Clare Read) said they would deal with those laws at their leisure. The farmers' friends would help the farmers "at their leisure." Why, he (Sir William Harcourt) did not know when they would have leisure if they had no leisure now. If the farmers waited for the leisure of hon. Gentlemen on the other side of the House, led by the hon. and gallant Baronet (Sir Walter B. Barttelot), seconded by the noble Lord the Member for North Northumberland (Earl Percy), and supported by the farmers' friend (Mr. Clare Read), they would wait long, and be disappointed at last. [MR. CLARE READ: I objected to the Amendment, and shall not vote for it.] Yes; but the hon. Member would vote against the Amendment, and wait for the leisure. But he (Sir William Harcourt) thought there never was a Session when there was more time, for there was no engrossing subject before the House. What, however, would be thought of all this at the farmers' clubs and ordinaries? They would see what it all meant, and understand it thoroughly. They would see that these speeches made at farmers' meetings meant nothing, and that when the question of the Game Laws came before the House of Commons it was met by an Amendment of that description, that there ought to be no change in the Game Laws. He should vote against the Amendment, as, in his opinion, the Game Laws were productive of much mischief. As to what had been said about the rights of property, why should the laws be much harsher and severer in the case of offences against one kind of property than against another? It was because they were laws passed by the dominant class affecting their own interests. If it were a mere question of property, why should there be different laws? He believed there was hardly a man in that House who could say he was satisfied with the practical working of the Game Laws. Why had not the hon. Member for South Leicestershire

Sir William Harcourt

proposed something? [Mr. PELL: I did.] The hon. Gentleman, some years ago, certainly brought in a "Rabbits' Bill;" but on the accession to Office of the Conservative Government it became inconvenient. If they were out of Office they would, he had no doubt, have another "Rabbits Bill." They would probably that Session hear something about the Malt Tax—a mere flash in the pan; but when a proposal was made for a practical remedy for what was known to be a farmers' grievance, it was astonishing how quiet and how anxious to wait for leisure became the farmers' friends in that House. Perhaps his hon. and learned Friend the Member for Cambridgeshire (Mr. Rodwell) would get up and express his views on the Game Question. The hon. and gallant Member for West Sussex said he would vote against the Resolution. He (Sir William Harcourt) would like to know how many country gentlemen were going to support that Amendment, and say "No change in the Game Laws." Were they going to say that the farmers desired no change? He hoped there would be a definite vote upon the question, whether the Game Laws, as they stood at present, were to be defended; and upon that vote he should say "Aye" to the Motion.

MR. RODWELL said, he should not be prevented by his hon. and learned Friend opposite (Sir William Harcourt) from making some observations because he had said that he (Mr. Rodwell), and those who acted with him, were only ostensibly the "farmers' friends." His hon. and learned Friend had used that language both in and out of the House. But before he made such statements he should have acquainted himself with the facts, and not have made use of what had been said for the purpose of a joke. The hon. and learned Member for Oxford should have listened to what had been said, and if he had not done so should have been careful to ascertain whether he was correct. He himself had been present, and heard what his hon. Friends the Members for South Norfolk (Mr. Clare Read) and South Leicestershire (Mr. Pell) had said; and he would venture to say that they had never committed themselves to the doctrine that no change in the Game Laws was necessary. They were, on the contrary, the advocates of some altera-

tion; but they did not go the length of the total abolition of those laws. That had been the sum and substance of their remarks. The conduct of the hon. and learned Gentleman was not complimentary, to say the least of it, and he might use a stronger expression. What he and his hon. Friends said out of the House they acted up to in that House—he believed most conscientiously. He lived in a county in which game abounded, probably more than in any other part of England—and if the farmers of Norfolk, Suffolk, and Cambridgeshire were polled they would be found to be against the abolition of the Game Laws. While he declared that to be his conviction, he was bound to say, as he had more than once said, that if the Amendment meant that there was no alteration of the Game Laws required he would not vote for it. Where the landlords were resident on their estates, and in constant intercourse with their tenants, there was very little difficulty or unpleasantness; but he could not help saying that where the land was let to agricultural tenants, and where the landlord let his mansion for the purposes of shooting, difficulties and unpleasantnesses did arise, and that he had known to be the case over and over again. It would be but fair, therefore, whenever those laws were dealt with, that some right should be reserved to the tenant—that the game should not be let without the consent of the tenant, or that he should have the option of taking it himself. He quite concurred with his hon. Friend (Mr. Clare Read) that ground game, especially within the last 10 years, was gradually diminishing in many parts of England, and that where formerly there used to be abundance there was now scarcely any. In saying all this he spoke from experience, which his hon. and learned Friend the Member for Oxford did not. He could give many instances, but he would mention one of an estate of 14,000 acres, where now there was not to be seen a rabbit from one day's end to another, except round the proprietor's house and in the park, and where there used to be hundreds of hares killed in a week, now a score could not be found. He could also speak of an estate in Suffolk where on 7,000 acres over 6,000 hares were killed in one season, now the number was not 600. These facts he wished

to communicate to his hon. and learned Friend, in order that when he spoke with reference to the Game Laws he should not be led to make ridiculous assertions or display an ignorance of the subject. The hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Stockport (Mr. Hopwood) had made remarks in reference to the conduct of magistrates which he regretted to hear. He quite agreed that the Game Laws ought to be modified; but it was not well that such extreme views should be entertained on the subject, because it made it so difficult for those who desired certain changes to be effected to approach those who expressed them. With reference to the remark about night poaching, and such a sentence as 14 years being attached to it, it was well known that it was only a Judge of the land who could give such a sentence, and everybody knew that it was only in extreme cases of violence that the maximum punishment was ever inflicted. For his own part, he was ready and willing to assist in amending the Game Laws; at the same time, he would not be voting according to his conscientious convictions, or in what he believed to be the wishes of tenant farmers, if he supported the Resolution. He trusted he had satisfied his hon. and learned Friend opposite, and given him some information which he might make use of on some future occasion.

MR. D. DAVIES said, he should vote for the Motion of his hon. Friend (Mr. P. A. Taylor), because he knew very well it would not become law. He would vote for it as a protest, because he believed an amendment of the law was required. He knew better than hon. Members at the other side that rabbits were a great trouble to the farmer. When he was a very young man he took a farm from a gentleman who was very fond of sporting. That was just before the repeal of the Corn Laws. There were hundreds of rabbits on the land which the landlord said should be preserved. He declined the condition, and a compromise was arrived at. He had a clause inserted in the lease, under which he drew a line across the farm, and all the rabbits that came on one particular side of the line were his—the tenant's—if he could catch them. On his side of the line there was some fine land with nice sweet grass, near the river and he knew they would come to

him from the rough land on the other side. In fact, he made a point of looking after them. He killed so many rabbits that the landlord soon found it was not worth his while to go shooting anywhere, and they had never since done any harm in that part. The hares in his part of the country—Montgomeryshire—were so few that the farmers desired to see a few more than they did, and there was not a single farmer there who would vote for the abolition of hares. He had no doubt in his mind that there would be no trouble at all about this question were it not for a few landowners who over-preserved. The temptation to take hares was very great. Thirty-five years ago a hare would sell for only 15*d.*, but now they readily fetched 3*s.* 6*d.*; and where hares were kept in considerable numbers, there men would go to get them, for if they took three or four they found that doing so was much more profitable than working. The temptation was placed in their way by the landowners who over-preserved. The Resolution of the hon. Member for Leicester extended to all kinds of game—winged as well as ground game. For his own part, he did not care about hares, so far as eating them was concerned; but he was fond of a partridge, and the Resolution would take both out of the list. If the Motion were carried, and the ground game and winged game as well as the Game Laws were abolished, the result would be not only ridiculous, but would be ruinous. As he had said, he would vote for the Motion as a protest, because he believed that something in the way of an amendment of the Game Laws was required, such as taking the rabbit out of the game list, which would be a step in the right direction.

MR. CHAPLIN said, he should not have risen to take part in the debate, but that he could not help being amused at the observations of the hon. and learned Member for Oxford (Sir William Harcourt), who always was posing as somebody's friend. He was posing as the Home Rulers' friend two or three days ago, and now he came forward in the character of the "farmers' friend." But, unless he (Mr. Chaplin) were much mistaken, the hon. and learned Gentleman was likely to be as little successful in the one as he was wholly and totally unsuccessful in the other. He could understand how the hon. and learned

Gentleman did not view the Resolution with favour. It was because the Game Laws were not a practical grievance of the farmer. He did not wish to intrude personal details; but he might, perhaps, mention that he owned two estates in Lincolnshire. On one of these the farmers had the whole shooting for years; he believed they also had it in the other, and what was the result? The only complaint he had was that there was a preservation of a greater head of game than was beneficial to the neighbours of the tenants. Abolition of the Game Laws was one thing, and an alteration of them was another. What people had a right to object to was the abuse, and not the use, of those laws. For his own part, he agreed with the hon. and learned Member for Cambridgeshire (Mr. Rodwell) that excessive preservation was going out of fashion, and his (Mr. Chaplin's) own experience was that rabbits were becoming as scarce as woodcock. The statement that ground game was on the increase in this country he utterly and totally denied. The hon. and learned Gentleman opposite (Sir William Harcourt) alluded to other grievances of the farmers, and also to a subject in regard to which he (Mr. Chaplin) had given Notice to the House; and when the hon. and learned Gentleman said that the Motion which he (Mr. Chaplin) intended to make with regard to the Malt Tax was a flash in the pan, he would only say that the hon. and learned Gentleman would soon find out that he had made a mistake. No Motion was ever brought forward with a more serious intention to carry it to an issue. His hon. and learned Friend, as he had said, wished to appear in the House in the character of the farmers' friend; but he would tell him that not only that question, but a good many other questions, would before long be brought forward bearing upon the serious grievances of the farmers of the country, and those were of a nature which would test the sincerity of the character in which the hon. and learned Gentleman had thought fit to come forward; and when the day arrived he should rejoice if he were found in the same Lobby as the Gentleman of whom he disapproved so much that night.

MR. BROMLEY-DAVENPORT said, he thought that it required some courage to bring forward that Motion in the way

the hon. Member for Leicester (Mr. P. A. Taylor) annually did. He (Mr. Davenport) believed the general feeling throughout the country was one of satisfaction with the present Game Laws. The romantic poacher to whom reference had been made was extinct. The real, practical poacher was the man who went out with many others following the occupation of poachers and refusing to adopt any other. In his own case, he allowed his tenants to destroy or preserve rabbits as they pleased, and the result was that he had always plenty of sport.

MR. WALTER said, he regretted that his hon. and gallant Friend the Member for West Sussex (Sir Walter B. Barttelot) should have thought it necessary to meet the Motion of the hon. Gentleman the Member for Leicester (Mr. P. A. Taylor) by an Amendment, because he (Mr. Walter) thought it would have been far better to meet it with a direct negative. Probably few landowners in the House cared so little about the sport of shooting as he did; and the feeling he had, induced by 30 years' experience, was, considering the expense and bother of the whole thing, he heartily wished there were no pheasants. Nevertheless, he could not support the Resolution of the hon. Member for Leicester (Mr. P. A. Taylor), because he thought it directly contrary to the first principles of justice and common sense. The hon. and learned Member for Oxford (Sir William Harcourt), in his amusing speech, did not throw much light on the question. He did not tell them, what as landlords and farmers many of them would like to know, in what respect he wished the Game Laws should be altered. The hon. Member for Leicester left no doubt on that point; he said they ought to be swept away. The hon. Member had constituted himself for many years the patron of the poachers, and one might well wonder why—whether it was from idiosyncrasy on his part, or on the part of his constituents. The part of England in which that constituency was situated was historically interesting on account of the remains of Danish settlers that were found there, and that might excuse the suggestion that the people inherited free lance principles, and thought poaching as legitimate an occupation as their ancestors thought piracy to be. The hon. Member himself

thought there was not much more to be said against smuggling than against poaching. He desired to ask one question of the hon. Member for Leicester. He wished to know, not only as an owner, but also as a farmer—for he farmed a great deal of his own land—was there any person who had a better right than he had to go upon his land and kill the pheasants he paid to feed, the hares which ate his turnips, and the rabbits which barked his trees and did so much mischief? He wanted to know what constituted property in any animal, if feeding did not. What the hon. Member meant by “the public” and “the people” he did not know—whether those of a parish or of the world at large—but on what ground had the people a right to come on his land and take those animals, the food of which cost him so much a year? No answer the hon. Member could give would satisfy the hon. Member for Cardigan (Mr. D. Davies), who knew very well what he was talking about, and spoke exceedingly good sense on the subject. For years past he (Mr. Walter) had kept a moderate amount of game, and he had had all kinds of arrangements with his tenants on the subject. With some he exercised a joint right; to some he let the shooting altogether; in the case of others he kept it in his own hands; but he had never had the slightest trouble on the subject, and he did not expect he ever should have. Had it not been for over-preservation, and, what was worse, the letting of the shooting over the heads of the tenants, they would have had no trouble about the matter. As between landlord and tenant, the landlord ought not to let the shooting over the head of the tenant. Let the tenant have the shooting which the landlord did not want himself. If those rules were acted upon there would be no trouble about game. It was complained that rabbits and hares consumed a large quantity of food which had better be consumed by sheep and cattle; but had hon. Members any idea of the annual value of game considered merely as an article of food? Those who were well acquainted with the wants and tastes of the labouring classes knew perfectly well that there was nothing the poor man, and still more, the poor woman, enjoyed and relished so much as a rabbit. The other day he was informed that rabbits were selling

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at 18s. a-dozen, and he was strongly urged to try the experiment of a rabbit warren, with the view of increasing their number. Were the plans of the hon. Member for Leicester carried out, they would have the effect of exterminating all the game in the country, for no landlord or tenant would allow the people at large to come upon his land to take his game. He would prefer to make a clean sweep of it, and that being done generally, a serious injury would be inflicted on the country. He preferred to give a direct negative to the Motion, and he would much rather that the hon. and gallant Member for West Sussex would withdraw the Amendment, the voting upon which would put many hon. Members in rather a false position, subject them to have their conduct misconstrued, and give a handle to hon. Members like that the hon. and learned Member for Oxford had availed himself of. He (Mr. Walter) could not support the Amendment, because he could not say that no improvement was possible in the Game Laws. [Sir WALTER B. BARTELOT: Now, now!] Why should he (Mr. Walter) say now, because if improvements were requisite there was no now in the question. The issue was very plain—whether they were to be allowed to preserve game or not, and whether the public at large were to have the right to walk over their property in the pursuit of game. The hon. Member for Cardigan rightly described the Motion as a wild Motion, though he was going to vote for it—a vote he would find it difficult to justify. But it raised an intelligible issue, and the best thing to do was to give it a direct negative.

SIR MATTHEW WHITE RIDLEY desired to state, on the part of the Government, how they regarded the Motion and the Amendment. The Motion was of a sweeping character, and the Government preferred to negative it. As he understood the hon. Member for Leicester (Mr. P. A. Taylor), the Motion was directed against that part of the Game Law Code which preserved the rights of certain persons to kill or take game; he did not understand him to object to those portions of the Code which dealt with the revenue and with close times for certain animals. In a good-humoured harangue, but in language which might be complained of in anyone else, who was not the slave of

one idea, the hon. Member spoke of the injury to the agricultural interest from excessive preservation; but that was really beside the question before the House. If they abolished the Game Laws Code to-morrow, it would only to an infinitesimal extent abate the complaints now existing as to the alleged grievances between landlord and tenant. If, again, they were to talk about the temptation which the existence of game offered as being demoralizing to the poor man, there were many other circumstances surrounding him which were also sources of temptation; and to speak, for example, of the Salmon Laws, which nobody desired to abolish, it was in resistance to them that the law was, perhaps, most recklessly broken by poachers who resorted to violence. He would be the first to admit that if these laws were unjust to the farmer and demoralizing to the labourer they were injurious to the community, because it was impossible to separate the interests of the farmer and the labourer from those of the community; but the hon. Member had entirely failed to prove his proposition. The abolition of the Code would not remove in the least degree the alleged grievances of certain tenants. The whole question of the Game Laws, as the hon. Member for South Leicestershire (Mr. Pell) had said, was, in fact, a question of the Law of Trespass. If the hon. Member for Leicester would read a pamphlet written by the hon. Member for Reading (Mr. Shaw Lefevre), and would compare it with the Report of the Committee from whose evidence he quoted, he would be satisfied that, if they abolished the Game Law Code, they must have a very stringent Law of Trespass. The especial witness of the hon. Member for Leicester admitted on cross-examination that it was impossible to do without the most stringent Law of Trespass, for he altogether repudiated the idea of the public at large being able to go where they pleased in his garden and his shrubbery. If the only remedy were to be a civil action for trespass as it existed independently of the Game Laws the licence would be intolerable, and, in fact, it would not be tolerated by any portion of the community. Would the hon. Member be bold enough to propose to the House a Law of Trespass which would be as effective as the existing Game Law Code?

According to the hon. Member for Reading, that Code was a moderate Law of Trespass. In the language of the Committee of 1873, it was a discriminating Law of Trespass; and for that reason alone, therefore, he might say that for an hon. Member to come forward and ask at one blow to abolish all these laws without putting anything else in their place was asking that to which the House of Commons would not agree. He should be very unwilling to say that the Game Laws were incapable of revision. That was not the proposition which the Government sought to maintain. And he might remind the hon. Gentleman of what he must have known with regard to the Night Poaching Bill, which came on at the end of last Session, when he spoke about his right hon. Friend (Mr. Assheton Cross) breaking the promise he made, and neglecting to do for England what he undertook, through the Lord Advocate, to do for Scotland. He would find that, under the Summary Jurisdiction Act, more than what his right hon. Friend had promised was done; and if passed for Scotland, it would have been open to the Sheriff, in the case to which he referred, to meet the justice of the case by a small fine. It was rather strange that the hon. Member for Cardiganshire (Mr. D. Davies) had expressed his intention to vote for the Resolution; and had then explained that he did so because he knew it would not be carried. Englishmen were not likely to stand the abolition of the Game Laws, because they were all, without distinction of class, devoted to sport. Unfortunately, in some parts of the country there had been over-preservation of ground game, and there had also been many cases of letting shootings over the tenant and to his damage; but to say that, because the Game Laws had been abused, therefore they should be suddenly and entirely abolished, without providing any substitute, was a proposition to which he was certain neither the House nor the Government of which he was a Member could agree. He should, therefore, give a direct negative to the Motion.

MR. STORER said, he was not surprised that the hon. Member for Leicester (Mr. P. A. Taylor) had brought forward his annual Motion; but he was surprised to find the hon. and learned Member for

Oxford (Sir William Harcourt) assuming the character of the "farmer's friend," and endeavouring to depreciate the position of his hon. Friends the Members for South Leicestershire (Mr. Pell) and South Norfolk (Mr. Clare Read). He (Mr. Storer) must say the character of farmer's friend sat very awkwardly on the hon. and learned Gentleman. It was a character which hon. and right hon. Gentlemen on the Front Opposition Bench had been so little accustomed to of late that they would require a great deal of practice before it sat well on them. The farmers of this country, taken as a body, did not object to the Game Laws. What they did object to was the abuse of them. The game actually belonged to the tenant, unless he chose to relinquish his right—and what law could prevent his doing that? There was this to be said about the position of farmers—that they knew when they took their farms whether they were over-stocked with game or not, and when farms were as plentiful in the market as now no man in his senses would have one of that description. He would certainly vote against the Motion of the hon. Member for Leicester. If the Game Laws were abolished a very wholesome and agreeable food would be excluded from the market, and one which, in cases of illness, was constantly asked for as a pleasing change; but which, if this Bill passed, could not be obtained. Viewed in that light, he contended that they were, so far from being injurious to the community, the very reverse.

Mr. J. R. YORKE said, that he had not seen the terms of the Amendment, but he had become acquainted with it from what had been told him; and he should desire, as he generally did, to vote with his hon. and gallant Friend (Sir Walter B. Barttelot). But he thought the Amendment was somewhat misleading; and he would, therefore, appeal to his hon. and gallant Friend to withdraw it. One objection that he had was that the Amendment had not been put down on the Paper; and there had, consequently, not been time to consider it. He thought there was no reason for declining to deal with the subject "now," because if the Game Laws were as injurious as the hon. Member for Leicester (Mr. P. A. Taylor) asserted, they ought not to hesitate, even in the last Session of an expiring Parliament, to sweep them

away; but if, on the other hand, they thought those laws should be retained, but were susceptible of amendment, they ought not to say that now was not the time to amend them. It would be much more expedient to take a division on the Main Question.

MR. P. A. TAYLOR observed, that, after the great length at which he had troubled the House, he would not have said a word in reply, had it not been for the special challenge of the hon. Member for Berks (Mr. Walter). That hon. Gentleman had entered into historical and antiquarian research, and had endeavoured to trace to the Danish ancestry of the inhabitants of Leicester the reasons which had made their Representative the special friend of the poacher. He (Mr. P. A. Taylor) must say that if the poachers regarded him as their friend it must be upon the curious ground that he proposed to destroy their industry, and to render their profession impossible for the future. He remembered that, some years ago, a Petition was forwarded to him from Leicester for presentation, against the Game Laws; and he was informed at the time that several well-known professional poachers had declined to sign the Petition on the ground that the abolition of the Game Laws would be the destruction of their industry. The hon. Gentleman the Member for Berks had pointedly asked him, Who could have a better right to kill the game than those who paid for its support? To that he would say, in the first place, that part of his charge was that those who claimed property in the game were often not those who really paid for its maintenance; but beyond that, he would remind the hon. Gentleman that there were many in, and more out of, that House who did not hold with the claim of landowners to do in all respects what they liked with their land; who held that land was not the proper subject for absolute proprietorship; that, in fact, it was held in trust for the advantage of the whole community; and that if it could be shown that in any respect its management was inconsistent with the public advantage, ground sufficient had been shown for change. He congratulated the House and the country upon the evidence that this debate had shown of the great progress that had been made, both in the House and out of it,

Mr. Storer

in regard to this question—hares and rabbits had been given up on all sides. He said “out of it” in consideration of the number of hon. Members who had declared that they would vote for his Resolution, although not agreeing in its terms, thus showing most satisfactorily the importance that their constituencies attached to the abolition of the Game Laws.

SIR WALTER B. BARTELOT said, that after the numerous expressions of opinion in favour of the withdrawal of his Amendment he should be glad to take that course with the leave of the House. [*Cries of “No, no!”*]

Question put.

The House *divided*:—Ayes 87; Noes 160: Majority 73.—(Div. List, No. 32.)

Question proposed, “That the words ‘it is not now expedient to deal with the question of the Game Laws’ be there added.”

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT moved to amend the proposed Amendment by the omission of the word “not.” He did so, he said, in order to afford hon. Gentlemen opposite an opportunity of expressing their opinion as to whether it was or was not expedient to amend the Game Laws.

MR. PELL rose to second the Amendment of the hon. and learned Member for Oxford (Sir William Harcourt). He regretted that the hon. and learned Gentleman was not present when he addressed the House. If he had been, he was sure he would not have conveyed to hon. Members so inaccurate an idea of that which he had really said upon the subject. His opinion was that the Game Laws did require amendment, and it was for that reason that he was prepared to support the Motion which the hon. and learned Gentleman had just made.

Amendment proposed to the said proposed Amendment, to leave out the word “not.”—(*Sir William Harcourt.*)

Question proposed, “That the word ‘not’ stand part of the said proposed Amendment.”

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER expressed a doubt as to whether there had been anything serious in the debate from beginning to end. The hon. Member for Leicester (Mr. P. A. Taylor)

had made an extremely clever and humorous speech, and, knowing his opinion, nobody could doubt the perfect sincerity with which he advocated the somewhat startling conclusions which were embodied in his Motion. Those, however, who supported that Motion, had taken up a somewhat curious position. The hon. Member for Cardiganshire (Mr. D. Davies), for instance, had stated that he would vote for it because there was no harm in it; but his speech was characterized by great good sense. But it remained for the hon. and learned Member for Oxford (Sir William Harcourt) to try to turn the whole thing into ridicule. The object of his Amendment was, however, perfectly transparent; and it was unnecessary, he thought, to waste much time in discussing it. He should certainly vote against it.

Question put.

The House *divided*:—Ayes 135; Noes 119: Majority 16.—(Div. List, No. 33.)

Question,

“That the words ‘it is not now expedient to deal with the question of the Game Laws’ be added to the word ‘That’ in the original Question,”

put, and *negatived*.

METROPOLIS WATERWORKS PURCHASE BILL.

LEAVE. FIRST READING.

MR. ASSHETON CROSS: Sir, in the course of the discussion which took place in August last on the Motion of the hon. Member for Hackney (Mr. Fawcett), I gave Notice that the whole question would be taken into consideration by the Government during the Recess, with the view of seeing whether the supply of water to the Metropolis and other adjoining places could not be greatly improved for the benefit of the inhabitants; whether that could be done without seriously increasing the cost of the supply to the consumer, and whether the mode of supply could not also be improved. The result of that consideration on the part of my right hon. Friend the President of the Local Government Board and myself has been the framing of the Bill which I shall ask the leave of the House to introduce. Again, the result of the investigation

we have been able to make, and of the advice we have obtained, has induced the belief that there is only one remedy for the confusion which exists in the present state of things, and that that remedy is the unification of all the existing Companies. Let hon. Members consider that there are eight Companies supplying the Metropolis, or, rather, the Metropolitan area, with water. I do not mean the Metropolitan area within the limit usually understood, but all the surrounding districts for some little way beyond. Of these eight Companies, five draw their water from the Thames, and three of them have what may be called a supply of their own. We have five of these Companies North of the Thames and three of them South of the Thames, all of which overlap and interlace each other; they have their reservoirs, their boards of directors, and establishments of that kind, and, as far as I know, there is no natural boundary for any one of these Companies, and there is no natural division of the water supply. If anyone were disposed to erect a system more expensive than that which now exists I think he would find himself much puzzled. Now, if we consider that to be the principal fact we have to deal with, of course it is necessary to ascertain whether these matters cannot be simplified in such a manner as to bring about a reduction of expense, labour, and waste of material. First of all, there would follow from unification a great reduction of expense for all new works and water apparatus. I desire to make my statement as short as possible; but I may say, in passing, that in the present Session the Southwark and Vauxhall Company proposed to carry out new works at a cost of £500,000, which would be absolutely useless if this Bill becomes law. Again, there are the proposed works of the Grand Junction and the West Middlesex Companies, which, if carried out—as, no doubt, they would be, for a long series of years would vastly increase the expenditure necessary for the proper supply of water to London. Beyond that, you have the reduction which will be made in the course of time by the consolidation of the officers and staff, and you will have a proper provision for the supply of water in those districts where it is required, and, what will be a point of

much more importance, a division of London according to the levels, and, consequently, a proper pressure at different heights in various parts. If anyone will look at the map of London showing the different sources from which these different Companies draw their water supply, he will be amazed at the waste of power in the machinery by which this supply is produced. Therefore, we have come to the conclusion, on the part of the Government, that unification is the great object to be attained if you are eventually to supply London with water at the least cost and in the best possible manner. Then comes the question whether this result can be obtained in any other manner, and I am bound to say that I do not think it can. This unification cannot be obtained by any mere arrangement among the Companies themselves. As there is no corporate body which can undertake this duty in London, is it possible to obtain unification by means of the several Metropolitan boroughs? It seems to me that if each Metropolitan borough were to supply itself with water, you will have probably greater confusion and greater cost than already exist. I hope the House will be of opinion that the best way of arriving at a conclusion is that the existing Companies should surrender the powers which they possess under their several Acts of Parliament to some central body which shall have absolute power over the supply of water to London. If we are to approach the subject in that way, and come to the conclusion that unification is the primary object to be gained, and that that can only be effected by the surrender of the powers of all the existing Companies to one central body, the question arises, how is that unification to be brought about? I ventured to say in August last upon this point—

“Whether it would be necessary for the purpose that the whole of the Water Companies should—of course by agreement—surrender their powers to some body which should be practically appointed by the Government. . . . He would not like to express any opinion upon that point.”—[3 *Hansard*, ccxlix. 946.]

Now, if you are to get from the existing Companies a surrender of their powers, there are only two ways by which this result can be arrived at—you must either take them by compulsion or by agreement. So far as compulsion is

concerned, I am bound to say this would be a very strong step for the House to take. Parliament has willingly conferred enormous powers upon these Companies; and, on the faith of these powers, a very large amount of capital has been subscribed, a great portion being held upon trust. Again, after many of these Companies had spent the money so subscribed, that Parliament should step in and say—"Nolens volens, we will take this money away from you, and pay you a certain sum in compensation," is, at all events, a step which Parliament is not accustomed to take. There are certainly very few precedents for such a course, which I do not myself think a wise one. I am, at all events, certain of one thing—it would meet with the most violent opposition from every one of these Companies; and if Parliament attempted to carry it out I do not believe the measure would pass. Of course, a Bill might be brought in providing for the purchase of the Companies by certain bodies; but that would leave us to all the danger and uncertainty of arbitration afterwards. We have had some experience of arbitrations in matters of this kind, which, I believe, is not likely to lead us to follow the same course again. If we put the matter entirely in the hands of an arbitration, Parliament will be acting very much in the dark, and might find herself let in for a very much greater expense than was originally expected. The only other course, then, is to take these Companies by agreement; but that is not a very easy thing, because, when the Government approached them by way of agreement, they were met by the most positive refusal from every one of them. Again, if you are to take them by agreement, it is necessary that both parties should agree; it is of no use offering terms which they will not accept and which you cannot force upon them. If this difficulty is likely to present itself in dealing with one Company, much more would it do so when it becomes necessary to agree with eight separate Companies; for it is of no use treating for three or four; you must take them all. There is one advantage in dealing by agreement—namely, that whatever the outlay may be which you are about to submit to, in order to get possession of these Companies, you, at all events, know exactly the extent of your liability; there is no-

thing behind, there are no afterthoughts, and when the price is once settled the whole interest of the Company is made over. If the House will allow me, I will read a part of one of the clauses of the Bill, which will enable hon. Members to see what we propose to take over. By that clause the Company will have to surrender—

"All rents and other properties, including cash balances and investments, and all such property as may be in the possession of the Companies at any time between January 1st, 1880, and June the 30th, 1880.

So that everything which they possessed on January 1st of this year, and everything that may come into their possession during the next six months, will pass into our hands, with the exception of the dividends payable to June the 30th. We should have to consider what price should be paid to the New River Company, which is possessed of a considerable quantity of land in the county of Herts and elsewhere, which has nothing to do with the water supply of London. The House will, therefore, see that there can be no possible afterthought, and that we know exactly the extent of the outlay to be made. The next question which presents itself is, how the purchase-money for this purpose is to be obtained? There is no doubt that this is an Imperial question, and, that being so, it may be said, and suggestions have been made from many quarters, that the Imperial Funds should be called upon to subscribe in some form or other for the purchase of these Companies. We have, however, thought it right to lay down the principle that the State should not pay one farthing towards it. We do not think it fair to the other towns in the country that it should do so, and we have accordingly arranged to accept only the preliminary expenses if the Bill should fail; these, of course, must be paid by someone, and if the Bill passes will be eventually paid by the Water Trust. So that, beyond possibly these preliminary expenses, we think it right that the Imperial Exchequer should not be called upon, either by way of guarantee or loan, to subscribe one single sixpence. In dealing with this question, we are met with the difficulty that there existed no corporate body, which, in the opinion of the Government, ought to take this task into its own hands. Neither the City, nor the Metropolitan

Board of Works, are in a position to deal with the different Companies; and, moreover, they have no money wherewith to buy them out. Again, another difficulty presented itself to us—that of raising so large a sum by the issue of Stock or otherwise, for the purchase of these Companies would have been attended with a certain amount of hazard and disturbance to the Money Market. We had, therefore, recourse to another mode of dealing with this subject; and we have persuaded the Companies to consent to the Water Trust issuing a certain amount of Water Stock, and also that the Company should take this Stock by way of payment. Practically, then, it comes to this—that the Companies will create the Stock, and then, taking it when created, would so provide for their own extinction. This plan will get rid of the whole difficulty. The whole of the Companies have agreed to that arrangement through their directors, and they will take this $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent Water Stock as the purchase money; so far, therefore, no money is required from anybody. It will be seen that this arrangement very much simplifies the matter, and can lead to no possible disturbance of the Money Market for the time being. Of course, this Stock must have something at the back of it to make it sound; and the first thing we have put behind it will be, of course, the water rates receivable by the Companies at the present moment, and which will be payable to the Water Trust. But there must, of course, be some other guarantee, and we have placed behind this the Metropolitan rates; not that I think they will be called upon to contribute a single sixpence, but it is, of course, necessary to include them in the security. Therefore, the Stock proposed to be issued is charged with the water rates first of all, and then there will be the further guarantee of the rates of the Metropolis and the City of London. The next question is probably the most important of all, and that is the question of price; and here what I said before equally applies—namely, that if this is to be done by agreement the price must also be a matter of agreement on both sides. Now, the Government find themselves in this rather peculiar position—that they are standing, as it were, between the water consumers on the one hand, and the Water Companies on the other.

They have made the best bargain they can with these Companies, and they present that bargain to Parliament to consider—not, of course, on the floor of this House—but, as I shall presently explain, by means of a Committee upstairs, to say whether this bargain is one which ought to be sanctioned. We come before Parliament, having done our best to provide a solution of this question, and lay before it the best bargain which we have been able to make with the several Companies. Of course, the questions of Debenture Stocks, Preferential Shares, and mortgages remain precisely as they were, and all we have to deal with is the available net surplus after the payment of all necessary working expenses. That is the real matter with which we have to deal. I am afraid that one or two words uttered by me in August last have been somewhat misinterpreted. What I appear to have said on that occasion was that the Government would take the Stocks as they found them on such a day—the last day of the half-year—and that no speculative change in the value of the Stocks would have the smallest weight with the Government. Now, these words must be taken with the context, and bearing in mind the fact that we have to proceed by agreement. What I really meant, and hon. Members will see this by the context, was that there should be no speculation on the Stock Exchange; but that if there were it would not be taken into consideration at all; nor, on the other hand, if there were any action on the part of the Companies for the enhancement of prices, would that be taken into consideration. All I can say, bearing this in mind, is, that that idea has been strictly adhered to in all the negotiations from beginning to end. The only idea which the gentleman who has been advising me on this matter has ever had before him has been to find out what was the intrinsic value of the Companies at the time of purchase. In coming to a conclusion as to that, hon. Members will see at once that the value of each Company must depend on various circumstances—in the first place, on the powers which each Company had under its own Act of Parliament; and, in the next place, on its present financial and commercial position. For instance, some of these Companies possess powers different to those conferred upon others.

Some of them can only receive 7 per cent dividend, while others can receive 10 per cent; and some, if they have not received 10 per cent from their foundation, can make it up not only for the future, but going back also for the past. In the case of the New River Company, for instance, there is no limit at all; and they are entitled to recoup themselves up to 10 per cent for a period of 150 years or so. The Company has this power; and, as a matter of fact, they have, to a certain extent, begun to avail themselves of it. On the other hand, some Companies have no such power; some are limited, and some are not. Then, again, they differ very much as to their commercial and financial position. You will find some Companies with a practically assured dividend of 10 per cent, which will probably never be less, and may be increased. With some Companies it will be a matter of absolute certainty that they will be able to recoup themselves for their outlay in a certain number of years. Again, you will find that some Companies which have expended a very large amount of capital have not reaped the fruit of their outlay, and whose property is undeveloped, although gradually becoming more developed, who have gone through a series of expenditure, such as for the laying of mains, and whose profits have vastly increased from year to year. There are other Companies which are possessed of large areas of land that will be rapidly built upon, and which, of course, will produce to them in a short time a large harvest. The average increase of the net incomes of the several Companies for many years past has amounted to about £35,000 a-year. This is not to be wondered at when we consider the increase of population, and that there were built last year 19,000 houses; while, according to the last Return I have, there have been constructed during that time 60 miles of new streets. All this shows that these Companies have before them a large and promising future. In the negotiations which have been carried on with them, the Government have had the advantage not only of the assistance of two very able persons who have been for a long time connected with these Companies—the Auditor and Water Examiner—but also of Mr. E. Smith, who has been for so many years connected with the Ecclesiastical Commis-

sion. I may add that, in commencing the negotiations with these Companies, two things require our consideration—the present dividend to which the shareholders were entitled, or to which, rather, they would be entitled when the property is taken over on the 1st of July, 1880, and the increment which might be expected to have arisen had the property remained in their possession. This fact has always been recognized when dealing with other Companies situated in like manner, and the claim is one which it has been found impossible to resist. There is another matter to be considered—namely, that it was absolutely impossible, under the scheme of purchase which we have undertaken, to find the money at once to pay for this increment, which at the present moment does not exist, because the only funds which we can resort to are the water rates. It is not, therefore, proposed to pay any income to the Company in respect of the unearned increment to which I have referred until the money has been earned which the Companies would have earned for themselves. Therefore, the course which we have taken is to spread this assured increment over periods varying from four to 12 years; and it is quite certain that there will be ample funds to pay when the interest becomes due on these deferred Stocks. On the 30th of June, 1880, the Companies will receive a certain amount of ordinary Stock which would represent the dividends they themselves would have received. For the year 1881-2 they will get a certain amount of Preference Stock which will bear no interest at all for the first 12 months, while at the end of 18 months after that they will receive a half-year's dividend in the same way as the rest of the deferred Stock. Under this arrangement, the Water Trust would not be called upon to pay interest until they have received the income from the water rates to enable them to do so. There is no present charge, therefore, on the water consumers. I hope, on the second reading of this Bill, the House will not desire me to go into the circumstances relating to each Company; it would be better considered by the Committee upstairs why a certain Company gets so much, and another so much less; but the House will be interested in knowing what is to be the aggregate sum payable in 1881. That sum amounts, in round

numbers, to £22,000,000; and, of course, there is, besides, the interest at $3\frac{1}{2}$ percent. With regard to the other increments, these will be spread over a number of years, and in the case of one Company—that is, the New River Company—a period of 12 years. It is, of course, much more convenient to spread these payments over long periods than over a short series of years; and the New River Company will, in consequence, receive a certain amount of additional Stock. Other Companies, like the West Middlesex, get four years; while, in other cases, the periods will be varied. The capital for each particular Company has been arranged, in order that the funds of the Company may not be called upon for the payment of a larger sum than we are quite assured they will receive from the interest accruing to them. Taking the average of 12 years the amount would be about £750,000 per annum, and, on a rough calculation, would reach to between £6,000,000 and £7,000,000. [Mr. COURTNEY: What will be the ultimate gross maximum?] Putting the whole of the sums together, they will amount to something like £31,000,000. It would apparently strike one that this mode of proceeding would be more favourable to some of the poorer Companies than to others, and for this reason—that the New River Company is an absolutely assured estate, and that its value has risen very much, while some of the lower Companies have not risen to the same height; although, in their case, their future position is as absolutely certain as that of the New River Company at the present moment. Therefore, something more than the fair market price is apparently given to the lower Company. But when the matter comes to be investigated it will be found that they have got no better bargain than the New River Company. Some few years ago it was found by the Auditor that one of the Companies had paid the sum of £30,000 out of capital which ought to have been paid out of income, and, to recoup that, they had to make up the annual amount of £8,000, the payment of which was a great drawback to their dividends. That sum, however, has been entirely repaid, and it is my impression that the Company will spring up in a short time to its natural height. The result of the financial operation for the year would be that they would have a saving of

£50,000; and, besides that, there will be all the savings from the consolidation of the staff and engineering operations. No doubt, so far as the staff is concerned, the saving will not come into full play until some of the officers, who are to be pensioned, cease to exist; but still, in the first year, there will be a saving, I am almost certain, irrespective of this, of £50,000—I hope more. There is one point which I must mention to the credit of the Companies, and that is that, after the matter of the price had been arranged, there was one question pressed strongly, and pressed so strongly, indeed, that I believe many of the directors would have broken off the bargain if the point had not been conceded. I refer to the question of the superannuation of the officers of the Companies. I believe the negotiations would have been broken off if we had not given favourable terms to the officers, and for which the directors stood out. They insisted on the matter being put in the Bill, and they were very strong on the point, and I could not resist. Well, all I have to say as to the price is this—that I do not believe better terms could be made with the Companies. As to the question of buying them by compulsion, as years would go on the price would increase. If you had bought them 10 years ago you would have saved enormously. If you defer buying them for five or 10 years you will have to pay more than now, and you must take that into consideration, when you consider the sum for which they have agreed to sell them. I believe that the Committee, when they come to investigate the sum, will find that the price is fair and reasonable; at all events, they will find that the Bill, which we place before the country, is one which forms an honest endeavour to settle this question, and which will, in the long run, tend greatly to benefit the Metropolis. But now I come to another matter, about which the House will be anxious to know something—I mean the composition of the Water Trust itself. We had no Corporation before, as I stated, ready to take. I do not think—the House, I believe, does not think—that it ought to be in the hands of the Government, that it should be a Department of the State. Therefore, we proposed that the trust shall be placed in the hands of a Water Trust; and I

think everyone will agree, as a starting point, that it is essential that the Water Trust should command the confidence of the Metropolis. I propose that there should be three paid members—namely, first, the chairman, who would receive a salary of £2,000 a-year, and the vice-chairmen—one for works, and the other for finance—each receiving a salary of £1,800 a-year. The first chairman and one vice-chairman would be appointed by the Government, and the names will be placed in the Bill. I think that would be satisfactory to the House, and all I can say is, in a matter of this kind, that no Party considerations will enter into the question. The three appointments—the chairman and the two vice-chairmen—should be appointed during the pleasure of the Crown; and upon any vacancy we hope that the Trust will be so consolidated that the election of the vice-chairmen would be left to the Trust itself. As to the composition of the Board itself, we have, of course, placed the Lord Mayor and the Chairman of the Metropolitan Board of Works upon it as *ex-officio* members of the Board. There will be two of these *ex-officio* members, one to be nominated by the Local Government Board, one by the Chief Commissioner of Works. There will be two others nominated by the Commissioners of Sewers, and one by the Metropolitan Board of Works. Water consumers are, of course, very much interested, and I do not think that the House would be willing to leave this Trust in the hands of a small nominated body; and therefore we propose, having got nine members in that way—in the way I have described—that there shall be 12 elected members. Now, the question comes as to the election, who are to elect, and what are to be the constituents. I do not think that the House would like, on the whole, that if there is an election, that it should be an indirect election. I do not think it would be satisfactory that they should be elected simply by the vestrymen. I think we had better go to first principles, and, if there is to be an election, let it be direct. The question, then is, who are to elect? If you take the vestries themselves—that is, the District Boards—the number would be so large that they would be a Board perfectly unmanageable. You might group them together. We think we had better follow the example of the School Boards,

and take one representative each from the different Metropolitan Boards—one for the City of London, one for Chelsea, one for Finsbury, one for Hackney, one for Marylebone, one for Lambeth, one for Southwark, one for Tower Hamlets, one for Westminster, and so on, making 10.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: I thought that the right hon. Gentleman said there would be 12 elected members.

MR. ASSHETON CROSS: But there are other persons who take water besides the inhabitants of the Metropolis, and they would join in the guarantee. There is a large population outside the Metropolitan area proper, and it is quite right they should be represented on this Board; and, therefore, we propose, as water consumers, there should be one member representing the inhabitants referred to North of the Thames, and one for the South of the Thames—that is, for the out-districts. Now, I think the hon. Member has got his 12 members.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: What is the population?

MR. ASSHETON CROSS: I have not got it here. Then we propose that all these elected members should hold their seats for five years, when, of course, there would be a fresh election.

MR. COURTNEY: The nominated members—how long?

MR. ASSHETON CROSS: They will hold their seats at the pleasure of those who nominate them. Having thus made clear what is the Water Trust, I should like to read a passage as to the powers and object of the Trust. The objects of the Trust are to supply pure and wholesome water for drinking and other purposes—other domestic purposes; for watering of the streets, for extinguishing of fires, and other public purposes; also, for manufacturing and other general purposes; and the maintenance, as far as is possible, of a constant supply in the mains, under such pressure as would effectually provide for high services. The price of the water will be reduced as circumstances permit. As to the date of the purchase, I think it necessary to say a word or two. We propose that the sale should be the 1st of July next; but, as I have said before, practically ever since the 1st of January the Water Companies will be acting as our Trustees. We have the power of a continuous Audit, and they are simply the Trustees, who are to pay themselves a certain amount

of dividend on the 30th of July, and keep the supply in proper working order. It is provided that, as the Trust would not come into operation the moment the Bill passed, the Companies should continue to carry on, free of any extraordinary expense, the business until the 1st October, by which time we hope that the Water Trust will be able to perform their duties, and then the Water Companies will be practically extinct. There is a clause in the Bill providing that there shall be a Sinking Fund for the extinction of the debt. I do not believe I need go into details. We propose that a certain sum should be laid aside by Parliament. Now, I think I have explained, as far as possible, and as fully as necessary for present purposes, the objects of this Bill. As I said at the beginning, it is the best bargain possible for us to make. I do not see that we could make a better. It is, at all events, as good a bargain as we could make; and I must bear testimony to the way in which Mr. Smith has carried forward the negotiations. I believe he has done everything in his power to induce the Companies to take as little as possible. I now ask leave of the House to introduce the Bill, and to take the first reading. If there is any question, that can be answered on the second reading. I shall propose to refer the Bill to a Hybrid Committee, and the question they will have to ask themselves is it such a bargain as they can approve. You cannot say to the Companies you agreed to take this, and we will force you to take this. I believe we have made the best bargain possible, or that can be made. I believe it will prove beneficial to the Metropolis; and I can say this—it is an honest endeavour, on the part of my right hon. Friend (Mr. Selater-Booth) and myself, to present to Parliament a measure which will benefit the Metropolis of the Kingdom.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

“That leave be given to bring in a Bill to make further provision for the supply of the Metropolis and the adjoining populous places with Water.”—(*Mr. Secretary Cross.*)

Mr. FAWCETT said, he was anxious to take that opportunity of acknowledging the promptitude with which the Home Secretary had redeemed his promise given last August with regard to this question; but while he was anxious

to do this he felt he would be doing a great injustice to the Home Secretary, and, still more, a great injustice to the extremely important question which he had brought forward to the notice of the House that evening, if he said a single word expressing a premature opinion on the Bill which had been sketched out. He had learned from experience that nothing led them into a more unfortunate position than to express an opinion upon a Bill which they had not seen—than to express an opinion on a Bill which had merely been introduced. And he thought that in this case it would be particularly unfortunate for the House to express any opinion whatever on the proposal until it had seen this Bill, because there were great pecuniary interests at stake; and if, tomorrow, it were reported that this Bill had been favourably received by the House, it might be supposed that the House would pass it, and speculative transactions might take place. It was perfectly obvious, from what had been said by the Home Secretary, that very important questions would have to be taken into account. There was one important question with regard to the dividends to the shareholders. The greatness of the issues involved in the Bill ought to warn hon. Members from expressing any premature opinion with regard to it. For himself, he should simply thank the right hon. Gentleman for the prompt manner in which he had redeemed his promise of last Session; and whatever might be the ultimate view taken of the Bill, whether in its favour or against it, there would be but one opinion on one point—namely, that the object of the Home Secretary was to promote the interests of the people of the Metropolis.

SIR JAMES M'GAREL-HOGG said, he quite agreed with the hon. Member for Hackney that it was not advisable to pass any opinion on the Bill. He thought the House would acknowledge that a very careful measure had been introduced by the Home Secretary, and that the course adopted by the Government fully justified the action taken by the Metropolitan Board in dealing with this question in 1878. He was sure it was the desire of the Government to promote a wise settlement of this question. All he could say for himself and his Colleagues was that they would

Mr. Assheton Cross

give their careful consideration to this Bill.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE said, he agreed with the Member for Hackney, and in the few words he intended saying he should not go into any details. He had always been strongly in favour of the purchase of the water undertakings of the Metropolis. Beyond that, he would not go reserving for the future the expression of his opinions on the Bill.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN said, that was a matter which, no doubt, most interested the Metropolitan Members, and he himself was somewhat of an outsider; but that was a subject in which he took a deep interest. He had some practical experience already in this matter, having been concerned in the transfer of a water undertaking in the Provinces. It was a considerable satisfaction to him that the principles laid down by the Home Secretary were precisely identical with those which guided the Corporation of Birmingham in the transfer to which he had referred. So far, he found himself in perfect accord with the Home Secretary. In a matter of this kind everything depended on the application of those principles. The cost to the Metropolis was necessarily exceptional, and the undertaking differed from any Provincial undertaking. After listening to the very interesting speech of the right hon. Gentleman, he could see that the Metropolis would have to pay dearly for its water. He did not know whether the people of London were not paying very dearly now. They would have to pay more for their water undertaking than Birmingham had to pay. He found that the sum paid by agreement for the purchase of the whole water supply for Birmingham was something considerably less than £3 per head of the population. Now, if the whole value of this property should amount to something like £30,000,000, the amount on the population would come to something like £6 per head of the population. ["No!"] Now, he took the population at something less than 6,000,000; but, putting it beyond that, the cost would be £5 per head as compared with £3 in Birmingham. In Birmingham they entered upon a great undertaking in perfect working order. The supply of water was admirable in quality and sufficient in quantity. They had a constant

supply, and no considerable increase had proved to be necessary. The reason for undertaking this great matter in London was that the supply was inferior in both quality and quantity; and the first thing the Trust would turn its attention to would be to give a continuous supply at high pressure. It appeared five of the Companies drew their water from the Thames, and new sources of supply must be sought at a very large increase of outlay. This would be a gigantic undertaking, and the result would be that the Metropolis would have to pay much more for its water than they in the country were obliged to pay for it. On the other hand, he saw the immense advantage which might be derived from the unification of these various undertakings, and he did not doubt that a great saving would be made. He wished every success to the scheme, and he trusted it would prove a success.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE said, that his impression was that the population of the Metropolis in 1871 numbered 3,200,000, and that it was at this time more than 4,000,000. He hoped that a Return upon this subject would be laid upon the Table of the House.

MR. ASSHETON CROSS: I am ready to admit that it is unwise, as, indeed, it would be impossible, to discuss the scheme at the present moment. I desire to remind the hon. Member for Birmingham, however, that the inhabitants of that town were wiser in their generation than the inhabitants of the Metropolis, because they restricted their dividends to 8 and 9 per cent, which rendered the future purchase more easy. I have no doubt as to the purity of the water, and that it was obtained at a comparatively small cost. Although the population of Birmingham has enormously increased during the last five or six years, the inhabitants, at the present moment, are not using as much water as they used before they had a constant supply. I have only to add that the Bill will be in the hands of hon. Members to-morrow morning, and to ask leave to introduce it.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE: Will this Stock be a Trustee Stock?

MR. ASSHETON CROSS: Yes.

Question put, and agreed to.

Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Secretary Cross and Mr. SCLATER-BOOTH.

Bill presented, and read the first time. [Bill 97.]

ORDER OF THE DAY.

HYPOTHEC ABOLITION (SCOTLAND)

BILL—[BILL 34.]

(Mr. Agnew, Mr. Baillie Hamilton, Sir George Douglas.)

COMMITTEE.

Order for Committee read.

MR. VANS AGNEW said, that when he named that day for going into Committee, it was not with the intention of making any Progress so soon after the second reading. There were certain alterations proposed to be made in the Bill, with regard to which he had been in communication with the Lord Advocate, the hon. Member for Forfarshire, and other Members interested in the subject. He had every reason to believe that the terms proposed to be introduced would be agreed upon in the course of the week; and, if the House would allow him, he proposed that the Bill should go into Committee *pro formâ*.

Bill considered in Committee.

House resumed.

Committee report Progress; to sit again upon *Monday* next.

VALUATION (METROPOLIS) ACT (1869)

AMENDMENT BILL.

On Motion of Sir HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON, Bill to amend "The Valuation (Metropolis) Act, 1869," ordered to be brought in by Sir HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON and Mr. CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER.

Bill presented, and read the first time. [Bill 98.]

EAST INDIA LOAN (EAST INDIAN RAILWAY DEBENTURES) BILL.

Resolution [March 1] reported, and agreed to :—Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. EDWARD STANHOPE and Mr. CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER.

Bill presented, and read the first time. [Bill 99.]

House adjourned at a quarter after One o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Wednesday, 3rd March, 1880.

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILLS—Ordered—First Reading—Irish Church Act (1869) Amendment [100]; Census (Ireland)* [101]. Second Reading—Ulster Tenant Right [8]; Registration of Voters (Ireland)* [54]; Road Debts on Entailed Estates (Scotland) [95]; Blind and Deaf-Mute Children* [41]. Committee—Report—Beer Dealers' Retail Licences* [65].

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

PRIVILEGE—(TOWER HIGH LEVEL BRIDGE (METROPOLIS) COMMITTEE).

Order read, for Attendance in custody of Charles Edmund Grissell;

The Serjeant at Arms brought Charles Edmund Grissell to the Bar of the House:—Whereupon Mr. Speaker addressed the prisoner as followeth:—

Charles Edmund Grissell; your conduct last Session in connection with the inquiry before a Committee on a Private Bill was the subject of patient inquiry by a Select Committee of this House, which Committee came to the following conclusion:—

"Your Committee are unanimously of opinion that Mr. Charles Edmund Grissell, in asserting that he could control the decisions of the Committee on the Tower High Level Bridge (Metropolis) Bill, and in the offer that he made to do so, was guilty of a breach of the Privileges of the House."

Thereupon an Order was made by this House for your attendance before this House. That Order was disobeyed. Again you evaded the Warrant issued for your apprehension by proceeding beyond the jurisdiction of this House, and two days before the prorogation of Parliament you returned to this Country and placed yourself within reach of my Warrant. You were taken into custody just before the prorogation, and on the prorogation of Parliament you were discharged.

This House has now been in Session for nearly four weeks, and you have delayed until yesterday, when public notice had been taken of your conduct, to make your submission. This House,

nevertheless, is willing to hear any explanation which you may think proper to offer to it, with respect to your conduct.

Mr. Grissell: Sir, I feel deeply grateful to this most honourable House for giving me an opportunity of personally expressing my sincere and deep regret for the grave offence of which I was adjudged guilty, which I now deeply deplore, of which I now plead guilty, and for which I now beg to be allowed to tender my most humble apology. I beg humbly to be allowed to add that my failing to present a Petition at the opening of the Session was not owing to any intentional disrespect to this honourable House, but because of a paragraph which appeared in *The Times* which made my friends think that this honourable House did not wish that its business should be impeded by so insignificant and humble an individual as myself. I humbly throw myself on the merciful consideration of this honourable House, and beg to offer my most complete submission for my grave offence.

MR. SPEAKER: Unless this House has any desire that the prisoner at the Bar should be examined, he will now withdraw, in the custody of the Serjeant at Arms, while his conduct becomes subject to the consideration of the House. Is it your pleasure that Charles Edmund Grissell do withdraw? [*Cries of "Hear, hear!"*] The Serjeant at Arms will withdraw with the prisoner at the Bar.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: Sir, I apprehend that the course which it will be most appropriate to take in the matter of Charles Edmund Grissell will be to order that he be committed to Her Majesty's gaol of Newgate for the offence of which he has been found guilty. The House is aware that there is this difference between the proceedings of the House of Commons and those of the other House of Parliament—that the other House has power to commit an offender for a definite period; but this is not the practice of the House of Commons. We have, however, if we desire to commit an offender, power to do so, and that commitment remains in force until either the House is prorogued, or until some Motion is made for releasing the prisoner from custody. We have, therefore, only to consider—first, whe-

ther Mr. Grissell should be committed at all; and, if so, whether he should be committed to the custody of the Serjeant at Arms or to the gaol of Newgate. At the close of last Session, when he came before the House on the day before Parliament was prorogued, he was committed to Newgate; and I apprehend that will be the course for us to follow. I therefore move—

"That Charles Edmund Grissell, having evaded punishment for his offence against the Privileges of this House, until the close of last Session, be committed to Her Majesty's Gaol of Newgate, and that Mr. Speaker do issue his Warrants accordingly."

MR. W. E. FORSTER: I beg to second that Motion. We should have been glad if we had not felt it necessary. I think this is one of those cases in which the House would always wish to err on the side of leniency; partly because we do not wish to exercise our powers of punishment, and partly because we are not anxious to assert our Privilege unless it should be absolutely necessary. We have also the feeling of not wishing to exaggerate the importance of such an act as has been committed. But, looking at what was done with the offender whose offence was, so far as we can judge, not nearly so bad as that of this person, and looking at the course he has adopted, I do not see that we can do otherwise than that now proposed. I confess that what was said by my right hon. Friend the Member for the University of Cambridge (Mr. Spencer Walpole) did not make the case stronger against this person than it was before. We all know that my right hon. Friend would put it as leniently as possible; but I think there has been no submission sufficient to allow him to escape from punishment. I think it due to the House to state that the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer had shown me the Resolution that he proposed yesterday, and that I fully concurred in it; but I must take blame to myself for being under some misapprehension in this matter. I thought we should still have been able, if that Resolution had been passed in its original form, to take what steps might seem advisable. I need not dwell, however, on that question, and I now beg to second the Motion.

Motion agreed to.

Ordered, that Charles Edmund Grissell, having evaded punishment for his offences against the Privileges of this House, until the close of the last Session, be committed to Her Majesty's Gaol of Newgate, and that Mr. Speaker do issue his Warrants accordingly.—(*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.*)

ULSTER TENANT RIGHT BILL.

(*Mr. Macartney, Mr. Charles Lewis.*)

[BILL 8.] SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

MR. MACARTNEY, in rising to move that the Bill be now read a second time, said, it did not attempt to deal with the whole of the customs of Ulster, because the wish of its promoters had not been to introduce a measure which would cause a great deal of discussion in the House, but a measure which would have a fair prospect of passing into law during the present Session. When the Bill of last year was before the House an objection was raised by the Attorney General for Ireland that the words used in the Preamble were "the customs of Ulster," and not the words used in the Act of 1870—namely, "The usages known under the denomination of the Ulster tenant right." He had taken care to remedy that defect in the Bill he now asked the House to read a second time. The 1st clause of the Bill proposed to enact that, instead of requiring, as at present, that a tenant who wished or was obliged to quit his farm should go to the County Court to have it decided whether the tenant right existed upon the estate or not, the presumption of the existence of the right should be in his favour; and there was no unfairness in such a provision, because the usages of Ulster were prevalent through the whole of the Province. In the Act passed for the purpose of giving compensation to tenants in England for improvements made by them that principle was adopted, the *onus probandi* being thrown upon the landlord, and not upon the tenant. The clause provided that in Ireland, whenever a compensation claim arose in that part of the country where the Ulster custom prevailed, it should be presumed that it existed upon the particular estate on which the claim was made, and the landowner would be put to the proof that the tenant right did not exist, or that it had been purchased by him or by one of his predecessors. He thought that clause would be generally acknowledged to be

only fair. He would not dwell longer upon the 1st clause, because he thought it was based on justice, and he hardly thought that any hon. Gentleman would offer any opposition to it. The 2nd clause was one which he believed would not be quite so acceptable to hon. Members as the 1st. In Ireland there was a usage of Ulster which was not only consistent with the rights of the landlord, but also with the rights of the tenant—namely, that if the landlord gave notice to quit he must give compensation to the tenant. This rule had the sanction of long and immemorial usage, and it was well known. One of the first customs of Ulster was that of requiring the tenant, when he wished to part with his holding, or when he was anxious to sell, to give notice to the landlord or his agent, and obtain permission to do, and also to obtain the sanction of the proprietor before the purchase money was paid and the farm handed over. It was part of the custom that arrears of rent should be paid out of the purchase money, and that the next neighbouring tenant should have the preference over all other persons in the purchase. If no next neighbouring tenant was willing to purchase the farm it was offered to some other tenant on the estate, and it was only when no tenant on the estate was willing to purchase that the farm was allowed to go to a stranger. He did not say that this rule was followed upon every estate; but it was followed upon a good many. There were many such usages in existence; but the one to which the 2nd clause applied was one which was not, strictly speaking, a usage. It was unknown on almost any estate in the North of Ireland till after the passing of the Poor Law Act of 1838. That Act enacted that occupiers of small holdings which were rated at and under £4 a-year should not themselves pay the poor rates, but that the poor rates should be levied upon the landlords. In consequence of the alteration of the law with regard to the right to vote at elections, the landlords found it more agreeable to themselves, instead of having very small holdings, to consolidate the farms, and a number of tenants were allowed to sell, and he was sorry to say some of them were ejected. The consequence was, that leases became very much more numerous than they were before, and small holdings fetched exceptionally

high prices. For small holdings of five or six acres there would be 15 or 16 persons attempting to obtain them, whereas for holdings of 50 or 60 acres there would only be two or three applicants. The consequence was, that the small holdings ran up to a very high figure, and the result of this was, that the price, beyond which no person should go, was fixed at the estate offices. That was the reason of the rule to which his clause referred. He did not mean to assert that the prices fixed invariably represented the real value of the tenant right; but it placed a certainty on the amount to be given by the incoming tenant. Therefore, in that view, the rule was not at all an objectionable one. But there were instances in places where the tenant right custom prevailed of the arbitrary rule which limited the amount to be paid, and if no compensation was given to tenants selling gross injustice would be committed, though, of course, no injustice would be done to the purchasing tenant. Although the rule existed that the tenant should not pay more than a certain price, that rule was in many cases evaded, the difference between the two prices being paid behind the back of the landlord, though it was perfectly well known to the landowner and the agent that the transaction took place. He asked whether, if such a thing occurred to a tenant, though the rule provided that he should only pay £5, to pay £15 or £20, it would be a fair and proper transaction that only the fixed price should be paid? This rule had been the cause of many heart-burnings, and very great dissatisfaction in many counties in Ireland; and he was anxious, in the interests both of the landlords and the tenants, to see it changed. He knew it was said that unlimited tenant right was of great value, and that it deprived the landlord of one of his rights. It was said it unfairly increased the value of the holding of the tenant, and the extra money which was given to the tenant on selling his holding came out of the pocket of the landlord; but experience proved that that was not the case in the counties in Ireland where tenant right was most broadly carried out—namely, the counties of Down, Antrim, Armagh, Derry, and Tyrone. In the counties where tenant right was most generally adopted the greatest prosperity prevailed, the

tenantry were the most comfortable, the farms were the best cultivated, and the landlords, if they desired it, obtained greater prices for their farms than could be obtained in any other part of Ireland. Therefore, the argument he had referred to could not be called a fair one, and it could not be said that tenant right prevented a re-adjustment of rents, if desired. Under the tenant right of Ulster, rents were revised about the period when leases fell in. He thought this rule ought to be altered, and it certainly would not do the slightest harm to any landowner in Ireland if the 2nd clause of this Bill were passed. The 3rd clause was intended to remedy an evil which he believed everyone would think ought not to occur. Owing to some omission or want of forethought, it was not provided in the Act which was passed in 1870 that tenant right should exist on the cessation of a lease. It appeared to be only just that the leaseholders should not be in a worse position than the tenants-at-will, or tenants from year to year. It would surprise an Englishman, he knew, to hear such a doctrine put forward as that a tenant, on the cessation of a lease, should get compensation if he was put out of his holding; and he might be asked—"Is there not a clause of surrender in the leases?" There was a clause of surrender; but he believed, in the old copyhold customs of England, a copyholder got compensation if he was turned out, and such was also the custom of Ulster. A great deal of evidence was taken on this subject before the Select Committee which inquired into the Tenant Right Question. Many witnesses were examined, who came from various parts of the North of Ireland. If the House would permit him, he would read a few extracts from that evidence which were published in a small volume by Mr. Donnell, which was a most elaborate and thorough-going book on tenant right. Mr. John Stewart said that the rents were adjusted when the leases fell in. Mr. Atkinson, of County Down, was asked how far he thought tenant right affected the value of holdings? and that gentleman said—

"I do not think they are at all affected by it; we get as much with a lease as without."

Similar evidence was given by Mr. Wilson, of the County Armagh. Mr. John Andrews, agent for Lord London-

derry's estates, County Down, was asked if there was any difference between those who had leases and those who had not? and that gentleman replied—

“Not a bit; there is just as much confidence as there is under tenant right. I do not think it makes much difference, in the sale of the tenant right, whether there is a lease or not.”

He did not think there could be stronger proof in favour of tenant right than that. There had been a discussion in that House lately on a proposal for establishing a similar law for Scotland, and it appeared that the landlords in Ireland did not care about the Law of Distress, because they were secured by tenant right. If a tenant fell into arrears, and did not pay his rent, then, under tenant right, the landlord could get the rent from the incoming tenant before the farm was handed over. He hoped this Bill would obtain a second reading. It was looked forward to with great anxiety by the tenantry in the North of Ireland, who were anxious to have this matter settled. It might be said—“Oh, the Courts of Law will settle it;” but the Irish people did not like to go into Courts of Law, because it caused dissension and difficulty between the landlord and tenant. He thought that all this ought to be avoided, especially in Ireland, where at the present time a crusade had been started against the landlords, which was carried on by gentlemen who inscribed on their flags principles of a very extraordinary character. It had been foretold lately in that House that the next Parliament would return Members who would vote for hanging half the landlords and abolishing the House of Peers, and he believed that the Gentleman who made that extraordinary prophecy would be one of the first to vote for carrying it out. He hoped the House would give a second reading to the Bill.

Motion made, and Question proposed, “That the Bill be now read a second time.”—(*Mr. Macartney.*)

MR. T. A. DICKSON said, that though Notice of opposition had been given to the Bill which the hon. Member brought in last year, no Notice of opposition appeared on the Paper against the present Bill. It was opposed last year on the ground that the Bill proposed a legalization of theft; but no opposition appearing on the Paper, he assumed that the

opponents of last year's Bill were going to allow this measure to pass. As he listened to the speech of the hon. Member for Tyrone, he could not help asking himself whether this was all that the Conservative Members for Ulster had to place before the tenant farmers of that Province? Was this the redemption of the promises so profusely made by them in 1874? Was it possible that the hon. Member for his own county, who was returned to the House by an overwhelming majority on the simple question of tenant right, instead of taking back to the electors a substantial Act of Parliament providing some redress for their grievances, would have nothing to offer them but this miserable Bill? His belief was that the hon. Member would be unable to obtain from his Friends a sufficient amount of support to enable the measure to pass the second reading. At the same time, he must appeal to the Government on behalf of their supporters from Ulster to allow the measure to be read a second time. It was so slightly Communistic that the name even of the Chief Secretary for Ireland might have appeared on the back of it, and he need not say that if that had been done it would have filled the farmers of Ulster with confidence. The Tories hitherto had done nothing in this matter, though he must not omit to mention that a Bill had been introduced by the hon. Members for Down and Downpatrick, and had passed all its stages in that House, though it had been strangled in the House of Lords, dealing with the question of tenant right at the expiration of leases. The Bill now before the House was remarkable, not so much for what it contained as for what it passed over. In Ireland, at the present time, the most pressing question was security of tenure—to put it more strongly, continuous occupancy, or, to use a very strong word, fixity of tenure. This Bill contained no provision whatever to remedy this great want. It contained no provision whatever against the arbitrary raising of rents, and there was no word in it about extending the operation of the “Bright Clauses” of the Land Act. The Irish people and the Irish tenant farmers were often taunted with being thriftless; but how could there be thrift where there was no security and no inducement for the investment of capital? [The hon. Member

Mr. Macartney

proceeded to read to the House the opinions expressed on this subject by Mr. Francis Shepherd, a tenant farmer in the County Down, as expressed in *The Spectator* in December last, and added that there was no one who so unceasingly misrepresented Irish feeling in this matter as the Chief Secretary for Ireland.] From a political point of view he did not find fault with the right hon. Gentleman's intemperate speeches, because every speech he had made during the last two months would lose his Party a seat in Ulster. The right hon. Gentleman appeared to be ignorant of the fact that rents in Ireland were mainly the consequence of tenants' improvements in the soil; and he had never, in that House or out of it, manifested the slightest sympathy with the agricultural classes. So long as proprietary rights were respected, the right hon. Gentleman did not care a straw for the tenants. He placed the interests of a few thousand landlords in Ireland above the interests of 2,000,000 or 3,000,000 people who lived by agriculture, and who were at present exposed to hardships and poverty. He (Mr. Dickson) must repudiate the assertion so often made that tenant right meant landlord's wrong. The hon. Member (Mr. Macartney) himself had proved that wherever tenant-right existed there the landlord's rent was safe and paid punctually. As far as he (Mr. Dickson) understood the wishes of the tenants, all they wanted was that the property created by their own toil and labour, and expenditure of their little capital, should be as safe against confiscation as that of the landlords. The main question at the General Election would not be the foreign policy of the Government, but the Land Question; and he held that House would not much longer be able to resist the demand now being made, alike in the North and in the South of Ireland, for the improvement of the Land Laws. What they wanted was security of tenure, and the question must be dealt with on a broad basis, and not by a miserable Bill like this, which only touched the fringe of the question, and which, after all, embodied a selfish policy confined to the Province of Ulster. He would support the second reading of this Bill, because it contained an instalment of what was required by Ireland; but he hoped that when the hon. Member

(Mr. Macartney) shortly faced the electors of his county he would have the courage to tell them that, after seven years' experience, he found that a Conservative Government would never accept a measure of Land Law reform which was worthy the paper on which it was printed.

THE MARQUESS OF HAMILTON said, he was sorry, judging from the emptiness of the Benches round him, that this important question did not receive that attention from the House which it deserved. He had no intention of making an electioneering speech on this occasion. Neither was he prepared to call the Bill for which he was going to vote a miserable one, following the example of the hon. Gentleman who had just spoken; but he would say a few words upon the clauses of the Bill. The Bill was a short one, dealing with but three points, and these contained in three clauses. The 1st clause assumed the existence of tenant right; the 2nd dealt with the estate office rule—that was the tenant right at the termination of tenancy; and the 3rd clause had regard to the tenant right at the end of the lease. With regard to tenant right in Ulster, though some hon. Members might not agree with him, it must continue to exist as it had existed for many years past. He was glad to hear, the other day, the Leader of the Home Rule Party (Mr. Shaw) express his approval of the condition of the Ulster tenant farmer, owing to the Ulster custom, stating that the prosperity of the North of Ireland, in contrast to the South and West, was, in a measure, owing to the tenant right system. In that he cordially agreed. Tenant right was the right of occupation, and conferred security upon the tenant; but, he would add, it was not the tenant right only that gave this prosperity to the Ulster farmers. It was the farmer's intelligence and thought by which he was able to avail himself of the advantages of the Ulster custom, and utilize it for the benefit of himself and the community. The second point had reference to what was called the estate office rule. In most of the large properties in the North of Ireland tenant right was not fettered with restrictions; and he was not aware that the landlords on these estates were in any way worse off in their position than landlords on smaller es-

tates, neither was he aware that the tenants were injuriously affected by the privileges they enjoyed. The third point in the Bill was the position of tenantright at the end of the lease. This was a subject in which he was much interested, for he had, in conjunction with several Members on that side, endeavoured, unfortunately without success, to pass a Bill in regard to tenant right at the expiration of the lease through both Houses of Parliament, and he rejoiced to find it one feature of the Bill now before them. For a considerable time there had been uneasiness in the minds of leaseholders with regard to what was the state of the law on the point under the Act of 1870. Not only so, but the doubt existed equally in the minds of the Irish Judges, some holding the opinion that the covenant to surrender did away with tenant right at the end of the lease, and other Judges holding the contrary view; and as no case had yet been brought into the Superior Courts, the question, practically and legally, remained unsettled. At the present moment he might say the presumption of tenant right remained against the tenant. He must prove that the estate upon which his tenancy existed had the privilege of tenant right; but in many cases it was very difficult, indeed, for the tenant to prove the existence of this custom, and it was with all an expensive process. Under the Bill, however, the presumption would remain with the landlord to disprove the existence of the right or the holding which formed part of the estate. Therefore, if the Bill became law, he hoped this clause would remain in it, for it would be the means of removing a very considerable amount of disquietude and uneasiness from the minds of a large and respectable body of Her Majesty's subjects. In the North of Ireland there were from 30,000 to 32,000 leasehold tenants, and to these, to find that the Act of 1870 had been finally settled, would be a relief to their minds as well as their pockets. He trusted the Bill would receive a second reading, and impressed on the Government, if they found any reason or desire to alter any of the clauses, to make their objections in Committee, when the Bill, both as a whole and in parts, would receive a full and critical discussion. He cordially supported the second reading.

The Marquess of Hamilton

VISCOUNT CASTLEREAGH supported the second reading. He knew the interest the subject excited throughout Ulster; and he well remembered during the time he was canvassing the County Down that the speeches that excited the most attention were those dealing with the question of tenant right. Unfortunately, that question had been used by unscrupulous politicians for the purpose of creating differences between landlord and tenant, and, to some extent, these had been successful. But, so far as his experience went, the tenant farmers put forth no sort of revolutionary demand. He observed a clause in the Bill embodied the principle of tenant right, which his Colleague the noble Marquess (the Marquess of Hamilton), one of the best of Irish landlords, made the subject of a Bill, and passed through the House last Session; and he was the more interested in the question that his (Viscount Castlereagh's) grandfather and his ancestors had originated and done much to foster this Ulster custom. Let the Bill go into Committee, where its provisions might be fully discussed, and, if necessary, amended; and he expressed a hope that the Bill would aid in filling up the breach which had been made between classes in Ireland, and restore good feeling between landlords and tenants—two classes whose interests were identical.

MR. D. TAYLOR said, the importance of the subject must be apparent to every Irish Member, and a Bill which in any way assisted the tenant farmer in Ireland, in however small a degree, would have his hearty support. Though the hon. Member for Dungannon (Mr. T. A. Dickson) had said the Bill merely touched the fringe of the question which agitated the whole of the country, and until the settlement of which peace and prosperity would not settle in Ireland, still, though the Bill did not deal with the whole question, it did deal with two or three points, the settlement of which would be of great advantage to have solved. The greatest hardship had been inflicted by the system by which some landlords had attempted, since the Land Act was passed, to fritter away the interests of the tenants. Prior to that there existed, in most instances, an amount of good feeling and good faith between owner and occupier which, he regretted to say, had not continued

since the passing of the Land Act. That Act, which had done so much for the tenant farmers in Ireland—especially for those in Ulster—and which, in the great majority of cases, Ulster landlords had accepted and fairly carried out, had, he was sorry to say, a contrary effect with some landlords. That Act being passed, there were some landlords who said, in effect—"Now, you must expect nothing more from us. You must stand for your rights, and we will do the same." Taking that course, they had tried to dispute inch by inch the rights of the tenant, and had tried to injure the prosperity the tenant had created by his outlay and labour in his farm. The greatest instances of this were to be found in the North, where on many estates rules were made limiting the amount per acre a tenant should receive. No rule or action of the landlord on this question had had a more injurious effect on the agricultural interests of Ireland. It did this—it gave to the very worst tenant on that estate the same price for his tenant right as was given to the best and most improving tenant. So, whilst the worst class of tenants could secure a full and adequate amount of tenant right, the man who had erected buildings, drained his land, put up fences, and in other ways made the land worth double as much as when he entered upon it, was limited to the same sum as the very worst tenant was at liberty to receive. This was a real loss to the country, and deterred many from entering upon improvements which they had the means and ability to carry out. There was one point in the Bill deserving the attention of the House, and he trusted it would be adopted—that was, that the presumption that tenant right existed should be in favour of the tenant. Landlords now who objected to the tenant right custom on their estates had nothing to do but throw the whole onus of proof on the tenant, and that, in some localities, was sometimes a very difficult thing to prove. Where a tenancy on an estate had gone on from father to son, where the occupation had been continuous, without change of ownership, from one to another by sale—in such cases as these the tenants had the greatest difficulty in satisfying a Court as to the existence of the custom. But, on the other hand, to throw the burden of proof on the

landlord, as proposed by the Bill, would be an advantage, because the landlord would always have the greater facility to prove the non-existence of tenant right than the tenant could possibly have on the other side. The landlord would have records in connection with the estate which would show how it had been managed for generations, and only by such proofs could the tenant be shown to have the tenant right. There was one thing that fell severely on the interest of tenant right. On many estates where valuations were made—say, at periods of 10, or 15, or 20 years, these increases were dealt with and fairly paid by the tenant; but if the tenant wished to sell his farm at an intermediate time between these periods of valuation, then the landlord often withheld his consent, except on the condition of a certain increase of rent per acre. These conditions, imposed simply because the farm was changing hands, were most unfair, as sweeping from the tenant the prospect of his getting a fair price for his tenant right. By the Land Act of 1870 tenant right was made legal, and the tenant was given a legal interest in the estate; but this legal right was of such a precarious nature that a landlord wishing to set it aside had in his power the means of doing so. With regard to the other clause in the Bill making tenant right apply to leases, it would relieve a great deal of heart-burning in the North of Ireland, and remove one great cause of the agitation which for many generations had existed. He trusted that the Bill would pass. It did something; and the least thing it would do would be to make an acknowledgment on the part of the House that as to the Act of 1870, passed as a measure of benefit for Ireland, it was felt that no matter how much good it was admitted to have done, there were points in it which did not carry out the intentions of its promoters. It was altered in its passage through the House, and now did not meet all the exigencies of the case. The passing of the Bill would be an acknowledgment on the part of the House that the Act of 1870 required amendment—a fact of which Irishmen had no doubt.

SIR THOMAS MCCLURE said, he was ready to vote for and to promote the passing of the Bill into law. It had been fairly stated that its provisions

would not be considered sufficient, but that further legislation in the same direction would be sought for, not for Ulster only, but to include all Ireland. He regretted that, after the unanimous assent of the House last Session to the Resolutions proposed by the hon. Member for Reading (Mr. Shaw Lefevre), upon the recommendation of the Select Committee, to give increased facilities to agricultural tenants to become owners of their holdings, no measure to promote this in any degree had been brought forward by the Government. There was, at the same time, a suggestion made that facilities should be given for tenants arranging with their landlords for perpetuities of their holdings at reduced rents on payment of fines. There was no doubt this would be largely taken advantage of. The Bill now before the House would give more protection against arbitrary or unreasonable interference, and therefore, so far, deserved support. In claiming for the farmer, when he discharged his legitimate obligations, an independent position, he might have to trench upon a delicate subject—he meant the right claimed by many landlords to control and direct the votes of their tenants. It might be said that the Ballot removed any question of the kind. It was true that it enabled the tenant, if he kept his own counsel, to vote without the possibility of any person knowing how he voted. Yet they knew that attempts were still made to bring illegitimate pressure to bear upon the tenants, when, either directly or through the medium of agents or bailiffs, tenants were given to believe that their voting or identifying themselves with parties of opposite views to their landlord or his representatives might subject them to his displeasure and to a difference of treatment. An influence inconsistent with the spirit of the Constitution was thus brought into play. The farmer at the present time required the utmost exertion to bear up against foreign competition and the effect of unfavourable seasons, and it became the more necessary to give him all reasonable protection from arbitrary dealing. There should be nothing done to break down his spirit or impair his motive for exertion. Those who would stretch the rights of property so as to interfere with the rights of conscience were enemies to the stability of property. Before the

Sir Thomas M'Clure

passing of the Ballot Act the absolute right claimed by many landlords to direct the votes of their tenants was felt by them to be humiliating and degrading. Seldom did they venture on an open protest; but they, many of them, emigrated across the Atlantic; and, in writing to their friends of the hardships and difficulties encountered in their new settlements, they added—"But we have no bailiff coming amongst us with his orders." No doubt, this deprivation of their rights as citizens caused the emigrants and their friends to look back on Ireland as a land of vassalage and slavery. He felt confident that it would be for the benefit of the country, and the real advantage of both landlord and tenant, that the farmer, after meeting the just demands against him, should feel himself in an independent position, enjoying Constitutional freedom, and secure in possession of the fruits of his industry. He should support the measure, as he would others having this object in view.

Mr. SYNAN congratulated the House and the country not only upon the unanimity which had characterized the proceedings of to-day, but upon the enthusiasm the hon. Member for Londonderry (Sir Thomas M'Clure) had created. It appeared they were acting the part somewhat of the Greek Chorus—they were all unanimous; and he supposed the hon. Members from Ulster would not object to a Member from the South of Ireland, where those violent agitators, according to the noble Lord the Member for County Down (Viscount Castlereagh), were doing so much mischief, in joining them in support of the present Bill. It occurred to him that the absence of the Chief Secretary for Ireland on the present occasion was rather remarkable. Why was not the Representative of Ireland present to support the Bill? Had he some doubts or hesitation as to whether the rights of property were involved or affected by the Bill? Was that the process of education which the Tory majority were undergoing at the present moment on this question? It was rather suspicious that on the eve of a Dissolution the Chief Secretary for Ireland should refuse to give his opinion upon this important question; but, possibly, his ideas of the rights of proprietorship were as strong as ever, and he regarded the present measure as a dangerous one. It might

be asked why he, as a Southern Member, joined in support of a Bill promoted by Gentlemen who had opposed them in every measure they had introduced in the House? He supported the Bill simply because he was an Irish Member—simply because the interests of Ireland—whether they be in the North or South or East or West—where all the same to him. He cared not by what Party a Bill was promoted; if it would serve a good purpose it should have his warm support. He supported the tenant in the North of Ireland as well as he would wish to support a tenant in the South of Ireland; and he only wished that the Members for the North of Ireland would meet the Members for the South in the same spirit. He presumed that the Bill was to receive the support of the Government, and he believed it was right that it should receive that support. He had not the slightest objection that they should make all the capital they could out of it, because he knew that it was only in this way, when they were on the eve of a General Election, that the Government would be induced to yield to any proposal for the benefit of the people of Ireland. The 2nd clause of the present Bill proposed to remedy a substantial evil, which at present virtually converted the Ulster custom into no custom at all. What it did was to injure the good tenant at the expense of the improvements he made, and placed the bad tenant on the same level with him by adopting a hard-and-fast line by what were called estate office rules. It authorized a private bargain, and left the landlord in the North of Ireland at liberty afterwards to disavow and treat it as a fraudulent bargain. The 3rd clause of the Bill provided a remedy upon which the Judges of the land had disagreed. Some of the Judges held that tenant right existed at the end of a lease, while others held that there was a surrender of tenant right at the end of the lease. He believed the Government intended to accept the second reading of the Bill, and he hoped they would not attempt to injure the measure in Committee by any Amendment they might introduce into it.

SIR JOSEPH M'KENNA supported the second reading of the Bill, and with great pleasure, because he believed that if it were allowed to become the law of the land it would remove the ground-

work of the arguments against the Bills which had been introduced, with only scant success, for legalizing tenant right throughout Ireland. The noble Marquess who seconded the Motion for the second reading of the Bill said that he would not make an electioneering speech, and the noble Marquess kept his word. If there was any Member who, by the acts of his ancestry, could prove the sincerity of his motives upon a measure of this kind, it was the noble Marquess; and he (Sir Joseph M'Kenna) ventured to say that, on the whole, the Duke of Abercorn had not suffered from the line of conduct he had pursued towards his tenantry. The rental received from property in the North of Ireland where tenant right prevailed was not only, in proportion to acreage, larger than the rental of any corresponding acreage in the South of Ireland, but the property itself would sell for a greater number of years' purchase than the low-rented land of the South of Ireland. A noble Lord who spoke in favour of the Bill from that side of the House talked about £26,000,000 lying idle in the banks of Ireland. It might be imagined from that, that Ireland was a tremendously rich country, and overflowing with financial wealth; but the fact was that there was very little money indeed lying idle in the Irish banks, or, for that matter, in the banks anywhere else. The banks took it from their customers, and paid interest on it at so much per cent per annum to make any profit they had to re-lend it. In that way (perhaps, to the extent of seven-eighths of the capital borrowed by the Irish banks), it was lent out again; and when they saw buildings in the course of erection on a farm, new farm-houses being built, and material evidence of prosperity and wealth, they must not put this down as an addition to the wealth deposited in the banks, because, in a great measure, it was from advances made by the banks that these improvements were made. There was no great amount of idle capital in Ireland; but there was one thing which, he was sorry to say, was allowed to remain idle—namely, the capital of the labour which would be applied to the land on all occasions if the tenant felt he had security for the value of the application of it. They now believed that they could be turned out of their holdings without compensation, or that their rents might be raised in-

definitely if they improved the land. They, therefore, went on with their farming operations in a lazy fashion, without affording the landlord any temptation to raise the rent. His own belief was that if they carried a Tenant Right Bill—not merely the present one, which was only partial in its operation, but one for the whole of Ireland—it would do much more for the landlords than for the tenants. He should be glad to see some general Act passed that would give his own tenants perfect security against himself and those who were to come after him, and against all landlords. He believed that such security would do much to improve the soil and the income arising from it from age to age, as it had been improved hitherto in the North of Ireland. He, therefore, gave the second reading of the Bill a hearty support, and he hoped it would be carried for two reasons—first, because he believed it was good in itself; and, secondly, because it would put an end to bad and illogical arguments which he heard in that House applied to the several tenant right measures introduced by his Friends which they had vainly endeavoured to pass.

MR. BIGGAR thought the Bill now before the House deserved the support of the House for two reasons. One was, that it acknowledged a very important principle, that the Land Act of 1870 required amendment. It was an important acknowledgment by the Tory Party in that House—a Party who had hitherto opposed all reform of the Land Question, and had endeavoured to thwart all those who proposed such a reform, accusing them of being Communists and persons who wished to take what did not belong to them. The common charge made against the reformers on the Land Question was “absolute confiscation;” and if he understood what confiscation was, it meant taking away something and giving nothing in return for it. That was a very important acknowledgment by the advocates of landlord rule in Ireland on the Tory side of the House. Another important principle acknowledged by the promoters of the Bill was that absolute ownership in land did not exist, and that the House had a right to interfere and do what it believed to be good, irrespective of the alleged ownership of the land by the landlords. That, to his mind, was an important acknowledgment, which

went to the root of the whole question; because as soon as it was admitted that the law was made not for the interest of a very small, but highly wealthy class—the landlords, who reaped the entire benefit of the land and gave nothing in return—a different state of circumstances would arise, very much more reasonable and considerate for the persons in regard to whom they possessed these unfortunate legal rights. When it was made clear that the rights of absolute ownership hitherto insisted upon no longer existed, a great deal would be done towards effecting improvement in the future. At the same time, he did not think the Bill was entitled to unqualified praise, and he deprecated the introduction of small reforms in the amendment of the law. The reforms proposed by the present measure were of the smallest character, and failed to go thoroughly to the root of the question. If reforms were to be undertaken in this piecemeal way, the result would be that the Land Laws would not be settled for many years to come. What ought to be done was that the Government should introduce a Bill to carry out a complete amendment of the law, which was certainly not done by the present Bill. One clause simply affirmed what the law was on a particular question; another required that the presumption of proof should rest with the tenant and not with the landlord, and that was all the Bill said. He would undertake to show, when the Bill went into Committee—if it ever did find its way there—by Amendments which he intended to propose, that very much greater reforms were required in the Land Act of 1870, and that the present measure did not by any means fulfil the requirements of the case. The important evil in connection with the Land Act of 1870 came into a prominent position this year—he alluded to the circumstances of a tenant being liable to be dispossessed for the non-payment of one year's rent, although he might be entitled to five or six years' compensation for disturbance, and although the non-payment of rent was probably due to the extravagant rack-rent he was charged by the landlord. In such a case the tenant was, under the Act of 1870, entitled to no redress. That, he thought, was a frightful grievance; and if hon. Members were thoroughly in earnest in reforming the Land Laws they

would introduce such a reform into the present Bill. There was another evil in connection with the present system of tenant right which was entirely overlooked by the Bill. According to the tenant right system of Ulster, where the landlords had persistently and continuously charged an extravagant rent, the result was that tenants would get a very small compensation indeed on disturbance. But if, on the other hand, the landlords had been charging a moderate rent, they would get a very high price for their interest in the land, as had already been pointed out by the hon. Member for Youghal (Sir Joseph M'Kenna.) On the estate of the Duke of Abercorn, the interest of the tenant reached as much as the fee-simple of the land. On the other hand, there were landlords who had been charging an exorbitant rent, and instead of getting, as upon the Duke of Abercorn's estate, something like the value of the fee simple of the property, the unfortunate tenant was kept on the verge of poverty all his life; and when he endeavoured to sell his interest, he probably only got £5, £6, or £7 an acre for it, which was not more than a fourth, fifth, or sixth of the value of the freehold. He regretted that the Bill had not been drawn up more in the interests of the tenants than of the landlords, considering that hitherto the landlords had been extortionate and unreasonable. He hoped the Bill would be read a second time, because, after all, it did reform the Act of 1870; but if it ever went into Committee he should consider himself bound to propose such Amendments as would make it a much more valuable Bill than it was at present.

MR. O'CLERY wished to support the second reading of the Bill, in the hope that the principle involved in it would be extended to the rest of Ireland, and also in order to show thereby his action, as representing a South-Eastern constituency, that there was no jealous or sectional feeling on the part of the three Provinces in Ireland against the interests of the people of the North. It was too general a practice in the House to endeavour to draw a distinction between the North and other parts of Ireland, and to point out the advantages which the people of the North enjoyed as against the people of the other three Provinces. He certainly did not wish to take from the North any of the ad-

vantages and privileges they enjoyed; but he earnestly and sincerely hoped that the hon. Member who introduced the Bill would endeavour in some way to extend it to the rest of Ireland. The Land Act of 1870 was supposed to be a panacea for all the ills connected with land tenure in Ireland; but it was now admitted that that Act was in itself faulty, and that it required amendment. He hoped when the Bill went into Committee that the hon. Member in charge of it would himself set an example by introducing Amendments calculated to make the measure a more comprehensive one than it was at present. Surely, what was hitherto supposed to be the palladium of tenant right in Ulster could not endanger the State if it were extended in an improved form into Munster, Connaught, and parts of Leinster? He hoped there would be no opposition to the second reading of the Bill; because, as far as the Irish Members were concerned—Members from all parts of the country were concerned—their earnest desire was that every Irishman, no matter what class or creed he belonged to, should be united on the question of land tenure.

MR. LAW said, he hoped he might take it for granted, from the silence of the Attorney General for Ireland and the other Members of the Government, that they were going to accept the second reading of the Bill. On this occasion certainly, he thought his right hon. and learned Friend would not have allowed the debate to go on so long as it had done without saying something if he intended to oppose the Bill. Assuming, then, that the Government intended to support the second reading, he considered they might fairly congratulate the country upon the event; because, only on the last occasion when a Bill identical to this was before the House, no less than 16 Members of Her Majesty's Government voted against it. They could not say, as the noble Earl at the head of the Government said a few years ago—"A great many things have happened since." Very few things of note had happened since last year; but, whatever might be the reason of the change of feeling, he must congratulate the country on the result, and it might form an argument in favour of the proposition which an hon. Member made to the House the other night, that

it tended to bring the Government more in harmony with the feeling of the country. Perhaps the same thing would take place more frequently if Parliaments were only a bit shorter than they were. He could not regard it as altogether accidental that a Bill which was detrimental when it was proposed at this time 12 months ago should now be accepted by the Attorney General for Ireland. He did not think that his right hon. and learned Friend was one of the speakers last year; but he certainly voted against the Bill, as did also the Chief Secretary for Ireland, and the Attorney General and Solicitor General for England. Therefore, it was comforting to see that this change should have come over the Government, and that a Bill calculated to secure to some extent the tenant right of the Ulster farmers should be blandly accepted to-day, in place of being somewhat strongly opposed and voted down, as it was last year. At the same time, he was bound to say that there had been no change of opinion on the part of the noble Lord the Member for Donegal (the Marquess of Hamilton). He supported the Bill last year, and was going to do so again to-day. Whether there had been any change of opinion on the part of the hon. Baronet (Sir John Leslie), who moved the rejection of the Bill last year, he did not know; but he assumed that the hon. Baronet would also go with the tide, and that he was willing to allow the Bill to be read a second time; albeit, that he might have some conscientious qualm about the Eighth Commandment, inasmuch as the measure involved the robbery of the landlords' property. He could not help noticing there was a considerable change of opinion last night on the matter of the Game Laws, and there had recently been a considerable change of opinion in other respects. Even a considerable advance of opinion had been announced in the other House of Parliament upon the Land Question. He saw upon the other side of the House many hon. Members who voted against the Bill last year. He presumed that they would vote for it this year. This was a very comfortable thing, for they had certainly had no arguments against the Bill, and, as far as it went, that was entirely satisfactory; whether arguments of a different kind were to be sanctioned outside the

House was another matter. He could not help being reminded that only a week or 10 days ago some gentlemen in Ireland held an entirely different opinion, and that a tenant right meeting was not only broken up, but that blood was shed, and many persons beaten and injured. Hon. Members might suppose, as a question in regard to these proceedings had been asked on that side of the House, that that meeting was held to promote Home Rule opinions. It was nothing of the kind. There was no Home Rule proposition at all, and the meeting was attended by members of the Society of Friends, with a magistrate in the chair, and ministers of all religious denominations present, including the Presbyterian community. There was not the smallest intention of discussing that terrible thing, Home Rule, which created such a sensation in that House. It was purely a tenant right meeting, and being a tenant right it was attacked not by arguments but by bludgeons, and all the apparatus necessary for holding it was broken down. He was glad to find that all rational arguments against tenant right had been given up; but he was not glad to find that the argument of the bludgeon and physical force had been substituted, or that it had been resorted to in the interests of anybody. He did not suppose for a moment that Her Majesty's Government were responsible for these proceedings; but the matter was worth inquiring into by his right hon. and learned Friend, in order to see whether a purely social question could be discussed in Ireland without their political opponents interfering with the meeting with bludgeons for the purpose of breaking it up. It was satisfactory to find that the Bill had been accepted by Her Majesty's Government. The acceptance of it now was the more remarkable, because it was not only rejected last year by a large majority, but the hon. Members on the other side of the House had always rejected and refused a measure which was in substance the same as this. So far as the measure itself was concerned, he thought it was defective in being confined to Ulster. In its earlier stages, when a similar Bill was first proposed to the House in 1875, strong language was applied to it, and it was treated as a wild and revolutionary measure. He was glad to find that progress had since been made in investi-

gating the subject; that black, after all, was not so very black, but that something was to be said even for the tenant right of the Ulster farmers. But he could not help thinking that the sudden conversion of Her Majesty's Government was connected in some way with something that had happened, or was likely to happen, in 1880. He would not put the matter further than that, neither would he ask his right hon. and learned Friend the Attorney General or the Chief Secretary for Ireland to re-consider their opinions. He hoped that those right hon. Gentlemen had not hastily given in their allegiance to this measure, but had modified their opinions upon conviction. At the same time, he could not but recollect the language used by the Chief Secretary last year, when he said that "he could not conceive any worse system of land tenure than was involved in the Ulster custom." Those who knew Ulster best knew well that the Ulster custom was of the greatest benefit to the landlords as well as to the tenants. It made the landlord's rent secure, and it induced the tenant to improve; and the country was considerably interested in a system being adopted which induced the cultivator of the soil liberally and freely to expend his capital on the improvement of the soil. The difficulty in these bad times was the uncertainty as to whether the tenant would be allowed to go on at the rent at which he held his farm, or whether his landlord was to increase his rent. Differences on these subjects would always, of course, arise between the most honest men; but there should be some means of reconciling those differences. The tenants wanted to be secured against—under the name of raising the rent—their being deprived of the interest they had acquired in the soil by their improvements. In conclusion, he could only repeat that he congratulated Her Majesty's Government, from the semi-assurance which they had received by their silence, on the considerable progress they had made on this subject, though, from whatever side of the House a measure of this kind was brought in, he should support it; and he only wished that it could be extended to the tenants in the South and West of Ireland. He thanked Her Majesty's Government, by anticipation, for what they were

going to do, and he should not despair of their accepting a larger measure if pressed.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. GIBSON) congratulated hon. Members upon the moderate tone which had substantially characterized the entire debate. He was glad to find that his right hon. and learned Friend (Mr. Law) could be induced to thank Her Majesty's Government for anything. The hon. Member for Dungannon seemed very much afraid that the Bill would pass, and had endeavoured to wave a red flag in every part of the House to arouse opposition to it if possible.

MR. T. A. DICKSON said, he had offered no opposition. He had urged upon Her Majesty's Government to pass the second reading of the Bill, and he had himself supported the measure.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. GIBSON) admitted that that was so; but observed that the tone in which the hon. Member's remarks were made would be best expressed by the quotation—

"Willing to wound and yet afraid to strike,
Just hint a doubt and hesitate dislike."

The hon. Gentleman characterized the Bill as a miserable Bill, and yet said he was going to support the second reading. Under these circumstances, he (the Attorney General for Ireland) was not prepared to qualify a single word he had said in reference to the hon. Member. Perhaps the attitude assumed by the hon. Gentleman was reasonable enough, for he was credited, according to common reputation, with having a kind of unrecognized position in Ulster as a Party manager, who combined Whigs, Radicals, and Home Rulers against the Conservative Party. He (the Attorney General for Ireland) did not know whether that was the fact or not. He had heard the statement repeated over and over again; and whether the hon. Member was in that delicate position or not he would leave as a matter for history to decide. Then, again, the hon. Member for Coleraine (Mr. D. Taylor), who always spoke with moderation and good sense, was not anxious to settle the question. For some reason or other the hon. Member seemed to think that it was convenient not to settle the question, or to allay the anxiety that prevailed in regard to it. Accordingly, the

hon. Member on the very first day of the Session, having introduced his annual Bill on the subject, postponed the second reading until the 7th of July, in the hope, probably, that something would interfere to prevent it from being brought on at all. [Mr. D. TAYLOR said, he had put down the Bill for the only day he could get.] Of course, the hon. Gentleman was right in bringing his Bill forward whenever he thought proper. He did not know whether the hon. Gentleman could have chosen an earlier day; but, in fact, he had chosen the very last day on which he could bring it forward. There was only one other remark he wished to make upon the debate, and it had reference to the hon. Member for Limerick (Mr. Synan), who seemed rather anxious that someone should charge him with Communism. He (the Attorney General for Ireland) would certainly not do so, nor did he think it necessary to say anything even in the mildest disparagement of the hon. Member. He had been asked what the position of the Government was in connection with the debate. Now, this was not exactly the same Bill that was presented to the House last year, and the conditions in which it was presented varied in at least one important particular. When the Bill of last year was brought forward it was pointed out that, intentionally or unintentionally, it omitted a reference to the fact of the diversity of the usages in the Province of Ulster, and referred to the Ulster tenant right as one single thing which was capable of accurate definition. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Greenwich (Mr. Gladstone) had said that that definition was perfectly impossible; and, consequently, the words used in the Land Act were "the usages prevalent in the Province of Ulster." Those words were also carefully introduced in the drafting of the present Bill; and, therefore, it was different from the Bill of last year. The circumstances in which it was introduced were also different in respect to the important 3rd clause. Last year a Bill was introduced which dealt separately with that topic; and, consequently, the hon. Member for Tyrone (Mr. Macartney) could not then claim that his was the only Bill purporting to deal with the subject. He thought the word "district" required greater clearness of definition, and that the

power of rebutting the onus cast on the owner should not be limited as it was in the clause. He was not in favour of the 2nd clause relating to the estate office rule; and he thought the hon. Member for Tyrone would have done well not to complicate the measure with that matter. As to the 3rd clause, affecting tenant right at the termination of leases, the hon. Member for Coleraine (Mr. D. Taylor) said it would remove great heartburnings, and others had pointed out the relief it would effect. That was a clause which he should not, and which the Government did not in previous Sessions oppose, although it might be necessary to introduce changes in Committee. He should assent to the second reading of the Bill, reserving further criticism to a future stage.

Mr. P. MARTIN congratulated the Government upon the temperate speech of the Attorney General for Ireland; and he congratulated the right hon. and learned Gentleman also that, after his recent visit to Ireland, and after having ascertained what the public opinion of Ireland was, he had the boldness to cast aside the Chief Secretary for Ireland, and to make a statement in direct contravention of everything that had been heard up to the present moment from that right hon. Gentleman. That was shown in a very forcible manner when they considered who it was who opposed the Bill last year. The speech on behalf of Her Majesty's Government was made on that occasion by the Chief Secretary, who spoke of the Bill in as contemptuous terms as if he had been speaking of a measure introduced by any hon. Member below the Gangway on the Opposition side of the House. He spoke of it as a Bill that wholly ignored the just rights of the landlords. He deprecated the introduction of measures of such a character, which proposed to make over to the tenant the fruits of the landlord's property, and he made use of another argument against the Bill—namely, that the House which passed the Land Act of 1870 had resolved that it should be the end of the agitation. The right hon. Gentleman went on to condemn in strong terms the constant attempts that were made in the House to unsettle the question, and declared that the question itself was one that had been settled by Parliament. He said, further, that the Ulster custom was the means of dimi-

nishing the capital employed by the tenant in the cultivation of the land; and he believed that if there was one thing more than another to which exception might be taken in the interests of the consumers and producers of Ireland it was the Ulster tenant right custom. The right hon. Gentleman went on to speak of the Ulster tenant right custom in strong terms of reprobation; and now that the Attorney General for Ireland had the courage to throw over all the opinions expressed by the Chief Secretary, he suggested that there were differences between the present Bill and that of last year. If any fair person examined the Bill he would find that the substance of it was the same as that of the measure of last year, and that if the Bill of last year unsettled the Land Act of 1870 this Bill did exactly the same thing. Now, with all due respect to the Attorney General for Ireland, he did not think the right hon. and learned Gentleman was right in the criticism he had bestowed on the present Bill, as compared with that of last year. It was the same as the Bill of last year; and he would like to know why there was an indication given that the Government would not give their consent to the 2nd clause of the Bill—the most important part of it? If Her Majesty's Government intended to do anything of the kind, he thought it would have been far more reasonable for them to have boldly declared that they did not intend to give their consent to the passing of the Bill. He trusted that from the fair statement which they had heard from the Attorney General for Ireland, that when the constituencies became alive to what was really intended to be done in Committee, they would find that the Government had made as much advance in tenant right education in a fortnight as they had advanced from 1870 to the present time. He must say that there had been a great advance on both sides of the House on this question. They had had a concession on the part of both front Benches that the Ulster tenantry custom was a wise and beneficial custom, which was to the interests alike of landlord and tenant. They had had the concession made that the Land Act was not final, and that the time had now come when they should examine and correct that Act, and when what was intended to be the true pur-

pose of the Act should be carried out throughout the entire of Ireland. It would never be permitted that there should exist an exceptional law for the North of Ireland, and another for the South and West of Ireland. They were the subjects of one Sovereign and the subjects of one Empire; and, under these circumstances, he thought nothing could be more disadvantageous to the interests of peace and order in Ireland than that there should be one class of legislation for the Protestant portion of the country and another for the Catholic portion. He was sure that Her Majesty's Government, notwithstanding the utterance of the Chief Secretary, would never sanction any such principle. Under the circumstances, he thought they had good reason to be well satisfied with that day's proceedings. It was perfectly manifest that it only required a proper degree of force to be applied to induce Her Majesty's Government to do what it had been said they were willing to do. That influence had been so well applied in the North of Ireland that the Government had conceded the two important provisions of the Bill—the legalization of the tenant right custom, as well as the alteration of the presumption of proof in respect of the custom. He hoped that when Parliament met they would find as the result of the elections a Conservative Government even more willing to listen to reason on this still more important mission affecting the Irish tenantry—the Land Question. He trusted that Her Majesty's Government, having recognized the importance of the Bill, would take care that an early opportunity was afforded for its due consideration in Committee, and that they would use their influence in "another place" to secure that it should become law this Session.

MAJOR NOLAN said, if the Government gave an early day for the Committee and pushed the Bill through its remaining stages in that House, and also facilitated its passing in "another place," it would be a useful measure to the tenants of the North of Ireland; but if, on the other hand, they were simply content with allowing the second reading to pass, the Bill would be chiefly useful to hon. Members and noble Lords opposite at the General Election. But he should think that the tenants of the

North of Ireland would be sharp enough to judge the Government entirely by the result. If the Bill should pass both Houses of Parliament, then the Government would have shown they were in earnest that day. The Attorney General for Ireland, in a rather playful way, badgered the hon. Member for Dungannon (Mr. T. A. Dickson), and seemed to say that he would wish that the Bill should not pass. But he would remind the right hon. and learned Gentleman that the hon. Member for Dungannon had shown a most hearty desire to pass nearly every Land Bill which had been brought into the House, and he did not think that the charge came very gracefully from the right hon. and learned Gentleman. He had risen to explain the defeat of many Land Bills, and he had done it very well; but to bring accusations of that kind against Members on the Liberal side of the House, when they had always shown themselves anxious to make every sacrifice to further that movement, he thought foreshadowed a near approach to a General Election. The electors must have recognized that when they brought in good Bills dealing with the West of Ireland and the South of Ireland on this subject they had received little support from the Government side of the House. On the other hand, they on the Liberal side had returned good for evil, and always gave a fair amount of support to Northern Members when they had brought forward measures to deal with this question; and it must be remembered that they had on the Liberal side of the House about twice the number to what there was on the other side; and, therefore, there had been a proportion of two to one who had done what they could to get the Bill passed. He did not anticipate that the Government would bring in a large measure this Parliament for the South and West of Ireland; but, at the same time, he really hoped they would push forward this Bill, and give facilities for the passing of the Bill. The right hon. and learned Gentleman had shown that he was in earnest in the matter, for he had chosen a good Wednesday, and he hoped the Government would give complete facilities for the passing of the measure.

MR. CALLAN had hoped that the hon. Baronet the Member for Monaghan (Sir John Leslie), who he saw in his

place, would have availed himself of the opportunity to do penance, at least, so far as to retract the hostile observations which he made against the Bill last year, and thus have obviated the suspicion which arose that time, particularly the present, when rumours were abroad of a Dissolution, worked wonders. He congratulated the Attorney General for Ireland, and also his right hon. and learned Friend the late Attorney General (Mr. Law), upon the great advance that had taken place in their political opinions on the Land Question. To find the Attorney General for Ireland not only not opposing, but speaking in support of such a Bill as that under consideration, was a feature of the times; and it was a matter of great hope and promise to the Irish tenants that the future Attorney General for Ireland under a Liberal Government should also have spoken in an equally favourable spirit of the case of the Irish tenants. He was surprised, however, at the speech of the Attorney General for Ireland, who sought to escape from a charge of inconsistency on the ground that there had been a change made in the Bill. But he found that in the enacting clauses of the measure no change whatever had been made except in the Preamble of the Bill. The Ulster tenant right custom was this year described as—

“The usages prevalent in the Province of Ulster which are known and included under the denomination of the Ulster Tenant Right Custom, and the legality of which was established by the Landlord and Tenant (Ireland) Act, 1870.”

But that was a mere difference of phraseology; and he thought, if they were paying for it in the form of a telegram, they would adopt the shorter title. The object was to compel the bad landlords of Ulster—of whom he was sorry to say there were so many specimens in the present Parliament—to do what the good landlords did, such as those who had done so much for the counties of Down and Donegal. He congratulated the Government and the Attorney General on having, by their attitude, repudiated the action of their supporters the other day. The Government showed by the Bill that they were in favour of the claims of the Ulster tenants, in favour of which a meeting was held the other day in County Armagh, when it was assailed by an Orange mob. The

Major Nolan

hon. Member for Kilkenny (Mr. P. Martin) had described the Chief Secretary for Ireland as the principal opponent of the Bill last year. Now, that speech did not make the same impression on his mind. The hon. Baronet the Member for Monaghan (Sir John Leslie) had stated last year that he regarded that Bill as designed to destroy the rights of the tenants of Ulster. Last year he moved the rejection of the Bill on that ground. If the hon. Member for North Warwickshire (Mr. Newdegate) had been in the House, he would have said that was language which he might have used towards the Jesuits. [Coming to the question of the abolition of the office rules, the hon. Member read extracts from them, and pointed out some of an exceptionally objectionable character, such as the one requiring that a couple should get the written consent of the landlord before they could get married.] He had opposed the 2nd clause, because he said that it claimed the right for the tenant, not only to sell what was his own, but also to sell what was the property of another, and the hon. Baronet said he had opposed it on the ground that it "legalized theft." Now, surely on this occasion the hon. Baronet would not neglect his duty, and vote for a Bill which "legalized theft."

MR. MACARTNEY rose to speak, when—

MR. SPEAKER pointed out that the hon. Member had already exhausted his right of speaking.

Motion agreed to.

Bill read a second time, and committed for Tuesday 13th April.

ROAD DEBTS ON ENTAILED ESTATES
(SCOTLAND) BILL.—[BILL 95.]

(Colonel Drummond Moray, Sir William Edmonstone.)

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(Colonel Drummond Moray.)

GENERAL SIR GEORGE BALFOUR said, he had no desire to oppose the measure; but, as it had only been delivered that morning, and being very obscurely expressed, he would like to be informed what was its object?

COLONEL DRUMMOND MORAY said, the object of the Bill was simply to put the roads and bridges which were made prior to the Roads and Bridges Act of 1831 on the same footing as those which were made subsequently to the passing of that Act. In many districts of Scotland, especially in thinly-populated parts, the proprietors of land through which turnpike roads were made gave their personal security to the parties who provided the necessary funds. The making of roads was a public benefit, as well as a benefit to the proprietor; and as long as tolls continued no occasion had arisen for any claim being made on those who had guaranteed the money. Since, however, the passing of the Road Act 1878, it had happened in numerous instances that the Debt Commissioners treated the debt as only about one-half, and had called upon those who had guaranteed the money to make the same good. Where an estate was held in fee simple, it was in the power of the proprietor to borrow money and charge it on the estate; but, according to the Act of 1878, that could not be done on entailed estates for such roads and bridges as had been made prior to 1831. It was only, therefore, to put roads and bridges made prior to 1831 on the same footing as those made subsequently that the present Bill had been brought forward.

Motion agreed to.

Bill read a second time, and committed for To-morrow.

M O T I O N S .

IRISH CHURCH ACT (1869) AMEND-
MENT BILL.

LEAVE. FIRST READING.

MR. PLUNKET moved for leave to bring in a Bill to amend "The Irish Church Act, 1869," and to provide further compensation to certain persons being priests and deacons of the late Established Church of Ireland.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN said, he did not think it was reasonable for the hon. and learned Member to expect that leave should be given to introduce the Bill without some explanation of its provisions. He should feel inclined to oppose the Motion unless some such explanation was offered.

MR. PLUNKET said, he did not make any statement, because it was practically the same Bill which he had an opportunity of explaining to the House last year, and which was then printed and circulated. He had another reason, and that was the very unusual course pursued, under such circumstances, by the hon. Member for Burnley (Mr. Rylands), of putting down a Notice of opposition to the introduction of this Bill. The Bill did not in any way challenge or reverse the policy of the Act of 1869, or confer any endowment on the Irish Church. It simply sought to deal with the cases of certain individual clergymen, who had been subjected to a serious wrong under the provisions of that Act. It proposed that curates and incumbents who had thus suffered should receive compensation. Those men, whose case he stood there to advocate, had suffered a very serious and grievous personal wrong—as great as any personal wrong could be—and this Bill simply proposed to do an act of justice and of charity to them. It was right to explain that the clergy of the Irish Church who had joined it subsequent to the time when the Act of 1869 came into force would receive no advantage whatever under its provisions. The principle of the Bill had already been approved by many hon. Members sitting on both sides of the House; and he thought it a very serious thing that English Members should show a disposition to oppose or talk out a measure of this nature, the object of which was to repair great personal injury done to men who, when they joined the Irish Church, thought it “within the range of practical politics” that they would be sure of a small but decent livelihood, and of the means of respectably supporting their families. This Bill would simply enable them to bring their claims before the Commissioners of the Irish Church Fund, out of which the Government had already devoted large sums for the purpose of developing Intermediate and University Education in Ireland, and recently for the purpose of relieving distress in that country. For several reasons he did not resist the Government proposal to appropriate the Church Surplus to these objects; but he thought there could be no objection to a small portion of the surplus—say, £200,000 or £300,000—being now applied to the purposes to which he had

referred. He could not help again saying that he regretted that hon. Members, before his Bill had been printed and circulated, should have undertaken to oppose it. It was necessary, in order to relieve hardship of the greatest severity—but, certainly, unintentional severity—consequent on the passing of the Act of 1869; and, as a matter of fair play and justice, he hoped to be allowed the opportunity on another occasion of laying the case fully before the House.

MR. SYNAN said, he did not think the House should refuse to extend to the hon. and learned Gentleman the usual courtesy of allowing him to introduce his Bill; but he gave him Notice that there was no promise thereby implied on his part to support, directly or indirectly, the second reading of the Bill. He was thoroughly aware of the facts of the case, and also of the circumstances under which it was proposed to relieve a number of the clergy of the Disestablished Church of Ireland. When the Relief of Distress (Ireland) Bill was before the House, he pointed out that it would be a waste of the Surplus Fund to devote it to any such purpose; and he was afraid that if it were encroached upon for the purposes of this Bill it would be still further wasted.

MR. DILLWYN also urged that the House should allow the Bill to be introduced; but he thought its provisions would need careful scrutiny.

MAJOR NOLAN thought that if the cases of those clergy who had suffered from the disestablishment of the Church had been brought before the House in a Resolution instead of in a Bill, as intended, the House would be much more desirous of acting generously to those men who had sustained injury; but his opinion was that, in the majority of cases, they had received no serious injury. It was most unusual to oppose a Bill on its first reading; and he hoped, therefore, the hon. and learned Member's Bill would be allowed to be read.

GENERAL SIR GEORGE BALFOUR thought that the hon. and learned Member who had charge of the Bill was an ornament to the House, and a fair opponent ought to be allowed to have it read a first time. At the same time, he did not remember that the hon. and learned Member, who now showed such solicitude for the Irish disestablished clergy, had ever stood up in the

interests of those poor unfortunate military officers who, on the plea of making openings for the advancement of officers in the Army, had been dismissed the Service, and had their professional hopes destroyed, without compensation for their losses, though done for the efficiency of others, in order to secure such a flow of promotion as would maintain the Army in a state of efficiency. He hoped that in future the hon. and learned Member would be found supporting the claims of those officers, who were quite as much entitled to compensation as those clergymen who had already been liberally rewarded.

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE said, he did not agree with the hon. and gallant Member for Galway (Major Nolan), when he said that the hon. and learned Member for the University of Dublin was entitled to have his Bill read a first time without any explanation of any sort. He had no wish to prevent the hon. and learned Member from proceeding with his Bill; but he wished to point out that the remarks of the hon. and gallant Member for Galway were not based upon precedents of that House.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN protested against the doctrine that a Member was guilty of any discourtesy in opposing a Bill on the first reading. He did not wish to oppose the Bill; but as his hon. Friend the Member for Burnley (Mr. Rylands) had a Notice of opposition to it on the Paper he thought some explanation of its objects was advisable.

MR. SHAW desired to impress on his hon. and learned Friend that if this Bill should reach another stage it would be desirable that he should place before the House some more definite statement than he had done. For his part, he did not feel in a position to say that he would oppose the Bill on the next stage, because he was aware that a large number of persons in Ireland thought they had a grievance in this matter, and they referred especially to some fund which they said belonged rightly to them, but which, in the confusion of Disestablishment, was laid hold of, and they had never been able to recover it.

Motion agreed to.

Bill to amend "The Irish Church Act, 1869," and to provide further compensation to certain persons being priests and deacons of the late

Established Church of Ireland, *ordered to be brought in by Mr. PLUNKET, Sir ARTHUR GUINNESS, Mr. MAURICE BROOKS, Mr. EWART, and Mr. KAVANAGH.*

Bill presented, and read the first time. [Bill 100.]

CENSUS (IRELAND) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. JAMES LOWTHER, Bill for taking the Census in Ireland, *ordered to be brought in by Mr. JAMES LOWTHER and Mr. ATTORNEY GENERAL for IRELAND.*

Bill presented, and read the first time. [Bill 101.]

House adjourned at Four o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Thursday, 4th March, 1880.

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILLS—*Second Reading*—Settled Land (14); Conveyancing and Law of Property * (15).
Committee—Relief of Distress (Ireland) (19-26).

SETTLED LAND BILL—(No. 14.)

(The Lord Chancellor.)

SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading, read.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2^d."
—(The Lord Chancellor.)

LORD O'HAGAN cordially supported the second reading. He thought that the powers given to limited owners by the measure were very desirable, but that means should be given for having them exercised in the cheapest manner. He hoped that his noble and learned Friend on the Woolsack would see his way to placing existing settlements in regard to the provisions of the Bill on the same footing as future settlements, as far as existing interests would permit of that being done. There was an objection to going to the Court of Chancery when that process could be avoided. The system of settlements required to be carefully considered.

THE MARQUESS OF BATH reminded the House that the object of settlements was to preserve estates intact and to direct the course of the inheritance. The restrictions imposed upon the life-owners for that purpose were usually those which a prudent owner would impose

upon himself. It was true that in the old settlements there were clauses which would prevent the management of estates in accordance with the present system of farming; but those restrictions were nullified by means of modern Acts of Parliament. Persons who had property in the neighbourhood of towns where there was an increased demand for building ground, and also persons who had to do with certain descriptions of waste lands, might find themselves hampered by the restrictions contained in settlements; but these were exceptional cases. Extravagant life-owners and limited owners who desired to divert the property from the succession in which it was entailed also objected to those restrictions. The real reason why more money was not laid out on land was that the investment was not in itself remunerative in regard to landed estates. During the 20 years previous to 1875 there had been a competition for land, and under that competition rents had increased to an amount higher than had been attained before. To meet that increase of rents buildings had been erected, and work carried through, which had proved unremunerative. The error that was at the base of the arguments of those who advocated the abolition of settlement was that they did not take account of the fact that any system but that which made outlay remunerative must result in the deterioration of the estate. With reference to the Bill, there really was no power and no privilege conferred by it of any importance that was of value to a prudent owner which a prudent owner did not already possess with one or two exceptions. There was a slight advantage in the leasing powers. But the Bill conferred a most dangerous power on a life-owner, who had not the interest of the estate at heart, by enabling him to sell property for the so-called improvement of the estate. It allowed, in that respect, an expenditure out of capital for what ought to be defrayed out of income. Such a power would cause the deterioration of the settled property and its eventual destruction. Repairs ought to be paid for out of income; but if this Bill passed a life tenant would be tempted to neglect the ordinary repairs, and make use of the powers conferred by the Bill to rebuild and do afresh the work which would not be required to be done at all had they been properly attended to.

The Marquess of Bath

At the present time, the life-owner had very considerable powers for the maintenance and improvement of his estate. He might obtain money from the Inclosure Commissioners, and lay it out for the benefit of the property. His proceedings in that respect were checked in two ways—in the first place, by the check that he had to re-pay both principal and interest by an annuity; and, secondly, by the sanction of the Inclosure Commissioners being required, who, although they did not exercise such a close supervision as would be desirable, yet did, to a certain extent, check unnecessary expenditure. An advantage of the present system was that the successor to the estate, however burdened it might be for the present, would find it eventually free and clear; whereas, under this Bill, the changes would be permanent. Instead of capital not being laid out in land now, the real evil was that it was laid out in an unremunerative manner. But the power in the Bill which was the most dangerous was the power of sale for the purpose of effecting improvements which would not be permanent, though the charge for making them would be so. Buildings, after a certain number of years, either perished altogether or required a considerable amount of outlay to prevent them from depreciating. In the case of drainage, a large outlay was necessary for renewals. He thought there would be a very improper use of the powers referring to improvements, and this improper use was very inefficiently guarded against. Fourteen days' notice only was to be given to the trustees. The trustees would know nothing of the property, and would have to consult their solicitor and the next heir. They had no personal interest in the matter themselves; and the next heir, when he heard of the proceedings, might not be in a position to resist their fulfilment. A little further on in the Bill, by Clause 19, a mortgagee was not obliged to inquire whether the money advanced on the mortgage was required or used for the purpose. It was sufficient for him to advance the money to the tenant for life, who simply brought this Bill as a justification of borrowing. The mortgage was good, whatever was done with the capital afterwards. By Clauses 45 and 51 safeguards were provided; but by the last paragraph in both these clauses it was distinctly stated that

the purchaser was not prejudiced if the required measures had not been taken. The purchaser had neither to inquire whether the trustees or the Court had given their sanction, or whether any of the conditions required had been complied with. The only value of the safeguards provided was against fraud, and if they were not valid against fraud they were of no value whatever. If settled estates were bad let them be got rid of; but he objected to alterations that, under the name of improvements, would so increase the evils complained of as to render their complete abolition before long necessary. There were other points, such as the provisions as to the sale of a reversionary interest, and the powers intrusted to persons having a limited interest, to which he should have liked to call attention; but these would naturally come forward in Committee. The main objection he had to the Bill was that it admitted a grievance to which it applied no remedy. It spread further a grievance for which it professed to apply a remedy; and its effect would be to impoverish settled estates.

LORD WAVENEY said, this was not the stage on which to discuss details. It was the principle of the Bill they had now to consider. He believed that principle to be a good one. It proposed a short and ready way to the point at which they were aiming—the improvement and better cultivation of land—and provided a means of meeting the state of things which the change in agricultural affairs had brought about.

THE EARL OF ONSLOW failed to discover in the Bill the dangers to which his noble Friend (the Marquess of Bath) had referred. He found no clause in the Bill enabling the tenant for life to fritter away the property that had descended to him from his ancestors. On the contrary, the tendency of the whole measure was in quite an opposite direction, contemplating and putting forward safeguards for lasting and permanent improvement. Perhaps the only details in the matter of improvements to which he felt inclined to take exception was the planting of trees which the tenant for life might cut down. On the whole, he gave his support to the Bill, though some of the clauses did not go so far as he should like to see them.

LORD CARINGTON thought that they were to be congratulated on the fact that

this Bill had been introduced in their Lordships' House, which was so largely composed of landowners, and also that it was not regarded with dismay by that Assembly. He considered that the existing state of settlements was an obstacle to the improvement of agricultural land by the landowner, and to beneficial expenditure and cultivation by the tenant. It made the sale of land difficult and expensive, and made registration impracticable. The system, in his opinion, must be done away with before the land could be transferred to the purchaser with a clear Parliamentary title, and before any system of registration could become operative. A further objection to the existing system was the fact that a tenant for life could not sell the land without the consent of his trustee, and that even if such consent was obtained no portion of the proceeds could be applied to the improvement of the remaining portion of the estate. The Bill now before the House embodied many important reforms; but he thought it did not go quite far enough in the powers it gave to the tenant for life. If it had been suggested before the Session commenced that the Government would have introduced a Bill of this kind the matter would have been ridiculed; and, as it was, he did not doubt that the Bill would be looked upon with distrust and dismay. In the present agricultural depression, the relief that had been suggested in the way of temporary reductions and return of rent, of reducing the pay of the farm labourer, of the abolition of the Game Laws, and the proposals that landowners should cut down their own personal expenses, appeared to be of no practical value; and he thought that a great opportunity had been allowed to pass in which a system of registration might have been introduced to advantage. Many of the settled estates of this country were larger than the conditions of the country justified. The owners were unable to help the tenants to get as much out of the land as ought to be got out of it. During the Recess the noble Duke the Lord President, in a speech at Chichester, said that those who condemned the Law of Entail and the Law of Settlement were bound to show that on entailed and settled estates agriculture was worse, the tenants more discontented, and the labourers were paid a lower rate of

wages than on other estates. From his own experience, as having come into possession of a settled estate 12 years ago, he knew that he was unable to do what was necessary for that estate out of income, and could only have done it by loan, for which a heavy annual amount in interest must have been paid. A friend of his had a somewhat similar personal experience; while in a third case, that of a brother officer of his, on coming of age he had found himself in possession of an estate in fee which had narrowly escaped being entailed, the income of which was £18,000, but which was mortgaged for £250,000 at 4 per cent. There was attached to it a large mansion, utterly out of repair, and a number of buildings, school-houses and so on, to keep up, which would probably cost £7,600 a-year, so that after he had paid the interest on the mortgage £10,000 and the charges, it left him just £400 a-year to live on. Fortunately he was able to sell it, and the result was that he was able to increase his income by just 30 times its former amount. If such an estate had happened to have been entailed it must have ended in the ruin of that which it was intended to conserve. The noble Lord, in conclusion, expressed his satisfaction that the Government had introduced a measure which was of such great interest and importance to owners of land in this country.

THE EARL OF MORLEY said, the objections to the present Law of Settlement were that it restricted the free sale and transmission of land from one person to another, and prevented owners from making the best use of what land they possessed. The noble and learned Earl on the Woolsack had said that, to justify the maintenance of the present system of settlements, the limited owner should have all the powers which a prudent and reasonable person would exercise for good purposes connected with the land. If land belonging to a prudent and reasonable owner were sold the purchase money would be paid to him, and he could expend it as he liked. He would possibly be able to pay off encumbrances, and the residue he could place on some good security. But under this Bill a limited owner would only have the power to invest such money for the purposes which were enumerated in the Bill. For his own part, he heartily approved of the Bill as far as it went.

Lord Carington

In his belief, it would effect a very considerable improvement in the existing state of things; but it did not appear to go far enough in regard to those powers to which reference had just been made. One point of objection which still remained was as to the powers of the trustees, especially in so far as they would be able to resist the action of the owners. He had nothing to say against the powers generally which were enumerated in the Bill, and which he thought were all most useful and desirable; but they stopped short of what he thought they ought to have aimed at. The landowner would still be deprived of the power which a prudent and reasonable owner should have of turning his real into personal property, and thus, to an enormous extent, were diminished the inducements which would be held out to encumbered owners to part with their land. The powers enumerated in the Bill did not place the limited owner in anything like the position which the noble and learned Earl had said, in bringing forward the measure, ought to be that of every landowner. They had, in short, this state of things—that before the powers given by the Bill could be exercised the unfortunate owner would have to weather the opposition of the trustees; he would be exposed to the expense and delay of a suit in the Court of Chancery; he would not have the free disposal of his money, the application of which was limited to certain purposes; and he would have to execute improvements under the tutelage of the Land Commissioners. He should not oppose the Bill, for, on the whole, it was a very valuable one. They all ought to thank the noble and learned Earl for bringing it forward, although it was not a complete or entirely satisfactory measure. They were, however, accustomed in this country to move step by step rather to meet the practical wants of the times than on any theoretical principles. Though he could not give such unqualified approval to the system of settlements and entails as the noble and learned Lords who had spoken on this Bill, he would frankly admit that he was not prepared rashly to advocate any great change in the law which he thought would be a very serious one, and might lead to results which it was difficult to foresee, and therefore ought not to be accepted with-

out great deliberation. They needed legislation on practical, not theoretical principles, legislation based on some definite scheme, and not on vague generalities; and he thought it was desirable in the interest of the country that in the case of building land, as much as, if not more than, agricultural land, the owner should be free to deal with the land as he thought right. Especially should he have the power of sale; but the present Bill, if it became law, would not give him much more of this than he possessed at the present moment.

LORD WENTWORTH was understood to express regret that as regarded future settlements the Bill did not more largely modify the powers which were usually contained in settlements, and which tied up land for such long periods of time.

LORD DENMAN said, that the remarks of the noble Lord (Lord Wentworth) who had just spoken would be useful in Committee, and that the facts as to the Whitmore family given by the noble Baron (Lord Carington) would make everyone who heard him regret that the tenants for life had not had the same power as their successor, the owner in fee, had had, and which would have been conferred upon him by this Bill if it had passed earlier.

THE EARL OF POWIS said, he thought advantage might be taken of this Bill to prohibit stipulations by testators of compulsory residence. It was clearly against public policy that a young man should be prevented from going into the Army or Navy, or the Diplomatic Service, by an obligation to reside in a particular place.

VISCOUNT MIDLETON contended that the powers given by the Bill might be found only to warrant temporary investments in Consols, and that limited owners ought to be allowed to sell portions of their estates and to invest the proceeds in Government securities, instead of being obliged to re-invest it in land.

THE MARQUESS OF RIPON said, that the portion of the Bill which was intended to enable a tenant for life to sell a portion of his settled property and invest the proceeds in improving and doing justice to the remainder of the estate would be but little used in practice. A landowner who had no other means but his land would often find it far from easy to avail himself of some of

these provisions; and he therefore trusted that this point would receive the full consideration of the noble and learned Earl who had charge of the Bill. No doubt, improvements were possible even under the existing law; but he recollected that the noble Marquess (the Marquess of Salisbury) had, in 1873, drawn up a Report, when dealing with this question, pointing out the great difficulties which the law placed in the way of laying out money for the improvement of settled estates. A tenant for life who proposed to sell a portion of his estate for the purpose of improving the remainder could not move, even under the present Bill, until the Inclosure Commissioners had examined the proposed improvements and certified them to be of a really useful character, or until the Court had pronounced that they were of such a nature as to warrant such application of the money. But it was not until a considerable portion of the proposed improvement had been completed that he would be able to obtain the certificate of the Inclosure Commissioners, and to ask for the repayment of the money from the trustees, and if he had had originally no other means but his land he might be placed in a position of great difficulty. The Report of their Lordships' Committee in 1873 had distinctly shown how much landlords disliked going to a public office or having their property inspected by a surveyor or other public official. He acknowledged that the present Bill effected a considerable improvement, inasmuch as formerly the supervision of the Commissioners had come in at every stage from beginning to end. But he drew attention to these things mainly in order to remind the House that neither this Bill nor any other Bill could convert a limited owner into an unlimited owner, or give the owners of settled land the power inherent in those whose land was under no settlement; but in these times of agricultural depression it was becoming more and more necessary that the management and cultivation of land should be conducted on commercial principles—that persons who had to deal with land should enjoy the freedom possessed by all manufacturers and persons engaged in industrial operations. He believed the time had come when it was very desirable to take reasonable and just measures for the

increase of the amount of land in the country which was not under settlement, and for throwing the influence of the law, if he might so say, in favour of securing to the actual present owner the free and unfettered use of his land. He believed it was admitted that two-thirds of the land of England was under settlement. Settlements were not created by the law, but by the lawyers; and the question was how far the protection of the law should be given to them. This and the other Bills introduced by the noble and learned Earl on the Woolsack were undoubted improvements in the law, and he tendered his best thanks to the Lord Chancellor for the steps he proposed to take, because they were in the right direction; but, still, they ought not to be looked upon as affording a full and satisfactory settlement of the various questions which arose in the present day in connection with the Land Laws, and which seemed to him urgently to demand an adequate and complete solution.

LORD SELBORNE said, with reference to sale, what he understood the Bill to do was to put every estate in the same position, for that purpose, as if it were an estate in fee simple. The tenant for life under the Bill would always have a power of sale. The Bill would make registration a simple operation if the Legislature only fulfilled two conditions, which were probably indispensable conditions—namely, to make registration compulsory, and to provide sufficient machinery—no doubt, at considerable cost—for carrying it into effect by district registries throughout the Kingdom. As to settlements, he did not desire to see them entirely abolished; but he did think that the existing law on the subject, both as to real and as to personal estate, might with advantage be revised.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR said, he could not but congratulate their Lordships upon the conversation they had heard on the subject of this Bill; all the more so, as it had been conducted mainly by those Members of the House who were not lawyers, but who brought to bear on the subject the fruits of their own personal experience with regard to the possession and management of land, and the effect of the present law on the position of landed estates. He was glad to say, in the first place, with regard to

what had fallen from his noble and learned Friend (Lord Selborne), that he looked upon the difference made in this Bill between existing and future settlements as not a difference of very great magnitude in itself; and the reason of the difference would, on the whole, commend itself to their Lordships. In the first place, he must rather demur to the idea that because there were cases under this Bill in which the opinion of the Court, or the assent of the Court, as it was called, had to be obtained, that that was anything like the institution of a lawsuit. It was a proceeding in which the Court of Chancery would act, not in a forensic sense so much as in an administrative spirit. The Court would act generally in Chambers, and by way of performing one of its administrative functions, a great many of which were at present consigned to it. The difficulty with regard to existing settlements was this. In the case of future settlements the Bill proposed that the opportunity should be given to the trustees of opposition, which was to be referred to the Court. If the trustees made no objection or demur, it would be a considerable security that the proceeding of the limited owner was correct. But, with reference to future settlements, it would be in the power of those who executed them to appoint trustees who were qualified to perform the duties of that office; but it might well be, in the case of existing settlements, that no trustees could be found qualified to perform such duties. With regard to the provision of the Bill that the money should be invested upon proper securities, that would justify the trustees in making the investment; of course, that would be considered a permanent investment, under future settlements, because it was property in the enjoyment of the tenant for life, whose enjoyment must, in the nature of the case, come to an end. But it would not be entirely for the tenant for life to say whether the money so invested should return in the shape of land during his lifetime, because the application for any other purpose was to be made on the request of the tenant for life, and if he did not make the request the money would remain as it was. But the noble Marquess (the Marquess of Ripon) entered into a much larger field; he was prepared to advocate a complete change in the law with regard for facilities for

settling land. He could only say that if the noble Marquess wished to bring that question before the House in the proper form he should be prepared to offer his arguments against the propositions of the noble Marquess. What he complained of was that the noble Marquess should, in his endeavours to cast as much odium as possible on settlements, endeavour to prove that it was quite impossible to make settled landed property improvable, and that the provisions of this Bill were so difficult of working that it would not carry out the object it was intended to meet. These remarks were made under misapprehension as to the provisions of the Bill. If it suited the position of the tenant for life he might make improvements with his own money, and obtain a certificate from the Inclosure Commissioners as to the amount expended and the propriety of the improvement, and he might ask to be recouped out of the funds in the hands either of the trustees or of the Court. If that was not convenient, as in all cases it would not be, he was to propose to the Court the scheme of improvement he wished to make, and the Court was allowed to provide for payment by instalments; so that, as sections of the work were executed, he would receive money, and in that way the arrangement might be made to accommodate itself to whatever was most convenient to the limited owner. With reference to the statement of a noble Earl that a prudent owner, who wanted to improve the land, could not, under the Bill, do what a prudent and reasonable owner in fee simple would do—namely, spend money, make the improvements, and so put an end to the matter—such a statement was founded on a fallacy. Everything turned on the words “prudent” and “reasonable.” If limited owners could be divided into two classes—distinguishing the prudent and reasonable from all others—then he might be able to introduce into the Bill a clause providing that all the prudent and reasonable tenants for life should not be required to give notice to and satisfy the Court or trustees, but should be allowed to exercise powers absolutely. With regard, however, to the limited owners who happened not to be prudent and reasonable, care had to be taken to provide checks for them. The whole speech of the noble Earl was based on

the fallacy that every owner for life was a prudent and reasonable man. Another noble Lord (Lord Carington) had said that the idea of the Government introducing a Bill of this kind, if it had been suggested before the Session began, would have been ridiculed; and even as it was the noble Lord did not doubt that the Bill would be looked upon with distrust and dismay by a number of persons. Well, the Bill had been before the public for a considerable time, and no indication of either ridicule, distrust, or dismay, had reached the Government. Nor were the propositions of the Bill new; for on two occasions within the last three years—when a Scotch measure was passing through the House, and, again, when an agricultural measure was in progress—he had distinctly stated that the limited owner ought to have all the powers that a prudent and reasonable owner of the fee simple would have over the estate. Therefore, it was no new idea which was now proposed. The same noble Lord had observed that this was a time of great agricultural distress, and there was nothing in this Bill to remedy that distress. He also had remarked that the Government had not introduced any effective system of registration, as if that would provide a remedy for agricultural distress. The Government, said the noble Lord, ought to have adopted the system of registration proposed by a Select Committee in the other House, presided over by Mr. Osborne Morgan. No doubt, the noble Lord believed that; but was he aware what the system recommended by the Committee really was? It was a system for the registration of deeds. That would not remedy agricultural distress. The Select Committee of the other House had condemned registration of title, and recommended a system of registration of deeds. Ireland, for several hundred years past, had had a perfect system of registration of deeds, and Scotland had also had one, which the Scotch thought perfect. Was there anything in the condition of Ireland or Scotland which could lead their Lordships to think that a registration of deeds would be a great panacea for existing evils? Then it was said that if they swept away settlements they might remove all obstacles to the registration of deeds. But in Ireland and Scotland they had a registration

of deeds even with settlements. The cases which had been put of limited owners who could do nothing without selling a part of their property were just the cases that this Bill was designed to meet. There was often great indisposition to sell land, not because a man was a limited owner, but because he loved the land. In any case, however, in which a limited owner thought fit to pay off an encumbrance or to make an improvement by selling a portion of the estate, he could do it under this Bill with due protection of reversionary interests. The object of the reference to trustees or the Court was to prevent the estate being charged with perishable improvements, which ought to be made, if at all, out of income. Whether 14 days' notice was sufficient was a question of detail for Committee. Of course, the mortgagee was not bound to inquire into the quality of the exchange. If that burden were to be thrown upon him, they would never get anyone to lend money. The money was paid, not into the pocket of the tenant for life, but into Court, and the Court would see that it was properly applied. The tenant for life could have no object in raising by mortgage more money than was required. When it was said that there was a power to sell reversionary interests, he should be glad to have it pointed out where it was, for if it was in the Bill it ought to be removed.

Motion agreed to; Bill read 2^a accordingly, and committed to a Committee of the Whole House on Tuesday next.

RELIEF OF DISTRESS (IRELAND) BILL.

(The Lord President.)

(NO. 19.) COMMITTEE.

Order of the Day for the House to be put into Committee, read.

House in Committee accordingly.

Clause 1 (Short title) agreed to.

Clause 2 (Interpretation) agreed to.

Clause 3 (Extension of power to grant out-door relief in food and fuel).

LORD EMLY moved, as an Amendment, that the word "in-door" be left out and the word "out-door" be inserted in its place. The noble Lord said, that in 1876 the present Secretary of State for the Colonies (Sir Michael Hicks-

Beach) introduced and passed a Bill which placed in-door relief in Ireland on a different footing from out-door relief. A portion of the in-door relief was to be charged to the Union at large; and out-door relief was to be charged, as it had always been charged, to the electoral division. The observation made by Sir Michael Hicks-Beach on introducing the Bill was worthy of attention. He had said that the objection to Union rating was that it had given rise to a tendency in favour of extravagance. This tendency might be found in connection with in-door relief; but by all who had studied the question it would be admitted that a small area was almost essential for the proper administration of out-door relief. He did not need to point out to their Lordships that if that was true under ordinary circumstances the administration of out-door relief under present circumstances in Ireland, when the difficulties were enormously increased, made the reason much stronger for limiting the area. The Unions in Ireland were very much larger than those in England, and in many cases a Union was situated in more than one county. It was hardly to be expected that landlords would come forward and tax their property and subject themselves to considerable difficulties, when they found that they were paying for the *lâches* of other gentlemen in other counties, with money over which they had no possible control. In the interest of the administration of the Poor Law, in the interest of applicants for out-door relief, and in the interests of the Bill itself, he earnestly trusted their Lordships would adopt the Amendment he had submitted to them, which only restored the Bill to the form in which it was introduced into the other House.

THE DUKE OF RICHMOND AND GORDON regretted he could not accept the Amendment of the noble Lord. After considerable discussion in the other House, a decision was arrived at to strike out the word "out-door," and insert the word "in-door," and the Bill so amended had come up to this House. The Bill incorporated the Act commonly called "Beach's Act." The districts most affected by this Bill would be the poorest and most distressed districts; and, therefore, it would be desirable that the charge should be extended over the larger area. This was the ground on

The Lord Chancellor

which he resisted the noble Lord's proposal; but if he had been inclined to adopt it, there was a further objection—that this House had no power of dealing with it, because it raised the question of the incidence of taxation.

Clause *agreed to.*

Clause 4 (Power to borrow) *agreed to.*

Clause 5 (Power of Board of Works to lend) *agreed to.*

Clause 6 (Repayment of loans made by the Board of Works) *agreed to.*

Clause 7 (Orders for payment of loans may be made by Local Government Board) *agreed to.*

Clause 8 (Confirmation of expenditure by guardians, and indemnity) *agreed to.*

Clause 9 (Validation of loans).

LORD MONTEAGLE moved, after the word "rent," to insert—

"Shall exceed the rate of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per centum interest on the capital in the execution of the said works, and."

The noble Lord said, that on the second reading of the Bill he had given praise to the landlords of Ireland, who had made generous abatements to their tenants in the face of the agitation which existed. It was supposed out-of-doors on that occasion that he was not an Irish landlord. He begged to correct that mistake, and say he was. In support of his Amendment he remarked that, excepting the Act 11 & 12 *Vict.* c. 82, there was no power to interfere in any way with the liberty and freedom of contract between landlord and tenant with regard to improvements. It was for this reason that he contended that the closing paragraphs of Clause 9 introduced a new principle of law. That paragraph provided that—

"Whenever by any award or otherwise the rent payable by a tenant shall be increased by reason or in respect of any works executed on his holding under the provisions of the Land Improvements Acts and this Act, then and in every such case the works so executed shall, so far as such increase of rent shall be paid by such tenant or his successors in title, be deemed to be improvements made by such tenant within the meaning of the fourth section of the Landlord and Tenant (Ireland) Act, 1870."

The object of the Bill was to relieve distress, and not to benefit either the landlord or the tenant. One of the best

means of relieving the distress was to encourage the employment of labour, and to induce the landlords to take up loans for the purpose of providing work for the destitute. Someone must get the benefit, and the Bill as brought in conferred it entirely on the landlords. The friends of the tenant in the other House felt somewhat aggrieved that the landlord should take a boon which they said he had purchased by no special act of his own. Accordingly, an Amendment was introduced by one not a Member of the extreme party by which the benefit was transferred to the tenant. That was much more inequitable than the original proposal, because the landlord ran some risk. He was perfectly content to withdraw his Amendment until he had heard the arguments with which the noble Lord on the Cross Benches (Lord Oranmore and Browne) supported the Amendment he had put on the Paper, for entirely leaving out the portion of the clause in which his own Amendment occurred.

Amendment *moved,*

In page 5, line 42, after ("rent") insert ("shall exceed the rate of two and a half per centum per annum interest on the capital expended in the execution of the said works, and.")
—(The Lord Monteagle.)

THE DUKE OF RICHMOND AND GORDON said, he had listened very attentively to the noble Lord, and was of opinion that the noble Lord himself was doubtful as to the effect of his own Amendment, which was somewhat hastily put together. He thought the noble Lord had wholly overlooked the Proviso in the clause immediately preceding this paragraph, and which was inserted in the House of Commons for the very purpose of protecting a tenant from being charged a higher percentage than the landlord absolutely paid. He was quite willing to accept a proposal which would be made by the noble Lord on the Cross Benches (Lord Oranmore and Browne).

Amendment *negatived.*

LORD ORANMORE AND BROWNE moved, in page 5, line 38, to leave out from ("Whenever") to end of clause.

Amendment *agreed to.*

Clause, *as amended, agreed to.*

Clause 10 (Validation of baronial presentations) *agreed to*.

Clause 11 (Future meetings of baronial sessions).

LORD EMLY moved, in page 7, line 11, after ("conform") to insert—

("Provided always, and that all works presented for at such extraordinary presentment sessions shall be executed by public contract.")

THE DUKE OF RICHMOND AND GORDON said, he did not object to the principle of the Amendment—that the work should be done by contract; but the noble Lord would remember that the works to which the Bill referred were to be carried out under very stringent instructions which had been laid down for the purpose. If the Amendment were agreed to it would prevent the adoption of any other means for relieving the distress, though he admitted that it was desirable that all these works should be executed by contract.

Amendment (by leave of the Committee) *withdrawn*.

Clause *agreed to*.

Remaining clauses *agreed to*.

The Report of the Amendments to be received *To-morrow*; and Bill to be *printed* as amended. (No. 26.)

IRELAND—RELIEF WORKS IN THE COUNTY OF MAYO.—QUESTION.

LORD MONTEAGLE asked the Lord President, Whether Her Majesty's Government had yet been informed that the greater number of works presented by the special baronial sessions in the county of Mayo were proposed to be executed, not by contracts or sub-contracts under the county surveyor, but by daywork or taskwork under the county surveyor; whether any of the works to be so executed had been sanctioned by the Commissioners of Public Works, and if so, what proportion? The noble Lord was understood to say he had heard that two-thirds of the works proposed to be executed would be by daywork.

THE DUKE OF RICHMOND AND GORDON said, that the noble Lord had been misinformed by his correspondent. The Board of Works were now making the necessary inquiries as to the works

to be executed, and they had not approved of any yet. The Board would not, unless it should be absolutely necessary to do so, sanction the execution of any works by daywork.

SETTLED LAND BILL.—QUESTION.

THE MARQUESS OF BATH asked the Lord Chancellor, When he proposed to take this Bill in Committee?

THE LORD CHANCELLOR, in reply, said, that the Bill would be placed on the Paper for Tuesday next, and as there would be many Amendments he would then propose that the House should go into Committee *pro forma*, so that the Amendments could be printed; and he would afterwards propose to take the Committee on a subsequent day—probably the following Monday.

PRIVATE BILLS.

Ordered, That no Private Bill brought from the House of Commons shall be read a second time after *Thursday* the 10th day of *June* next:

That no Bill originating in this House authorising any inclosure of lands under special report of the Inclosure Commissioners for England and Wales, or confirming any scheme of the Charity Commissioners for England and Wales, shall be read a first time after *Thursday* the 8th day of *April* next:

That no Bill originating in this House confirming any provisional order or provisional certificate shall be read a first time after *Thursday* the 8th day of *April* next:

That no Bill brought from the House of Commons authorising any inclosure of lands under special report of the Inclosure Commissioners for England and Wales, or confirming any scheme of the Charity Commissioners for England and Wales, shall be read a second time after *Thursday* the 17th day of *June* next:

That no Bill brought from the House of Commons confirming any provisional order or provisional certificate shall be read a second time after *Thursday* the 17th day of *June* next:

That when a Bill shall have passed this House with amendments these orders shall not apply to any new Bill sent up from the House of Commons which the Chairman of Committees shall report to the House is substantially the same as the Bill so amended.

Ordered, That the said orders be *printed* and *published*, and affixed on the doors of this House and Westminster Hall. (No. 23.)

House adjourned at half past Eight o'clock, till *To-morrow*, half past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Thursday, 4th March, 1880.

MINUTES.]—NEW MEMBERS SWORN—John Francis Smithwick, esquire, *for* Kilkenny City; Benjamin Whitworth, esquire, *for* Drogheda Borough.

SUPPLY—*considered in Committee*—CIVIL SERVICE SUPPLEMENTARY ESTIMATES, Classes II., III., IV., and V.

PUBLIC BILLS—*Ordered*—Parliamentary Elections and Corrupt Practices.

Committee—Blind and Deaf-Mute Children [41]—R.P.

Committee—*Report*—Road Debts on Entailed Estates (Scotland) * [95].

Third Reading—Beer Dealers' Retail Licences * [65], and *passed*.

QUESTIONS.

PARLIAMENT—ARRANGEMENT OF PUBLIC BUSINESS.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, If he could inform the House at what hour he expected to be able to bring on his Motion respecting the appropriation of the vacant seats? He should also like to know, What Business was proposed to be taken on Monday next, and at what date it was proposed that the House should rise for the Easter Holidays?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER, in reply, said, that the Government did not propose at present to proceed with any but the Supplementary Estimates, which it would be necessary to pass without delay, as the Ways and Means Bill had to be passed before the close of the financial year. He hoped that hon. Members in charge of other Bills would be disposed to assist the Government in proceeding with the Appropriation of Seats Bill. He did not propose to proceed with that Bill after half-past 11 o'clock that night. With regard to the noble Lord's last Question, without making an absolute undertaking, he believed the most convenient course would be for the House to rise on Thursday, the 25th instant, and adjourn until Monday week following, the 5th April. While on his legs, he wished to make an appeal to the hon. Baronet the Member for Chelsea (Sir Charles W. Dilke) and the hon. and gallant Gentle-

man the Member for Kincardineshire (General Sir George Balfour) with regard to Notices of opposition which they had placed against the Motion for the nomination of the Committee on Public Accounts. He was not aware of the grounds of their opposition; but the effect of it was that the Government were unable to bring forward that Motion after half-past 12. Now, it was important for the regular conduct of the financial Business of the House that the Committee should be nominated within a reasonable time; and if the hon. Members in question objected merely to particular names on that Committee they could state their objection when the nomination was made.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE said, he believed it was necessary for the Committee to make a Report before the close of the present financial year; and, therefore, he would withdraw his Notice.

GENERAL SIR GEORGE BALFOUR said, he would do the same; but he intended to question the constitution of the Committee.

VALUATION OF PROPERTY (METROPOLIS) ACT—CLAUSES 4, 6, & 7.

SIR JOHN HAY (for Mr. HUBBARD) asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Whether he will direct the omission of Clauses 4, 6, and 7, from the Return issued for the assessment of property under the Valuation of Property (Metropolis) Act, the said Clauses being largely disapproved as raising questions which are not essential to an accurate valuation?

SIR HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON: Sir, it is not correct to say that the questions raised in Clauses 4, 6, and 7 of the forms are not essential to an accurate valuation. They are all required for purposes of house duty and Income Tax. It was intended to insert clauses in a Valuation Bill last year to provide for similar secrecy to that given in the Income Tax Returns, and this year I propose doing that by a separate Bill now before the House. When that is passed the Returns as issued now will be enforced; but until that Bill passes, remembering the promise of the Chancellor of the Exchequer last year, penalties will not be enforced against those who do not choose to fill up the clauses of the forms which are objected to.

THE SUNDAY QUESTION—THE
BRIGHTON AQUARIUM.

MR. HOLT asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether he is aware that the recent remission of penalties in the Brighton Aquarium case has given rise in the minds of many persons to misapprehension; and, if he will state to the House the exceptional grounds upon which he advised the Crown to remit the penalty in that case, and also the general intentions of the Government as to the exercise of the powers contained in "The Remission of Penalties Act, 1875," in its bearing on the Sunday question?

MR. ASSHETON CROSS, in reply, said, that if the Brighton Aquarium Company had continued as they first opened there would have been no remission of penalties; but alterations had since been made which removed all objections, and now no persons were employed in the Aquarium on Sunday except those who were actually required for the care of the place. The Government had no intention of doing anything to encourage plans for turning Sunday into a day of labour for commercial gain, and he should certainly feel it his duty to discourage any practice which would have such an effect.

MERCHANT SEAMEN—LEGISLATION.

MR. BURT asked the President of the Board of Trade, If he can state when he will introduce the Bill promised in the early part of last Session relating to seamen?

VISCOUNT SANDON: Sir, I am very anxious to introduce the measure respecting merchant seamen which I had prepared last year, but was unable to introduce; and as soon as I see that the Business of the House gives me any hope of securing due consideration for the subject I shall bring it forward.

MERCANTILE MARINE—LIGHT DUES
ON SHIPPING.

MR. C. TENNANT asked the President of the Board of Trade, If it be correct, as had been stated at the recent meeting of the Chamber of Shipping, London, and repeated at the meeting of the Shipowners' Association of Glasgow, that Great Britain and Turkey were the

only two countries which exacted Light Duties from shipping, and that other countries maintained their lighthouses out of the Imperial Revenue?

VISCOUNT SANDON: Sir, although I have not been able to verify the correctness of the statement to which the hon. Member refers, there is no doubt that a considerable number of foreign countries do maintain their lighthouses out of their National Exchequer. But I believe I am correct in saying that several of these countries levy on shipping dues and other taxes, which they pay into their National Treasuries; while I need hardly say that in this country there is no tax imposed on shipping which is paid into the National Treasury. I may add that the comparison of the taxes on shipping levied in different ports and different countries is a very complicated and difficult question.

ARMY (IRELAND)—AUXILIARY FORCES
—THE LIEUTENANT COLONEL OF
THE ANTRIM MILITIA.

MR. BIGGAR asked the Secretary of State for War, Is it a fact that on the 29th day of July 1879 the following serious charges were brought against the Lieutenant Colonel of the Antrim Artillery Militia, viz. of having, during the training in June 1879, been frequently intoxicated and disorderly; if so, were the charges investigated, and, if not, for what reason, as the person who brought the charges declared he was prepared to substantiate them, and, if withdrawn, whether any pressure or influence was brought to bear to induce the person to do so?

COLONEL STANLEY: Sir, I have no information on the subject at all. I cannot find that there is anything traceable on the matter at the War Office; but I will cause inquiry to be made of the Commander-in-Chief in Ireland.

POOR LAW—ELECTION OF GUARDIANS
—LEGISLATION.

MR. HIBBERT asked the President of the Local Government Board, Whether it is his intention to introduce any measure during the present Session to carry out the recommendations of the Select Committee of 1878 with reference to the mode of election and tenure of office of guardians of the poor?

MR. SCLATER-BOOTH, in reply, said, that the Poor Law Amendment Bill would contain clauses to carry out the recommendations of the Select Committee of 1878 with reference to the mode of election and tenure of office of Guardians of the poor.

ARMY—PROMOTION—COMPULSORY RETIREMENT.

MR. A. BASS asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether, taking into consideration that there are seventeen Regiments and Battalions whose Lieutenant Colonels have held command for periods varying from nine to fourteen years, he intends to take any steps towards their compulsory retirement, and thus place the senior Majors and Captains of these Regiments under the same advantages with regard to promotion as other Regiments of Her Majesty's Service?

COLONEL STANLEY: A letter has been sent to each of the colonels referred to, stating that it is proposed to submit to the Queen a draft warrant to abolish the exemption from the five-years' rule which at present exists in their case, and offering them the alternative of employment with brigade depôts or on the Staff if duly qualified. Several have accepted the proposal; but we have not yet received answers from all the officers to whom we have written.

ARMY—AUXILIARY FORCES—RETIRED VOLUNTEER OFFICERS.

MR. A. BASS asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether he is prepared to extend to Volunteer Officers, on the recommendation of their Commanding Officers, the privilege now enjoyed by Militia Majors and Captains of retiring with a step of honorary rank and permission to wear the uniform of such rank after twenty-five or twenty years' service respectively?

COLONEL STANLEY: Sir, the question has been several times discussed how far the privilege now enjoyed by the Militia regiments of retiring on honorary ranks should be extended to the Volunteers. It was fully gone into several years ago, and at that time considerable concessions were made in favour of Volunteers, among others that they should retain their uniform, if com-

missioned officers, after 15 years' service—a concession not given to officers of the Regular Army. It is not, therefore, at present intended to give any further step of rank, or to give an honorary rank on retirement.

MERCHANT SHIPPING ACT—IMPRI- SONMENT OF SAILORS.

MR. PLIMSOLL asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, If he is in a position now to give any information in regard to the case of the men who were committed to gaol by the Falmouth magistrates for refusing to proceed to sea in a vessel which they alleged to be unseaworthy; and, whether this committal took place by the magistrates without a survey of the ship, although the men desired one to be made, and although there was a Board of Trade surveyor in the town?

MR. ASSHETON CROSS: Sir, my attention had been called to this case by my noble Friend the President of the Board of Trade before the Question was put on the Paper, and I have been in consultation with him, and have taken the best advice on the subject. In my opinion, the magistrates have made a mistake with regard to the Act of Parliament. It seems to me that they ought to have taken the evidence of a surveyor in the first instance, and then come to a conclusion, instead of which they seemed to have waited until they thought a survey was unnecessary. Undoubtedly, the survey ought to have been made by the Board of Trade surveyor, who was ready to hand. It was a great mistake on the part of the magistrates, and, under those circumstances, I have thought it right to let the men out of prison.

FISHERY PIERS (IRELAND)—NEW SHANNON PIER.

MR. O'CLERY asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Whether the Government will advance the money necessary for a fishing pier and proper harbour accommodation at Gooleen, Ross, at the mouth of the Shannon?

SIR HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON: Provision has been made in the Estimates 1880-1, p. 48, for a grant of £225 towards the construction of a pier at Gooleen, County Cork, and the Board of Works is about to proceed at once with the undertaking.

ARMY—BREVET MAJORITIES.

MR. A. BASS asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether, previous to the final abolition of promotion to brevet majorities in October next, he intends to promote to that rank all Captains of Cavalry and Infantry who attained their companies previous to the abolition of purchase in October 1871, thus more nearly equalising their promotion to that of the Artillery and Engineer branches?

COLONEL STANLEY, in reply, said, that there had been considerable discussion on the subject, and that no positive decision had been arrived at with respect to it, but that the views entertained were adverse to such a step as that suggested.

CRIME (IRELAND)—ATTACK ON
TENANT RIGHT MEETING
AT PORTADOWN.

SIR THOMAS M'CLURE asked the Chief Secretary for Ireland, Whether any of the persons concerned in the attack upon a public meeting held at Portadown on Wednesday the 15th ult. for the purpose of urging upon Parliament the further security of tenant right in Ireland had been made amenable; and, if it is the intention of the Government to institute an inquiry into the circumstances connected therewith?

MR. J. LOWTHER: Sir, as Notice has been given some days since of a Question upon this subject by the hon. Member for Dungarvan, previous to the Notice given by the hon. Gentleman (Sir Thomas M'Clure), which only appeared upon the Paper this morning, I think it would be better if he would be so good as to postpone his Question till to-morrow.

RELIEF OF DISTRESS (IRELAND)—THE
CLIFDEN BOARD OF GUARDIANS.

MR. MITCHELL HENRY asked the Chief Secretary for Ireland, Whether he will lay upon the Table a Copy of a resolution passed by the Clifden Board of Guardians, in the barony of Ballanahinch, on the 5th ultimo, and forwarded to the Local Government Board, to the effect that the cultivators in the union are overwhelmed with debt, and cannot be accepted as security for seed potatoes, and that the rates are so alarmingly high and the union so poor that extraordinary out-door relief would overwhelm

the union with ruin; whether it is true that the potatoes ordered would not give more than a few pounds weight to each man; and, under these circumstances, to inquire whether the Government intend to endeavour to avert still greater destitution next year in this impoverished locality by taking other means of furnishing the people with seed and manure?

MR. J. LOWTHER: I cannot find that the Guardians of Clifden Union passed any resolution to this effect on the 5th ult., but I find that on the 25th they did pass a resolution, in the course of which they state their opinion that the deficiency in the seeds supply of the Union ought to be filled up by the Government, and that public works should be commenced in the district at the expense of Parliament, in order to give employment for labour. It is not necessary for me to say that the Local Government Board has done what it could in this matter. I find, however, that yesterday the board re-considered the resolution with regard to the seeds required. With regard to the latter part of the Question, I may say there is no intention whatever on the part of the Government to supply manure.

MR. MITCHELL HENRY: Will the right hon. Gentleman tell me how much seed has been ordered by the Board of Guardians?

MR. J. LOWTHER: I only learned by telegram to-day that at a meeting held yesterday the Board of Guardians consented to order an amount of oats and potatoes sufficient. Therefore, I cannot answer the Question.

RELIEF OF DISTRESS (IRELAND)—THE
SUPPLY OF SEED POTATOES.

MR. ERRINGTON asked the Chief Secretary for Ireland, Whether the Irish Local Government Board has as yet replied to applications and estimates for supply of seed potatoes sent in by various Unions, among others from Granard; if not, whether he will take care that no unnecessary time is lost, as the matter is now very pressing?

MR. J. LOWTHER: Sir, I have been informed that an application was sent in by the Granard Board of Guardians; but owing to the change made in the Bill when passing through Parliament the estimate had to be sent back for amendment. When it is amended no time will be lost in acting on it.

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

SUPPLY—COMMITTEE.

Order for Committee read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."

LIGHTHOUSES.

MOTION FOR PAPERS.

MR. T. BRASSEY, in rising to call attention to the necessity for additional lighthouses on the island of Galita, in the Red Sea, and the Gulf of Aden; and to move for Papers, said, that the value of the trade passing between Great Britain and India had been computed at no less than £98,000,000 sterling, and nothing which affected so vast a commerce could be set aside as unimportant. Since the opening of the Suez Canal, our trade with the East had been largely diverted to that route. The tonnage which passed through the Canal in 1877 was 2,050,000; but it had increased in 1878 to 3,250,000. England led the way with 1,117 ships; France followed with only 87 ships; Italy came next with 44; and Germany last, with 27 ships. He thought it unnecessary to say more in order to show how deeply interested we were in everything which could add to the safety of navigation on this main route from Europe to the East. Of the various aids to the navigator which science had afforded, lighthouses were the most important, not only as a means of saving life and property, but as a means of shortening the passage. With the growth of commerce, the number of lighthouses on our own shores had been rapidly increased. We had now one light for every 10½ miles of coast. The illumination of the French coasts was equally perfect. While, however, the coasts of the great maritime Powers were now efficiently lighted, lighthouses had been seriously neglected in the hands of Governments with exhausted Treasuries; and the coasts of barbarous or half-civilized countries, in the absence of concerted action on the part of the maritime Powers, must remain in total darkness. Hitherto, with one notable and praiseworthy exception, no attempt had been made to organize such concerted action. Taking an ima-

inary voyage from England to the East, the first point where a lighthouse was required was on the coast adjacent to Cape Finisterre. It was one of the most important land-falls in the world. It was true a first-class light was exhibited from Finisterre; but the position was badly chosen, and the light itself was not in good order. He was within range of Cape Finisterre for several hours during the night of the 27th of January, and on that occasion the light did not revolve. Another first-class light was urgently required on Cape Villano, 25 miles north-east of Finisterre. The range of the existing light was only eight miles. In consequence of the insufficient lighting of this coast, vessels were compelled to steer many miles further to the westward than would be necessary if a powerful light were exhibited on Villano. Continuing eastwards and entering the Mediterranean, the southern shores of Spain, and the long range of the north coast of Africa, in the hands of the French Government, were well protected with lights. But when we reached the coast of Tunis the lighthouses were too few in number. The Island of Galita, which was under the jurisdiction of the Bey of Tunis, was one of the most important pivot points on the voyage to the East. Ships navigating the Mediterranean made a straight run of 690 miles from Gibraltar, until they arrived off the north end of Galita, when they altered their course two points and steered for the Malta Channel. In the night, or in the thick weather prevailing near Galita in the winter, the prudent navigator would pass the Island at a distance of from 10 to 15 miles. With a first-class light a margin of five miles would be ample. If the passage to the south of the Island were taken, which would be perfectly practicable in clear weather, the saving of distance would be still more considerable. The necessity that existed for such a light on Galita had been repeatedly urged by the Committee of Lloyd's. On this point Captain Angove, the commander of the Peninsular and Oriental steamer *Poonah*, had written as follows:—

"The absence of a light on the Island of Galita has often caused me great anxiety. In the winter months the weather is frequently dirty in that vicinity, and the currents are strong."

Passing onwards on the voyage to the

East, the navigator was assisted by an adequate number of lights until he emerged from the Gulf of Suez into the Red Sea. At a distance of 95 miles north of the light on the Dædalus shoal, which was the southernmost light at present shown in this part of the Red Sea, the track of steamers ran close to two rocks called "The Brothers," only 20 feet above water. They were invisible at night, and the current in that part of the Red Sea was strong and uncertain. A few years ago the Dutch steamer *Prinz Hendrik*, carrying troops to Batavia, was totally wrecked on these rocks. A light of the second or third order, visible at a distance of say 10 miles, was very necessary at this point. Proceeding down the Red Sea, for a distance of 720 miles, no lights were absolutely required, until within 100 miles of the Island of Perim. At its southern end the shores of the Red Sea were fringed with reefs, which ran out seawards for some distance on each side of the channel, and here the experienced commanders in the Peninsular and Oriental Service urgently asked for two additional lights—a light with a range of 20 miles, on the islet of Aboo-Ail, off the north end of the Island of Jebel-Zuker, and a light on the bank off Mocha. The Peninsular and Oriental steamer *Alma* was wrecked on Jebel-Zuker, and the steamer *Penguin* was quite recently lost on the same spot. The value of lighthouses as a means of saving life might be illustrated by a statement lately made to him by Captain White, a commander in the Peninsular and Oriental Service. On a recent occasion, arriving off Aboo-Ail in the evening, he was obliged to close the Arabian shore, and to navigate the vessel by the lead, until he arrived off the Island of Perim, a distance of 90 miles. With a light on Aboo-Ail, he might have run boldly on and have made the passage in eight hours. Not having the assistance of the light, the time actually occupied was 18 hours. The detention in these intricate spots in the case of vessels commanded by masters not intimately acquainted with the Red Sea must necessarily be more serious. Captain Symons, in an interesting letter on this subject, very justly said that the Red Sea was now the highway of the world for Eastern traffic. On his last homeward voyage he had passed nine large steamers

in one watch of four hours. Ten years ago, an equal number would not have been seen in a month. Considering the value of property, mostly carried in English ships, that now passed through the Red Sea, it was imperatively necessary that the coasts should be properly lighted. The mail steamers, especially, were called upon to maintain a high rate of speed, were timed to arrive to the hour, and were liable to heavy penalties if late. They certainly ought to have the benefit of any modern invention for facilitating navigation on a dangerous coast. Continuing an imaginary voyage to the East, the next important point on which a lighthouse was required was Cape Guardafui. Here 12 large steamers had gone ashore within the last six years. The list included the *Meikong*, of the French Messageries Service, and the *Garonne*, a steamer of the Orient Line recently established between London and Australia. Ten of these ships were totally wrecked. Among the shipowners interested in the trade to the East who had strongly recommended the establishment of a light on Cape Guardafui, he might more particularly refer to the General Shipowners' Association, and the owners of the Glen, the Castle, and the Ducal lines. The directors of the British India Company, while expressing a strong opinion as to the desirability of establishing a light on Cape Guardafui, recommended that it should be erected by the British Government, under international arrangement, and not by the Egyptian Government. It might be necessary to explain that the Egyptian Government had contemplated the erection of two lighthouses—the one on Ras-Hafoon, the other on Guardafui, in compliance with suggestions from the British Government. The objections of the British Indian Company were fully shared by Captain Roberts, the Superintendent of the Peninsular and Oriental Company at Suez. The expenditure for the two lights, as estimated by the Egyptian Government, was £48,000, and they proposed to levy an additional tax upon passing ships of 2*d.* per ton. Efficient lighthouses could be erected at a much more moderate cost. He was unwilling to trouble the House with nautical details, and would not, therefore, enter into the various considerations which had been urged by those who doubted the utility of a light on

Guardafui during the period when the south-west monsoon was at its height. Opinions were unanimous as to the value of the light through at least eight months of the year. A light on Ras-Hafoon, 90 miles south of Guardafui, would be valuable at all seasons to ships engaged in the important trade with the Mauritius and the East Coast of Africa. He had only to mention two other points on the route to the East on which lights were required. One was the east end of the Island of Socotra, which was passed by all vessels bound to and from Bombay, and in the south-west monsoon also by vessels navigating to and from Galle. The other point to which he referred was Minicoy, a small Island of the Laccadive group, upon which some years ago the Peninsular and Oriental steamer *Colombo* was totally lost, and which must be passed by every vessel bound from the Red Sea to Ceylon, the Bay of Bengal, the Eastern Archipelago, China, and Japan. All the lights which he had enumerated would, if established, be of the greatest advantage to navigation. At Cape Guardafui it might be necessary to erect a fort, and to provide a small garrison for the protection of the light. In the other cases nothing more than an ordinary lighthouse was required. None of these lights, however, could be erected except under international agreement; and in bringing the subject under the notice of the House his desire was to urge the Government, without delay, to secure the concerted action of the maritime Powers. Sir Travers Twiss, in a paper read at the Guildhall in August last, had suggested that the Convention signed at Tangier between the Sultan of Morocco and the Representatives of the European Powers furnished a precedent that might be conveniently followed. Under the terms of this Convention, the Sultan of Morocco had erected a lighthouse on Cape Spartel, and made over the entire administration to the contracting Powers, each of whom contributed £60 a-year towards the maintenance of the light. The light on Cape Spartel afforded the greatest assistance in the navigation of the Straits of Gibraltar; and it belonged to England, as having by far the deepest interest in the trade with the East, to take the initiative in negotiating similar arrangements with reference to the additional lights required on the voyage from Europe to

the East. The House would doubtless share the hope expressed by Sir Travers Twiss that hereafter international lighthouses would be among the trophies of peace which the civilization of Europe would set up in the Islands of the far East. The aggregate expenditure on the lighthouses would be small, it would be readily shared by other nations, and it was absolutely trifling in comparison with the loss of, perhaps, £250,000 in a single steamer. When the lighthouses which he had enumerated were completed premiums of insurance would be reduced voyages would be accelerated, the dangers to life would be diminished, and the anxieties of harassed commanders would be relieved. The hon. Member concluded by moving for Papers on the subject.

SIR JOHN HAY, in seconding the Motion, said, everyone must agree with him that the immense amount of trade which now passed through the Suez Canal and traversed the Mediterranean and the Red Sea rendered it highly desirable that the channel should be safely lighted. His hon. Friend had made an imaginary voyage from England; he would make the return voyage from India. Everyone acquainted with the shores of India must be of opinion that the great channel by which Bombay was approached ought certainly to be lighted. The nine degree and the eight degree channel were divided by the Island of Minikoi under the Government of Ceylon, and a light on that island seemed indispensable. On a late occasion one of the largest steamers, filled with passengers, ran on the Island of Minikoi, and was eventually relieved after three months' detention. On going towards the Gulf of Aden during the south-western monsoon, all vessels, except those of the greatest power, usually went to the southward and approached the coast of Africa. A careful navigator might navigate his ship with safety, and the lead was a sufficient guide. Many masters of merchant ships, however, were not careful navigators, and were not provided with the most recent charts. Perhaps it would be found that the owners did not provide charts, and that the master supplied himself with the cheapest he could get. Masters of that kind, instead of timing their arrival so as to sight the land in daylight, took a glass of grog, turned in, and trusted

to Providence. The consequence was that their vessels often ran ashore. It was, therefore, desirable that a light should be placed on Ras-Hafoon; but that was not so important as a light on Cape Guardafui itself. It was said that there was great difficulty in procuring water at that place; but that ought not to be regarded as a very serious objection in these days, when it was an easy matter to obtain water by the process of distillation. If, however, it was not intended to place a lighthouse on Cape Guardafui, it would be necessary to build one in a small valley about eight miles south-south-west of that point; though the better plan would be, if possible, to light the promontory itself; for during the south-west monsoons a thick yellow haze made it all but impossible to observe the land, which showed through the haze almost identical in colour. This necessitated the erection of a powerful light. He agreed with his hon. Friend as to the desirability of placing a light on the east end of Socotra, where powerful steamers often took shelter; but even that was not so necessary as that Cape Guardafui should be lighted. Proceeding up the Gulf of Aden, and after passing Perim, ships encountered a variety of dangers which materially impeded their progress. Considering the importance of time and the cost of delay, especially to mail steamers, it would be seen that a lightship might be very usefully established in the Turkish waters off the town of Mocha, and a lighthouse on Ali Khel, and then the lighting of the Southern part of the Red Sea would be satisfactory. He strongly recommended the erection of a lighthouse on "The Brothers," a very dangerous shoal further north, which lay right in the fairway and caused much loss of time to vessels in the endeavour to avoid all risk in connection with it. He hoped soon to hear that negotiations were in progress with reference to that shoal. Coming through the Suez Canal, and continuing the voyage past Malta, he found a light necessary at Galita, west-south-west of which were the Sorelli Rocks, which were still unlighted. It was a moot point as to the precise spot on which the light should be placed; his own opinion was that the Sorelli Rocks would probably be the best, though perhaps not the cheapest, position. Those rocks belonged to Tunis,

on the coast of which State there were already several creditable lights; and it would be necessary to make an arrangement with the French and the Tunisian Governments in order to remove the last danger of the Mediterranean. With the lighting to the west of those rocks he was quite satisfied; but the points he had mentioned—Minikoi, west end of Socotra, Ras-Hafoon, Cape Guardafui, a light-ship off Mocha, Ali Khel, "The Brothers," and Galitana or the Sorelli Rocks—ought to be lighted, and he hoped that his suggestions would be considered by the Government.

VISCOUNT SANDON said, that the House and the Government were very much indebted to the two hon. Gentlemen who had spoken for the information they had given on a subject so interesting to all Englishmen, and particularly to the President of the Board of Trade. He thoroughly agreed with his hon. Friends as to the desirability of having more lighthouses in difficult and dangerous seas; but the first difficulty was that they were not independent in the matter, but had to negotiate with other Powers, some of whom were not very largely provided with funds. All such obstacles resolved themselves into questions of money. He could assure his hon. Friends that the Government had not been idle in the matter. It was not easy to interfere with respect to the first point to which attention had been called; but as regarded Galita, the Government had been in communication with the French Government, and last year they received an assurance from Lord Lyons that France and Tunis were likely jointly to erect a proper lighthouse there. He might remind the House that the existing lights in the Canal and the Red Sea were owing, in a great measure, to the exertions of former British Governments. In the year 1870 the Hydrographer of the Navy and Colonel Clarke had been sent to the Red Sea to make investigations into the subject, and had made a Report thereon. They had pressed the matter on the Khedive, and had asked the French Government to enter into an arrangement. The question mainly turned on the necessary expense, and the French Government set the matter aside for the time. It had been raised again by the Indian Government in 1874; but France had not been willing to make any pecuniary engagements till 1879. But

in 1877 the Khedive had agreed, on the representations of the British Government, to erect a lighthouse on Cape Guardafui, provided that certain tolls were allowed; and the British Government had then attempted to bring about an agreement between the maritime Powers, and ascertained that they would all agree to pay the requisite tolls as soon as it was settled where the lighthouse should be erected. The Khedive then proceeded to send an engineer to make a survey of that part of the country, and Her Majesty's Government had only been put in possession of his Report last year. That gentleman had found difficulties about erecting a lighthouse at the point which had been indicated, and recommended that it should be placed some eight miles south of the promontory of Guardafui. So the matter remained at present, and it would be necessary to wait till the Egyptian Government had made up its mind. At any rate, some progress had been made, for the country had been surveyed, and the maritime Powers had come to an agreement. He could hardly give an opinion as to the Indian lights; but he might assure hon. Members that the Government fully acknowledged the importance of the subject, and would do their best to induce other Powers to co-operate with them in future.

MR. PEASE, after thanking the noble Lord for his speech, remarked that Ways and Means ought not to stand in the way of the object he had in view. The actual cost of all the existing lighthouses was insignificant compared with the far greater importance of safety and speed in navigation. As representing a maritime constituency, he would urge upon the Government that time should not be lost in doing the work. It was of the greatest importance, as it would effect an economy of time by materially shortening the voyage. The most important element of the question was that the work would bring our Indian Empire much nearer to us. It was a great practical undertaking, in which this great maritime nation should allow no delay.

MR. BENTINCK said, that the House ought to be obliged to the hon. Member for Hastings for having called the attention of the House to that subject. He thought it would be better to have a light to avoid the outer danger than the inner danger in the case of a passage

between two reefs. There was a tendency to forget that, though steamers were taking the place of sailing ships, to a great extent the latter still existed. One of the most dangerous shoals in the Mediterranean, lying right in the track of the passage to Gibraltar and Malta, was Smith's Reef. It would be remembered that it was on that reef, owing to the absence of lighthouse or lightship, Her Majesty's ship *Athenian* was lost. He would, therefore, strongly recommend that a light should be placed at that point without delay.

MR. T. BRASSEY said, that he would not press his Motion, and thanked the noble Lord for the attention which he had given to the subject.

CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES.

OBSERVATIONS.

MR. MONK, who had given Notice to call attention to the gradual but constant increase in the Estimates in certain Classes of the Civil Service; and to move—

“That, in the opinion of this House, the expenditure upon the Civil Services is excessive, and ought to be diminished,”

said, it was a self-evident proposition that the Civil expenditure of the country was on the increase from year to year. He did not intend to go greatly into details; but he would ask hon. Members to bear in mind that during four complete years of the late Government, ending the 31st of March, 1874, the outlay in the Civil Service Department, according to the Appropriation Accounts, amounted to £76,567,000, averaging about £19,000,000, or exactly £19,141,750; whereas, during four complete years of the present Government, down to the 31st of March, 1879, it amounted to £93,055,000, averaging £23,263,750, an increase of more than £4,000,000 a-year. It would be said by the Secretary to the Treasury that the greater part of the increase was owing, first, to the Education Vote, and, secondly, to the relief afforded to local taxation. He would not complain of any increase which had arisen in consequence of the great measure which was brought in during the Administration of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Greenwich (Mr. Gladstone). But there was still a large increase which required explanation from the Government, and he

did not think the causes he had mentioned and the increase of population were a sufficient explanation. Without charging the Government with reckless expenditure or extravagance, he maintained that the economic principle was altogether absent from the mode in which the Treasury prepared these Estimates. He was inclined to say that they were framed on a kind of happy-go-lucky principle; because they never, by any happy chance, managed to hit off the exact sum, or anything like the exact sum, which eventually was required for the service of the year. He objected to having three sets of Estimates brought before the House. First, there were the Estimates brought in soon after the meeting of Parliament, which were supposed to cover the requirements of the coming year; then they had in July Supplementary Estimates, then an Estimate for excesses. He did not expect that there could be complete Estimates in February; but he thought they ought to have full knowledge of the amounts required by the middle of March, before the Budget. But there seemed to be a habit of always falling back on Estimates for excesses. He would defy any young Member who wished to become acquainted with the course of Business in the House to master the details of these different Estimates. Seeing that no Bills of any importance, with the exception of the Criminal Code Bill, had been introduced by the Government of late years, he wanted to know how it was such large sums as 500 and 600 guineas were paid to gentlemen not connected with any Government office for drafting Bills, and what were the names of the learned gentlemen to whom these amounts were paid, as it appeared to him to be throwing a very large amount of patronage into the hands of the Government? He knew that he should have the stereotyped answer that Sir Henry Thring and his assistants were unable to overtake the work which was thrown upon them in the Session; but he wanted to know why the Bills could not be drafted in the Recess. Then there was an increase in the Vote for the Stationery Office. A short time ago they were told that the hon. Member for Lincolnshire (Mr. Rowland Winn) had cleaned out the Augean stable, and yet this year there was an increased Vote. They were also asked for an increased

Vote of £2,706 for the Charity Commission. How could the Government reconcile it to their conscience—if they had a conscience—to pay such a sum for the Charity Commission, particularly as there was a Resolution passed unanimously, on the Journals of the House, affirming that the expenses of that Commission ought to be paid by a tax on the Charities themselves? The Secretary to the Treasury brought in a Bill to that effect last year; why had he not re-introduced it this Session? Then they had an extraordinary item of £8,000 for refurnishing an Embassy house. That was a very large sum for such a purpose, and he wanted some explanation of it. There was also a sum of £120,000 required to make good the deficiency on the part of the Savings Banks and Friendly Societies. The total amount received up to the 20th of November, 1879, in respect of Savings Banks and Friendly Societies was £126,253,000. The amount of principal and interest paid to the Trustees was £80,532,000. Therefore the sum due to the Trustees by the Commissioners on the 20th of November, 1879, was £45,720,000, and the value of the securities held by the Commissioners was only £41,571,000. A loss, therefore, had been incurred by the Treasury of £4,149,000; and, as he had said, the Vote required this year to make up the deficiency was £120,000. Some explanation was due on that head. He could not understand why, with 2½ per cent paid to investors in the Savings Banks, the Government could incur such a fearful loss. With regard to the expenditure on retired allowances, it was very objectionable that young men between 20 and 30 should be compulsorily retired, instead of being put into other places. He regretted very much that he had been induced by the right hon. Member for Pontefract (Mr. Childers) to withdraw his opposition to the Vote for the increase of salaries of Masters in connection with the Supreme Court of Judicature, for he understood that while the salaries had been increased there was a large number of sinecures, and no reduction whatever had occurred. The House and the public were very little aware of the enormous increase in the amount of the Civil Service Estimates. He had thought it his duty to draw attention to the subject; but as he had no wish to delay the passing of the Supple-

mentary Estimates he should not move the Resolution of which he had given Notice.

SIR HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON said, the question which had been raised by the hon. Member was one which had been brought before the House on more than one occasion, when it had received the same reply which he was afraid he must give to it on the present occasion. Everyone would allow that, although the Civil Service Estimates showed in their bulk an undoubted increase in latter years, they owed that increase to the action of Parliament itself with regard either to the education grants or to those grants for local taxation which had not met with unqualified opposition at the hands of the hon. Member. Both these grants had been the means of throwing an increase upon the Estimates; and he thought it only fair to eliminate them from the consideration of the question of the increase in the Estimates, as they were due to the action of Parliament. He would draw the attention of the House to a Return issued from the Treasury Department, and moved for by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Pontefract (Mr. Childers). That Return showed that if the charges for grants for local taxation and for education were put aside, and the Civil Service charges, real and proper, were only considered, there had been really a decrease in the Estimates from the year 1857 to the present time. In 1857-8 the Estimates for the Civil Service proper amounted to £5,921,311, and they had fluctuated between that amount and £5,750,000, which was the amount in 1878-9. That was to say, there was a diminution this year in the Estimates for the Service proper as compared with the year 1857-8. This showed that successive Governments had kept such control over the Estimates that they had not increased in the period which he had named. The hon. Member, turning from the subject of the Civil Service charges to the preparation of the Estimates, called the mode of preparing them haphazard, and objected to the Government taking Supplementary Estimates in July. Well, the Estimates being called for in December in order to be prepared for the coming year, it was necessary to fix a date in January beyond which no further in-

crease or alteration could be made in them. From that date the Estimates were in type and unalterable, and ready to be placed on the Table of the House at the meeting of Parliament. But things occurred in the different Departments after their Returns had been made of which they could have no previous knowledge. For instance, advantageous offers were made with regard to leases, which on economical grounds the Treasury could not refuse; or buildings had suddenly to be erected. If in such cases a hard-and-fast rule were to be laid down, and if no fresh expenditure were to be incurred, say after March or February, the Treasury would often be placed in a position very detrimental to the Public Service, and offers which might not be renewed in advantageous forms would have to be refused. It was the constant effort of the Treasury to resist incurring such expenditure as he was referring to; and it was only done when, in the interest of the public, the demands of the Public Service required it. It became in this manner absolutely necessary to sanction money Votes which were not contemplated in the preparation of the Returns; and, consequently, Governments were unwillingly obliged to submit to Parliament Supplementary Estimates in the month of July. The hon. Member used the word "excessive," and pointed to the excessive Supplementary Estimates which they had been forced to submit to the House this year. But the hon. Member ought to have remembered that these Estimates, if it had not been for one item, would have been lower than the Estimates for several recent years. With regard to the charge of £230,000 for the Prison Vote, the item to which he referred, he thought it right to say that it was only a very short time ago that the arrangements of the Home Office in respect to that Vote were concluded, so that it was impossible last year to forecast what amount of money would be required in any one instance of arrangement. The expense of this Vote, it should also be remembered, was recouped to the extent of £210,000 by the receipts on behalf of the Prison Commission paid into the Exchequer. The real loss, therefore, did not amount to more than between £20,000 and £30,000. He thought that the House, after considering the figures he had put

before them, would not consider the Supplementary Estimates exceptional. The hon. Member also referred to the expenses in connection with the drafting of Bills. It was quite true that a large expenditure had been incurred beyond the amount required for the Parliamentary staff kept for the purpose of drafting Bills; but if all the Bills that were brought in—Bills not contemplated before the commencement of the Session, and Bills that could not be easily drawn during the Recess—were to be drawn by the official draftsmen, it would be necessary to greatly increase the present staff. There were many advantages in the existing system of sometimes employing others than the official draftsmen, as it gave opportunities for bringing particular talent and knowledge to bear upon a peculiar subject. He might mention, for example, that in the case of the Contagious Diseases (Animals) Act very important service was rendered to Parliament and the country from their having secured the aid of a gentleman having special knowledge of the whole subject. As to the remarks made in reference to the Charity Commission, he had to say that part of the sum demanded on its account was needed to make payments which would not have been made had Parliament not decided to continue the Commission. Coming to the question of the retirement of officers from the Public Service, he had to remind the hon. Member that one or two re-organizations of Departments had taken place in the last year, and that Bills were passed in that House enabling special terms to be given to officers on retirement. It was only by offering special terms that it was possible to carry out any re-organizations at all. He could assure the hon. Member that nothing was more in accordance with the wishes of the Secretary to the Treasury than to keep down the Civil Service Estimates as far as was consistent with the public interest. He knew well that, in dealing with the Civil Service Estimates, they were dealing with a part of the public finances which allowed less reduction than any other. But he hoped he had shown that those parts of the Estimates over which the Secretary to the Treasury had real control were lower than in some recent years.

MR. RYLANDS said, the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury

had referred to a certain re-organization in the Department. He was bound to say his experience led him to the belief that although they had always the promise of advantages by re-organization, they were so remote as to be, in many cases, worse than the original state of affairs. It appeared to him that the necessity for re-organization arose from the vices which existed in the Civil Service. If that Service were placed on a basis in which the members of it would, first of all, be required fully to do their duty in an efficient manner, and to give a sufficient amount of time to the Public Service, he had no doubt whatever that they would always be able to weed out from the Civil Service those men who were not efficient, and who simply took the place of gentlemen who were. He recollected a few years ago, when he was a Member of a Select Committee of that House to inquire into the Civil Service Department, that he asked Sir William Stephenson, who was a very high authority, whether, in the Department of the Customs, or in any other Public Department in which gentlemen were employed in the capacity of clerks, it was not a fact that, however inefficient a young man happened to be, by virtue of seniority he would rise gradually, with an increment of salary, without reference to efficiency of conduct? He (Sir William Stephenson) said—

“Well, to a great extent, unless a clerk is guilty of some scandalous neglect of duty, it would be impossible for a head of a Department to supersede him.”

And he said further—

“You Gentlemen in Parliament would rise and complain if any supersession of individuals took place, unless there were very clear grounds for the course.”

He knew that pressure was put on every head of a Department on account of promotion in that Department being slow. Re-organization of the Department was then pressed for in order to improve the position, and a number of men were sent out of the Department, and they were paid compensation for loss of office. The hon. Member for Gloucester (Mr. Monk) had alluded to another question in which he (Mr. Rylands) had had good reason to complain that the Government would not take advantage of the opportunity afforded them of economizing in an im-

Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson

portant Department. The House, at the end of last Session, was called upon to pass the Supreme Court of Judicature Bill. His hon. Friend the Member for Gloucester and he opposed the Bill, on the ground that they had no guarantee in the Bill that there would be economy. The right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in reply, said that the present Lord Chancellor, whatever might have been the case with previous Lord Chancellors, was most anxious to promote economy; and they might rely that if the Bill were passed into law very great economy would be effected in the High Court of Judicature. He would now make the charge that there had not been the slightest economy. Unless he was very much misinformed, there had been an increase of expenditure which was probably of an unnecessary character. Certainly there was no fulfilment of the pledge given last Session that action would be taken by the Lord Chancellor with a view to reduce the cost of the High Court of Judicature. When that Vote came on in the ordinary Civil Service Estimates, he had no doubt that the Government would be called upon by his hon. Friend the Member for Gloucester, or by himself, to give an explanation of what they had done in accordance with the pledges given in the House; and unless those pledges had been given he ventured to say it would have been utterly impossible for the Bill to have passed into law. The facts he was furnished with showed that, so far from that Bill having worked in an economical way, it had given opportunity for further expenditure. He must say, if they were to deal effectively with the Civil Service expenditure, they must be determined to deal with it in such a way as to secure that every public servant should give a greater amount of service, and that the Public Departments should not be a public scandal, as he believed at the present time was the case in a great many of the Offices, in the way in which they were over-manned, and the careless way the Public Service was conducted during the comparatively short period of labour. He thought they ought to insist that there should be longer hours. In some of the Public Offices, he had no hesitation in saying that there ought to be longer hours. They ought to give inducement to clerks in Offices by reward-

ing merit with promotion. Still, further, every man who did not fulfil his duty should be removed; and if they adopted that system, they would not be continually, as at present, piling up the Superannuation Fund. It could not be denied that the expenditure for pensions and superannuation was increasing every year to a monstrous extent. He had a very decided impression that some day the House would have to deal strongly with that enormous expenditure; and even in cases where they made a profit out of a Department, that was no reason why they should spend a lot of money on unnecessary officials. The mere fact that a Department received a considerable sum of money through stamps and fees was no justification for the expenditure being in excess of what the Office could be reasonably conducted upon. Not only should they have to deal very strongly with the present system of employment in the Public Offices; but he thought also that if the Secretary to the Treasury wished to have his hands strengthened against clamour as to the expenditure on the Services of the Crown, nothing would have greater effect in that direction than the appointment of such a Committee as his hon. Friend the Member for Swansea (Mr. Dillwyn) suggested last year—namely, a Select Committee to inquire into the Estimates for the Civil Services. He was bound to say that the present mode of taking the Civil Service Estimates was very clumsy; and he thought that the Government might adopt a more complete examination of the Public Expenditure in those Departments, so that, without any parsimony with regard to salaries, the public duty might be carried on in a more efficient, and, at the same time, a more economical manner.

GENERAL SIR GEORGE BALFOUR said, a Return obtained by the right hon. Member for Pontefract (Mr. Childers) for one particular purpose, to show the progress made in increasing some particular portions of the Public Expenditure, had been quoted for another and different one as to the progress of all the Civil expenditure. The Secretary to the Treasury would have made a much better comparison if he had used the Return moved for by the right hon. Member for Halifax (Mr. Stansfeld), or that which the First Lord of the Treas-

sury obtained a few years ago. He denied that any credit was due to the present Government for keeping down expenditure. There had been an enormous increase of the Civil Service expenditure during the last 20 years, but more especially during the administration of the present Government. It was the fashion, when speaking of the Naval and Military expenditure, to compare the gross for these Services of 20 years ago with the gross of the present day; and the result was that the outlay on what was called the spending Departments had largely increased. None of the deductions were made therefrom which might and ought to be made. He was ready to admit that the Civil expenditure of the country had very considerably increased from special causes. The Education Vote had swollen 50 per cent in four years, and the grants in aid of local taxation had risen from £2,761,000 to upwards of £5,000,000 in 1880. Those increases in the Civil charges arose from the loose way of putting forward Supplementary Estimates. He knew that Supplementary Estimates were sometimes unavoidable. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for London University (Mr. Lowe), when Chancellor of the Exchequer, admitted so much, and thereby encouraged this financially bad habit; but it was a matter for regret that they should have so largely increased, especially in the present year. One great evil in the system was that by accepting such Estimates the House took upon itself a responsibility that should be placed on the heads of Departments for preparing loose Estimates. The sooner heads of Departments were brought face to face with the House or with the Public Accounts Committee, to explain why they had not originally foreseen all the wants of their Departments, the better would Parliament be able to control the expenditure. As it was, these heads bore no responsibility. They brought to bear all their influence upon the Treasury, and they got all their demands complied with, and escaped all censure and blame. That, he submitted, was a grave evil, and he looked to the Secretary to the Treasury to remedy it.

Motion, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair," *agreed to.*

General Sir George Balfour

SUPPLY—CIVIL SERVICE SUPPLEMENTARY ESTIMATES, 1879-80.

COMMITTEE.

SUPPLY—*considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

CLASS II.—SALARIES AND EXPENSES OF PUBLIC DEPARTMENTS.

(1.) £36,000, Stationery and Printing.

MR. MONK said, that he found on this Vote an increase on account of salaries of £600. No explanation was given of this increase, except that it was said that, "although the re-organization of the Department in July last will ultimately result in considerable economy in salaries, the immediate effect is an increase of about this amount." He wished to ask the hon. Baronet the Secretary to the Treasury whether those salaries were in addition to the retiring allowances? He should also like to know whether the increase in salaries was due to certain officers being paid higher salaries under the re-organization scheme, or whether an additional staff of clerks had been employed; and, further, whether, under the re-organization scheme, any of the clerks had been pensioned off?

SIR HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON said, that as he understood some of the increase was due to the employment of fresh clerks. Owing to the reduction in the number of officers in the Department as a whole, the salaries of other officers had been increased. The effect of the reduction would not be felt until the pensions of some of those officers who had retired ceased to be payable. Ultimately, there would be a considerable decrease in the Expenditure.

MR. RYLANDS said, that with regard to the re-organization scheme, he wished to submit to the hon. Baronet the Secretary to the Treasury whether it would not be convenient to lay upon the Table of the House a Paper showing the actual immediate addition to the Expenditure by the increase of salaries, and also the reduction which had been made in the Office; and, further, the ultimate advantage that would accrue to the public in the form of reduction in the Expenditure? He believed that that was done in the case of the Admiralty, and in one or two other instances; and he thought that it was very desirable that the same course should be pursued in the present

case. He wished to ask the hon. Baronet whether it was anybody's duty to ascertain whether the statements that were made from time to time as to reduction in expenditure were proved by experience to be accurate or not? He thought that an attempt should be made to ascertain whether, in consequence of the re-organization, a diminished or an increased expenditure took place in the Department. The public ought to be informed whether the expectations held out at the time of re-organization were realized; and whether, through an additional expenditure not contemplated at the time of re-organization, the expected reduction had not taken place.

SIR HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON said, that he could inform the hon. Member that the whole results of the re-organization of a Department were submitted to the Treasury. When a re-organization was proposed the Treasury had to be satisfied both as to the existing amount of the expenditure and as to the future maximum result of the changes. The Treasury then judged whether or not to sanction the change. No re-organization could take place without the sanction of the Treasury, which always considered its probable results. The hon. Member had asked whether any watch was kept by the Treasury as to the working out of the results? So far as the Estimates went, they had an absolute check upon the results. They had the actual results brought before them, and could thus see how far the expectations as to reduction were realized. The hon. Member asked whether the Treasury had found that in some cases it was necessary to amplify the original scheme by the introduction of other officers. So far as his own experience went, he had never found that that had been the result. The results of the re-organizations were watched with the greatest possible care by the Treasury, and it took care that only schemes of a really practical character were adopted. He could see no objection to furnishing the House in future with the information that the Treasury itself always possessed with regard to any proposed scheme. In the case of the re-organization last year full information was submitted to the House. The Treasury took note of the proposed saving and of the proposed salaries; and he saw no reason for being unable, if the

House desired it, to put it in possession of all the information in the hands of the Treasury.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL said, that, in his opinion, the results of re-organization schemes had been to give a great many gentlemen increased salaries, and a great many others good pensions. It was generally found, when a change had taken place, that something which had been overlooked called for a fresh expenditure. He thought that these re-organization schemes required to be looked into much more carefully than they were. One or two instances of that kind he had noted, and could refer to. He had known cases of gentlemen being retired at middle age on pensions, and taking other employments, when they might have been much better employed in the Government Offices. He thought that his hon. Friend the Member for Burnley had done well in bringing the subject to the notice of the Committee.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN said, that there was a matter in connection with the Stationery and Printing Vote which he proposed to bring before the notice of the Committee when the ordinary Civil Service Estimates were considered. He did not propose to raise a discussion then; but he should like to take that opportunity of asking the hon. Baronet the Secretary to the Treasury what had been done in the matter of the distribution of pamphlets and reports in accordance with his suggestion? The Government had promised that Mr. Speaker should be consulted as to whether some satisfactory arrangement could not be made for the gratuitous distribution of the official Papers in question to the free libraries throughout the country.

SIR HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON said, that he was very sorry he could not give a satisfactory reply to the question addressed to him by the hon. Member for Birmingham. On more than one occasion he had been in communication with Mr. Speaker on the subject, and various schemes had been suggested. Unfortunately, owing to certain difficulties with regard to the contracts for the printing of the House, they had not yet been able to adopt the course proposed by the hon. Member. Perhaps on another occasion he should be enabled to announce a more satisfactory result.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN said, that there could be no possible difficulty in the

matter, if the Government made up its mind to take the step he suggested. His proposal was that 100 extra copies of pamphlets and other official Papers should be printed and distributed amongst the free libraries of the country. He could not understand the necessity for referring the matter to Mr. Speaker; for if the Government were to consent to a slight increase of the Expenditure in this Vote it could be done.

MR. RYLANDS said, that his hon. Friend the Member for Birmingham was perfectly justified in pressing this matter upon the attention of the Government. In his opinion, it was a question of very great public importance, and he hoped that his hon. Friend would take the opportunity of the Civil Service Estimates for bringing the matter again before the House. The real Obstructive in this matter was the noble Lord the Postmaster General; for if he would make no charge for the transmission of these Blue Books the principal obstacle to the gratuitous distribution would vanish.

Vote agreed to.

(2.) £180, Lunacy Commission, Scotland.

(3.) £36, Lord Lieutenant's Household, Ireland.

MR. O'DONNELL said, that this sum was stated to be required for emblazoning arms, and was a charge which used to be defrayed from the Stationery and Printing Vote. He should like to ask whether the work was given to an Irish firm or not? He only rose to ask the question for the purpose of giving the Government the satisfaction of stating that that was the case.

SIR HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON said, that this item was originally included in the Stationery Vote. The work was executed under the immediate eye of Sir Bernard Burke, and it had been thought better to take the items from the Stationery Vote, and place it in the Vote for the expenses of the Lord Lieutenant's Household. He had no doubt that Sir Bernard Burke had acted as the hon. Member would have desired that he should act. The duty of emblazoning these arms was intrusted to the Herald's Office.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE said, that it was his impression that the chief expenses for the College of Arms were not

paid by Vote, but were charged upon the Consolidated Fund.

SIR HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON said, that he believed that was the case. The Vote in question was formerly defrayed from the Stationery Vote; but it had been thought better to separate it, and place it under the present head.

Vote agreed to.

(4.) £2,700, Local Government Board, Ireland.

MAJOR NOLAN said, that he should like to call attention to a matter in connection with this Vote. Under sub-head F, the sum of £300 was charged on account of travelling expenses of four Inspectors. To that item he did not wish to object; but he desired to point out that there was a large district in the West of Ireland called Connemara, which was situated partly in Galway and partly in Mayo, which was utterly beyond the control of the local Board of Guardians. That district was in great need of supervision; for the Boards of Guardians, though very efficient, were unable, from the extent of the district, to exercise anything like efficient control. The distress might be very severely felt in those districts, unless they were placed under the special superintendence of some Government Department. He wished to ask the Government whether they intended to place that part of Galway under some special supervision? The Government ought to give some assurance that the Local Government Board would pay special attention to the wants of those districts, and see that there were efficient means of relief there.

SIR HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON said, that he could assure the hon. and gallant Member that the Government were thoroughly alive to the matter referred to. He might point out to the Committee that three additional Inspectors were appointed in addition to the four originally sanctioned. The Treasury had permitted the appointment of such additional staff in order that the most thorough inspection might be made, and that the Government might be kept fully alive to the extent of the distress. His right hon. Friend the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant kept himself fully acquainted with the wants of each district; and he could assure the hon. and gallant Gentleman that there was no district in Ireland as to which the Go-

Mr. Chamberlain

vernment had not the means of exercising the most complete supervision.

MR. O'DONNELL said, that he did not wish to doubt the statement of the hon. Baronet; but he feared, notwithstanding the willingness of the Government, that they were taking an optimist view of the situation, and of the distress which existed. In a great many districts there was fearful distress, while, for some reason or other, the inspection was extremely faulty. He could give several cases in illustration of that view. He should like to know how it was that state of things existed in Tipperary, a district which was by no means amongst the worst off in Ireland? He would just quote one single instance of the existing state of things; and, except on the fact, as he had stated, that the Government inspection had been at fault, he could not understand how matters could have arrived at such a pass. In Tipperary the Board-room of the Guardians had been invaded by a crowd of hundreds of starving labourers, who, together with their families, were living in a state of destitution, and who absolutely threatened the Guardians by saying that they had no other resource than to break open the bread stores and support themselves and their families by plunder. Here was a threat of social insurrection. The mob was only pacified by a promise of instant relief. Had any proper means of inspection been at the disposal of the Government, or had the means already existing been properly used, how, he asked, could the distress in this particular district have culminated in an outbreak and the threat of a bread riot? He was greatly afraid that too much optimism prevailed in Government quarters with regard to Irish distress. It was announced in the papers of that morning that the contributions from America were falling off owing to the belief that abundant means had already been provided for meeting that distress; and a few weeks ago the representative of that estimable body, the Duchess of Marlborough's Committee, gave an intimation that their measures were so complete that the danger of further distress had passed away. Now, he believed that there existed the most imminent danger of extreme and frightful distress extending far beyond the regions in Ireland which were usually associated with it in the minds of hon. Members.

If this view were correct, he believed the Government and the people in Ireland would arrive at a very critical pass before the end of many months. An English provincial newspaper had, moreover, that day given descriptions of cases of most horrible destitution which had occurred in the existing condition of affairs. While giving the Government credit for the same feelings of humanity which were claimed by those around him, he could not help asking how came it that those horrible, frightful, and revolting scenes were taking place all over Ireland, if there existed proper means of bringing the fact to the notice of the Government, or if the Government officials were properly making use of the means at their disposal? It would seem that no adequate use was being made of existing means of relief, and that the Government seemed to be unaware of the state of things in Ireland.

Vote agreed to.

(5.) £2,000, Public Works Office, Ireland.

MAJOR NOLAN said, he did not object to this item; but took that opportunity of pointing out to the Committee that there were two modes by which Her Majesty's Government were affording relief to persons in Ireland, one of them being the system of out-door relief, and the other the system of labour on public works under the baronial sessions. The Poor Law Unions had to apply to the baronial sessions to give work for the employment of labour. Now, he understood from the statements contained in newspapers, and the reports which had reached him, that in many cases when these applications for the employment of labour had been made the baronial sessions had inadequately responded to the appeal, and he believed that the amount of work given had not been sufficient to meet the present emergency. It had been pointed out that the money granted for this purpose would be ill-spent, and the work ill-executed, owing to the hurry in which it was carried out; and that, consequently, there existed a dislike to paying for the baronial works. But this was really the chief means which the Government had held out for relieving the present distress in Ireland. He desired to know whether the Treasury could make up any statement that would

show what had been the amount of work done in each barony under the baronial sessions at the request of the Poor Law Unions, and whether they would lay such statement on the Table of the House? Again, he would like to ask the Chief Secretary for Ireland if there existed at that moment any power by which the Local Government Board could step in and compel the Poor Law Unions to relieve the poor—by which, if any works were ordered to be undertaken in a particular barony for the relief of the poor, they could say to the Guardians—"You are not doing your work." He thought no such power was vested in the Local Government Board; but it seemed to him that there ought to be some machinery by means of which that body could compel the Poor Law Union to do its work. His second question, therefore, was, what machinery had the Government at their disposal for enforcing the execution of a certain amount of work, if the barony did not respond to the application of the Poor Law Unions?

MR. O'DONNELL said, that the hon. and gallant Member for Galway (Major Nolan) had most opportunely raised a very important question. Relief by means of employment on public works was really the only portion of the Government scheme for the relief of distress in Ireland which was in itself calculated to attain the object in view; and he entirely agreed with his hon. and gallant Friend that there was a necessity for some means of putting pressure upon the baronial presentment sessions in order to make them vote the works for relief. The other day there had appeared in *The Freeman's Journal* a detailed account of the way in which the baronial presentment sessions came to grief in one of the most distressed counties in the West of Ireland. There were only summoned to the session on the occasion in question six representatives of the cesspayers, while the landlord interest came for miles and miles from all parts of the county around. The result of their deliberations was to throw out almost the whole of the works which had been pressed upon their acceptance; and it was openly stated that, inasmuch as the proposed works would cast a certain burden upon the estates of the landlords, they were exceedingly difficult of being persuaded of their

necessity. The vote of the cesspayers having been reduced to a nullity, the proposal for the relief works was rejected. Now, it was through these relief works alone that any sensible alleviation of the existing distress would be made by the Government scheme. Relief by means of loan to one person for the improvement of his estate had already, to a large extent, been proved to be a failure, so far as the relief of distress was concerned; for, after so much had been expended in materials, so much in the supervision of labour, &c., but a comparatively small portion of the fund lent to the proprietor for the improvement of his estate remained to be expended in the employment of that ever wretched class of labourers. He was afraid, therefore, that a very small portion of the sums advanced to landed proprietors would really go to meet the distress then prevalent in Ireland. He did not at all accuse the landed proprietors of trifling with the distress, or unduly turning aside the funds from their proper application. But the landed proprietor, when he borrowed money, would have to look to that application of it which would tend to recoup him for his outlay; and, in a large percentage of cases, the application of the Government funds, which would repay the landlord best, would not be that which would go directly to the relief of a starving neighbourhood. Practically, as he had said before, in an enormous number of cases, the scheme for relief by means of the improvement of estates had already broken down and proved to be a thorough failure. It was through the employment of labour on works undertaken under Government control that the relief could reach distressed persons; and if the Government did not extend the system under the Boards of Works, if they did not apply some means, and, in case of necessity, a vigorous stimulus to the baronial presentment sessions, that portion of their scheme would break down also. If scenes like the *fiasco* in the baronial sessions to which he had referred were to be repeated, and there were to be no proper means of forcing the baronial presentment sessions to do their work in the present crisis, then he maintained that both portions of the Government scheme would prove deplorable failures.

Major Nolan

MR. ERRINGTON said, he hoped that the Chief Secretary for Ireland would give the Committee some idea as to the amount of money passed at the baronial sessions. He expressed his regret that not only upon that point, but upon others, they were without any information. He had moved for Returns of the amounts applied for and granted in the various Poor Law Unions; but though the Returns had been ordered no information was yet forthcoming. A great deal of the efficiency of the relief measures would depend on the accurate knowledge which might be obtained as to the progress of the relief works; and he could not help saying that there seemed to be a considerable want of appreciation on the part of the Government of the importance of the present crisis, since no attempt had been made by them to afford information of that kind. He also hoped that the Chief Secretary for Ireland would agree to furnish another Return of which he had given him Notice in the course of the evening. He trusted that the Returns, which would show the amount of the loans to the various Boards of Guardians, sanitary authorities, and landlords, would also prove that the system had worked well, to a certain extent, in affording relief.

MR. J. LOWTHER hoped that the information asked for by the hon. Member for Longford County would be in the hands of hon. Members very shortly. With regard to the questions of the hon. and gallant Member for Galway (Major Nolan), the engineers appointed were for the purpose of expediting, as far as possible, investigations of a preliminary character in regard to those works for which loans were required, and of superintending also the works in progress. If the hon. and gallant Member asked for a detailed statement with regard to their work he would see how far this could be done; but there were some difficulties in the way of the Returns. The hon. Member for Dungarvan had, as he understood, asked for information with regard to the power possessed by the Government of compelling the baronial sessions to make a presentment. No such power existed, and he thought it would be a very unreasonable one for the Government to seek to obtain. Up to that time no money had been advanced upon the recommendation of the baronial presentment sessions by the Board of Works.

MAJOR NOLAN said, if he was to understand that no money had been sanctioned for expenditure by the baronies up to that moment, he would like to know when it would be sanctioned?

MR. J. LOWTHER said, that until the Government had gone carefully into all the applications by landowners, sanitary authorities, and others, up to the 29th of February inclusive, it would be impossible for them fully to inform themselves as to the requirements of each locality. Of course, no unnecessary delay would take place.

MAJOR NOLAN said, he had not asked anything about the duties of the engineers to the Board of Works. As far as he knew, they had been working very well. His questions related to the baronial presentment sessions. What he wanted to know was whether the presentment of the sessions were sanctioned, and when hon. Members would have in their hands a Return showing that they were sanctioned. Hon. Members would not be able to talk to their constituents on that important subject during the Recess unless a Return of the presentments made by the different baronial presentment sessions were placed on the Table of the House within a fortnight.

MR. J. LOWTHER said, he hoped that, within the time named by the hon. and gallant Member for Galway, the information would be forthcoming.

MR. BIGGAR said, he should be glad of information concerning these grants to landlords. He would also like to know what machinery was in existence for spending the money. It did not appear to him that there was to be any check at all; neither was there any provision for the employment of persons in distress.

MR. P. MARTIN said, he should like to know what had been done with respect to the Board of Works in Ireland? Lord Lansdowne's Report to the Treasury in 1872 condemned the then constitution of that body, and the manner in which their administrative duties were discharged. The Departmental Committee appointed in 1877 had reported that the working of the Board was most unsatisfactory, and had, in practice, totally failed. Various recommendations had been made by the Commissioners for the re-organization of the Board, and suggestions which, if adopted, would

have facilitated the administrative operations of that most important Board. Yet though, as he believed, that Report had been sent to the Treasury some three years ago, nothing had been done by the Government. He thought, under those circumstances, before the Committee sanctioned the Supplementary Vote of £2,000, some satisfactory explanation should be given why these recommendations and suggestions thus made by the Committee had been disregarded. The importance, at the present time, of facilitating and supplying the manner of obtaining loans in respect to the progress of Ireland, so far as either landlords or tenants were concerned, could not be over-estimated. Yet, as had been shown, the operations of the Board were fettered by some 300 Acts of Parliament of a confused and contradictory character, which prevented the free working of that body. In point of fact, any landowner who applied for a loan to the Board of Works had it present to his mind that the expense would be of a very serious character, and that he was about to present an application to a body, whose solicitor even was doubtful and uncertain as to the powers vested in them by Statute. In the cases of many of the loans there were searches as to title and incumbrances, which ought to be dispensed with as recommended. Why should not priority be given to the charges in all cases similar to that which existed in the case of land improvement loans? He trusted that the Committee would receive some intimation from the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury as to how it was proposed to remedy this state of affairs. There was at that moment in Ireland a great lack of work; and it became, therefore, necessary to stimulate and encourage the employment of labour. Last year the House had been informed by the Secretary to the Treasury that a gentleman had been appointed to consolidate the Acts of Parliament by which the action of the Board of Works was impeded, and that a Bill to deal with the whole question would, in a short time, be presented to Parliament. But they had already made some advance into the present Session, and no Bill had been presented. He had, therefore, asked to be enlightened by the Secretary to the Treasury with respect to this subject; and he found that, as a matter of fact,

the gentleman employed upon the consolidation of the Acts of Parliament had only got half through his work. Now, if a gentleman of the requisite ability had been employed for more than a year and a half in attempting to consolidate these Statutes, how could it be expected that a landowner should apply for a loan to authorities who were ignorant of the extent of their powers? How could he be enabled to approach a body which had 300 Acts of Parliament to clog its action. Under these circumstances, he considered that the Committee were entitled to receive from the Secretary to the Treasury some further information before the Vote was agreed to.

SIR HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON said, he was able to give some information to the hon. and learned Gentleman who had just sat down (Mr. P. Martin). He would beg to remind him that there was a great difficulty attending the consolidation of 300 Acts of Parliament, and that it was a matter that required very careful and lengthy consideration. The course the Government had taken was an unavoidable one, and the work of consolidation had been referred to a most competent member of the Legal Profession, who had been employed upon that work for nearly a year, and had only just completed about half the work. If the hon. and learned Member had been aware of the size of these Acts, he felt sure that he would not have made the remarks that he had. But he would remind the Committee that the question of consolidation was apart from that under the consideration of the Government. The question before them was whether there should be a re-organization of the Board of Works in Ireland or not. He had stated last year that the Government were about to consider that question in accordance with the suggestions of the Committee that inquired into the subject. The hon. and learned Member had referred to that Committee as having sat three years ago. They did, in fact, sit two years ago, and their Report was only received about 18 months since. At this moment a statement was being drawn up upon the subject, in order that it might be submitted to the House of Commons, and he hoped and believed that that statement would contain a satisfactory solution of the question. He was sure that the Committee would

Mr. P. Martin

agree that the question of the re-organization of the Board of Works was most inopportune at this time, in view of the prevailing distress in Ireland. If the Committee would allow him, he should like to call their attention to the fact that the present was not the occasion for entering into these questions for another reason. They were now discussing the Supplementary Estimates, and he begged to submit that they were hardly in a position to criticize the formation or the constitution of the Board of Public Works in Ireland. The question submitted to the Committee was, whether sanction should be given for the employment of an additional number of engineers for the purpose of carrying out—whether rightly or wrongly he would not say—what the House had agreed upon in the terms of the Relief of Distress (Ireland) Bill; and they had also to consider whether salaries to the amount of £2,000 should be voted to pay for the additional work thrown on the Board of Works. He deprecated entering into the questions referred to by the hon. and learned Member for Kilkenny County, for discussion on them would much more properly come under the consideration of the Estimates themselves.

MR. P. MARTIN said, that the matter to which he had referred was too grave and of too much importance to be thus lightly dealt with. The Secretary to the Treasury had told them last year that this Bill for the consolidation of these Acts of Parliament was prepared and ready to be laid before the House.

SIR HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON said, he must ask the Committee to be allowed to explain. He might have said that a Bill was in course of preparation; but he begged to deny that he had used the words imputed to him by the hon. and learned Member.

MR. P. MARTIN begged to withdraw the remark. He must have misunderstood the hon. Gentleman. He certainly had considered that the Bill was ready, and he thought that a reference to *Hansard* would show that he was there represented to have stated what he had charged him with having said. He could not refrain from stating that, in view of the distress that was likely to prevail, he thought the Bill ought to have been now ready. He ventured to say

that any professional gentleman competent could consolidate the number of Statutes in six months. He did not mean to cast the slightest imputation on the gentleman intrusted with the work. No doubt he was thoroughly competent. For his own part, he thought that the Treasury had made a great mistake with regard to this consolidation of Statutes. What was required was a repeal of the entire of the existing Acts, and a new and simple Code, as well as radical changes in the Board of Public Works. He knew, from practice, that the enactments in the present Acts were so confused and contradictory that nothing but a new Code could deal properly and effectively with the evil. One Act repealed another, and so on, to such an extent that reference was required to about 30 others in order to construe one. For this reason he desired he should not be considered as making any reflection on the gentleman who had the work of consolidation in hand. What he wanted to impress upon the Government was that the question was one of most serious importance; and he, therefore, begged them to urge the matter forward. With reference to the Board of Works, he had heard many gentlemen say that they were always most courteous and anxious to assist, but they seemed incapable of efficient action; and he thought that was a strong reason why no time should be wasted before a re-organization of the Department took place. He should like to get some assurance from the Secretary to the Treasury that, instead of dealing with consolidation of Statutes, the Government would deal boldly with the matter, cut the Gordian knot, and present to the country a new Code, and place the Board of Works on an efficient footing. It had been pointed out in "another place," that in point of fact, the Bill for the relief of distress in Ireland would have the effect of an enormous increase in the rates, and inevitably tend towards the impoverishment of the districts which were at present not classed as distressed districts in Ireland. The matter was of vital importance. It would be an immense boon to be able to get a mode of procedure simpler than at present, and to have a Board in such an efficient state that when applications were made for loans the exact costs attendant on the transactions might be known without any delay.

SIR HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON said, he could assure the hon. and learned Member that he was mistaken as to his remarks. It was simply impossible that he could have given the assurance to the House to which the hon. Member had referred, for the consolidation of the Statutes was not commenced until somewhere about the middle of last year. There were a large number of Statutes which had to be considered; and, in fact, it appeared now that their consolidation would take much longer than had been first anticipated. There was, no doubt, a good deal of difficulty attending the matter; and when the Government decided on the consolidation they resolved that it should be carried out carefully, in order that a useful Code might be laid before the country. He must remind the hon. and learned Member that there were two distinct questions raised; codification was only a part of the recommendation of the Committee. He had already stated, with regard to the other recommendations in which an alteration was proposed in the system of the Public Works Board in Ireland, that a Bill would be prepared for that purpose, in order that the suggestions of the Committee of 1878 might be carried into effect. Those suggestions must be considered in discussing the Estimates for public works generally; but all that the Government asked now was that an addition of £2,000 should be made to the Estimate for the purpose of carrying out the works which had already received the sanction of the House of Commons, and those which had been undertaken previously, pending the acceptance by the House of the Bill which had now become law.

MR. SHAW said, that he regretted he had been unable to hear the former part of the discussion. His objection to the Vote was that it was not enough. He had a very strong objection to things being done in an imperfect manner. There had been great delay on the part of the Board of Works; and they had been now some five or six months getting that body to institute drainage and other useful works. It appeared to him that they had not half enough engineers nor officials generally. He was sure, if the Government had estimated this charge at £4,000 or £5,000, money would have been saved in the long run. It was not the time, he agreed, to consider the

other question of re-organization. He saw no reason why the Bill containing the recommendations of the Committee had not before now been placed upon the Table of the House. The question which was being asked was—What was going to be done? They might soon find themselves in the midst of a General Election; and he did hope that before that time arrived some settlement might be come to in this matter. There was nothing that would increase the prosperity of Ireland so much as the re-organization of the Board of Works. The reason of so much delay was that whatever was proposed to be done was invariably reported adversely upon by one of these Boards. There was no independence about the Local Boards. He thought that the Board in Dublin ought to be represented in the House of Commons by a Member who should be responsible both to the House and the country. The engineers who were now required ought to be appointed independently of the Treasury. It was the Treasury, after all, that placed obstacles in the way and caused delay. Nothing could be got out of them, although their words were fair enough. The Irish people were giving up applications for assistance to the Board of Works in despair, as they had so little done for them. Money was not wanted, but facilities for instituting works. He was confident that the sum proposed was too small.

SIR HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON said, he would merely call attention to the fact that the Vote before the Committee was to meet a Supplementary Estimate for the coming year.

MR. O'DONNELL said, he should like to understand exactly the remarks which had fallen from the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. J. Lowther). He understood, in the first place, that the Government had strictly discouraged expenditure by means of presentments at baronial sessions up to the present time. That expenditure had been already sanctioned by Parliament; but if he rightly understood the remarks of the right hon. Gentleman, the reason for delay on the part of the Board of Works was obvious. In the second place, was he right in understanding that the Government were going to inspect carefully the manner in which the landowners were laying out the

money advanced to them, in order that it might be properly expended on labour, and labour only?

MR. J. LOWTHER said, if the hon. Member would bear in mind what took place on the discussion of the Bill, he would remember that it was then stated that loans to landlords and sanitary authorities were the first steps to giving employment. He must call attention to the fact that it was distinctly stated that it was only in the event of the land-owners and sanitary authorities failing to provide adequate employment that baronial presentments were to be had recourse to. He had stated just before that he had only just been able to ascertain the amount applied for by land-owners up to the 29th ultimo, inclusive; and the time since that was so short that it was impossible that the Government could arrive at a conclusion as to whether the ways in which the money was proposed to be expended were desirable. It was, therefore, out of his power to afford the information to the Committee. The advertisements issued by the Board of Works distinctly stated the only ways in which the money to be obtained was to be expended.

Vote agreed to.

CLASS III.—LAW AND JUSTICE.

(6.) £18,761, Law Charges.

MR. SHAW said, he should like an explanation with reference to the item marked "J"—Fees paid to Counsel for revising the Irish Ante-Union Statutes—he failed to understand its meaning.

SIR HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON said, that in the absence of his right hon. and learned Friend the Attorney General for Ireland he was unable to give an explanation.

MR. O'DONNELL said, that he had been asked to call attention to one of the items in order that an answer might be obtained to the question, why the same protection to property was not afforded in Ireland as in England? Under the head B appeared the cost of the prosecution of the West of England Bank Directors. This was instituted in order to protect the property of those who might be attracted by a flashy prospectus and lose their investments. But why was there no such law in Ireland? He would give them an instance where a similar thing had occurred, but no steps had been

taken by the authorities. A firm recently failed in the South-West of Ireland, and almost immediately before failing a prospectus was issued calling attention to the character of the business, and the prosperous condition of it. It was similar to the City of Glasgow Bank case. A large number of people with small means had been reduced to beggary, and the Company had paid only a most miserable dividend. The creditors were unable to bring the directors to trial on account of their poverty, and they were now at large, no steps having been taken by the Government in the matter. He would not press the matter; but he felt it his duty to call attention to it, and to urge that equal justice should be administered to the three countries.

SIR ANDREW LUSK said, that he did not think that sufficient explanations had been given with regard to the enormous increase in the Vote for Law Charges. Under sub-head C the sum of £9,000 was charged, and the only explanation was as follows:—

"The fees paid to counsel have been heavy, the increase of work from the various legal departments taken over by the Solicitor to the Treasury has been distinctly felt."

Then, again, under letter D, the sum charged was £400, and it was stated that "the number of coin prosecutions conducted during the year has been greater than usual." And in letter E, for bankruptcy prosecutions, £2,200 were now asked for, because "some of the bills of costs paid have been large in amount." He certainly agreed that some of the bills of costs in these prosecutions must have been very heavy indeed; but that was a very slight explanation of such a large extra charge as £2,200. He thought a great deal too much money was paid in fees to counsel. He hoped that some notice would be taken of the wanton expense which was continually going on in legal matters, and that a check would be put upon it. It seemed to him that trials that formerly lasted a day now occupied a week, and that trials which formerly were finished in a week now continued for a whole month.

MR. O'SHAUGHNESSY said, that the hon. Baronet complained of the large sum spent in public prosecutions in England. In Ireland they enjoyed the advantages, and the occasional disadvantages, of a Public Prosecutor. They had an Attorney General who was charged

with the duty of acting as Public Prosecutor, and barristers were appointed in each county to discharge subsidiary duties under him. He ventured to think that if the same power of preventing bankruptcy prosecutions existed in England as in Ireland much of the expense which at present existed would be saved. In Ireland the Bankruptcy Court frequently exercised the power of preventing prosecutions.

SIR PATRICK O'BRIEN thought that 99 out of every 100 prosecutions in Ireland were under the immediate cognizance of the Attorney General. The heaviest part of the duty of an Attorney General in Ireland was that he could not really depend upon his subordinates, but was obliged in every case of a prosecution to read the depositions himself. No doubt, there occasionally happened such cases as those alluded to by the hon. Member for Dungarvan. He believed that when persons were not in a pecuniary position to carry on prosecutions, if it came to the notice of the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General, it would be his duty as a matter of public policy to take up the prosecution on the part of the Crown. He had never heard that in Ireland any case had occurred in which, where a private prosecutor had made representations to the Attorney General that he could not carry on the prosecution, the Crown had refused to take it up. He believed that the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General and his Predecessors had always stepped in to relieve private prosecutors whenever the circumstances rendered it necessary. The hon. Baronet the Member for Finsbury (Sir Andrew Lusk) had taken objection to these Estimates on the ground that the law charges were excessive. He objected principally to the very large Vote for public prosecutions; but he would ask the hon. Baronet whether, if the Government had not taken up the prosecutions in question, they would not have been told they ought to do so? And if that were the case, they certainly were now entitled to come to Parliament for money to pay the costs incurred. If they had a Public Prosecutor in England; he believed it would be a very great advantage, and would conduce materially to the satisfaction of justice.

SIR HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON said, that with reference to what had

fallen from the hon. Baronet the Member for Finsbury with respect to counsels' fees for criminal prosecutions, a foot-note in the Estimates stated certain criminal trials that had led to the original Estimate being exceeded. During 1879 there had been several important trials—namely, "*Reg. v. Catherine Webster*," "*Reg. v. Hannah Dobbs*," "*Reg. v. Levy*," "*Reg. v. Froggatt*," "*Reg. v. Addison*," "*Reg. v. Hammond* and others;" and the expenses of the proceedings now being taken against the West of England Bank would be very serious in amount. With regard to the charge, under sub-head C, of £9,000 for legal proceedings not criminal, he would point out that the increase was principally owing to the accession of business taken over by the Treasury Solicitor from other Departments. It had been thought wise to centre in the hands of the Legal Advisers of the Treasury the legal work of all the various Departments. The Treasury had come to the conclusion that the cost of the legal work would be very much diminished if centred in the hands of the Treasury Solicitor. In 1875-6, the legal business of the Board of Works was transferred to the Treasury; and in 1876-7 that of the War Office was also transferred. In the same year the legal business of the Admiralty was also placed in the hands of the Treasury Solicitor. The result of transferring the business of the different Departments to the Treasury had been a very considerable saving; but, owing to the development of the business in the hands of the Treasury Solicitor since the transfer, the cost for business which had come had rendered necessary this additional Estimate. The hon. Baronet the Member for Finsbury might feel assured that the costs of the Department of the Solicitor to the Treasury, even with this additional Estimate, would fall far short of what would have been charged for the legal work when transacted by the different Departments.

SIR ANDREW LUSK said, he was pleased to hear the hon. Baronet the Secretary to the Treasury state that an economy had been effected. Certainly, the sum of £2,200 for extra costs for bankruptcy prosecution was very large, and required some explanation. He was, however, very pleased to accept the statement of the hon. Baronet.

Mr. O'Shaughnessy

MR. BIGGAR said, that, in his opinion, the Attorney General for Ireland should not be paid by fees upon the prosecutions, for the system made it his interest to encourage prosecutions.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (MR. GIBSON) said, there was no possibility of regulating the number of cases that might come before the magistrates; and it became the duty of the Attorney General to take such cases into consideration, and, if necessary, direct prosecutions. It was necessary that the Attorney General should read the informations in every case, as he was the only responsible person. It was not in the power of the Attorney General in the slightest degree to control the increase or diminution of a number of cases.

MR. DODSON said, that a Supplementary Vote of £1,070 was asked for in respect of Parliamentary Agency, and the explanation given was that Messrs. Wyatts' costs amounted to £2,329 4s. He should like to know whether those costs were not provided for in the original Estimate?

SIR HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON said, that the only explanation he could give was that it was impossible, when the Estimates were compiled, to state the number of Bills which would require to be brought into Parliament. Last year they estimated the probable amount which would be required for Parliamentary Agency at £1,500; but, in consequence of numerous other Bills being brought in, it became necessary to incur further costs. The result would doubtless be that the costs of Parliamentary Agency had nearly doubled the original Estimate.

MR. SHAW said, that, doubtless, it would be a better plan if the payment of the Attorney General was by means of salary instead of fees. He should like some explanation from the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General with regard to the item J, for Statute Law Revision. It was stated that fees had been paid to counsel for revising the Irish Ante-Union Statute, and that those fees were not provided for in the Estimates. It appeared that the original Estimate for that purpose was £1,130, and that a sum of £271 extra was now required.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (MR. GIBSON) said, that when

he first took Office he found that the question of revising the Irish Ante-Union Statutes was in a very backward state. In England Statute Law had been revised from the earliest times to the present day; but a singular exception had occurred in the case of the Irish Ante-Union Statutes. He applied himself to remedy that most unfortunate omission; and he was happy to state that all the Irish Ante-Union Statutes had now been revised. One portion of the Statutes had been revised in 1878, and the remainder last year. The work of revising those Statutes was of an extremely complicated character. Two members of the Bar were employed upon it—one was an Irish barrister, and the other was an English barrister, but an Irishman by birth, and, he had no doubt, was well known to both sides of the House as a talented and able man. He might say that the rate of remuneration paid for the work was far less than that given to members of the English Bar for revising the English Statutes.

Vote agreed to.

(7.) £965, Public Prosecutor's Office.

(8.) £5,000, Criminal Prosecutions, Sheriffs' Expenses, &c.

MR. BIGGAR said, he thought the present was the proper time to ask the hon. Baronet the Secretary to the Treasury to what extent this Supplementary Vote was rendered necessary by the Winter Assizes. He understood that the Judges were frequently sent to places where there was no business for them to get through, and that a great waste of time had in consequence resulted.

SIR HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON said, that the question raised by the hon. Member for Cavan (Mr. Biggar) was one that had led to a very considerable difference of opinion as to whether the Winter Assizes had been successful or not. At the same time, he wished to call the attention of the Committee to the object with which the Winter Assize had been established. There had existed, both in the House and in the country, a strong opinion that it was not fair to allow prisoners to remain for a long time untried. The attention of the Government had been directed to a remarkable instance of a person under a charge of a very grave offence, of which he was entirely innocent, who had been

kept in prison for many months. It was considered, at that time, that it would be more satisfactory to insure a clearance of the gaols at regular periods, and it was then that the Winter Assize was instituted. He did not mean to imply that the hon. Member for Cavan was not right in pointing out the great inconvenience as to the waste of time of Judges going Circuits where few prisoners had to be tried. At the same time, it might be well to consider whether an arrangement could not be made by which the work of the Judges would be simplified rather than by abolishing the Winter Assize, which had been of benefit to the country.

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE said, he was glad that attention had been called to the subject. He was anxious to say a word or two upon that topic, because it had happened that some very severe comments had not long ago been made upon the conduct of the Grand Jury of the county with which he was connected in respect of this particular question. There had been a Special Assize held at Devizes; and Mr. Justice Denman being upon that Assize, had thought it fit to make what appeared to him to be a very improper agitation against the Act of Parliament. He did not think it was the business of the Judges who were on Circuit to make addresses to Grand Juries, commenting severely upon the Acts of Parliament which they had to administer. The result of the language used by the learned Judge at Devizes was that the Grand Jury had been led into making a presentment against the Act, and he believed that the same thing had happened at other places where Special Assizes had been held. As a consequence of this presentment the Grand Jury, as he had said before, had been severely commented upon for having followed a course, which seemed to the writers of the public Press to be an absurd one. He would not discuss whether the conduct of the Grand Jury, composed of gentlemen for whom he had the highest respect, was wise or not; but he wished to call attention to the unfairness of the situation in which a Grand Jury was placed that had an address made to it by the Judge, and which was practically invited to make a presentment against the Act of Parliament. Hon. Members would see that were the Grand

Jury to refuse to make such presentment they would practically place themselves in collision with the Judge. He did not know whether other Grand Juries who had been addressed in a similar manner had made a presentment; but in this case they had done so, and, having made it, they were severely commented upon and exposed to ridicule by one of the leading journals. He asked whether it was right that the Judge should make observations of the kind he had referred to? In his opinion, it was not; and had the Judge wished to promote the interests of justice, he thought it would have been far better to call the attention of the Home Secretary to his own individual opinion that the right way to clear the gaols was not to hold Winter Assizes, but to increase the jurisdiction of the Chairman of Quarter Sessions.

MR. GREGORY said, that while in many cases there had been few prisoners for trial at the Winter Assizes, and little or no civil business for the Courts, there had been a great derangement of business in the Courts of Westminster. With regard to some of the Assizes lately held, it might be truly said that there was no business for the Judges. Under those circumstances, it was satisfactory to have heard that this matter was under re-consideration by Government, and that some arrangement was contemplated which would improve the present condition of affairs. He would have liked to see the Assizes consolidated; and that prisoners, where there were very few of them, should be tried at some central place, or that there might be no Sessions held at small towns where there was no necessity for them, and by which the business of the country was so very much impeded. He trusted that the Government would re-consider the question and apply some practical remedy, either by consolidation of the Assizes, or by bringing the business together and confining the Assizes to large towns.

SIR ANDREW LUSK said, this was a fair opportunity to call the attention of the Secretary to the Treasury to the subject which had been referred to by the hon. Member for Cavan (Mr. Biggar). It was well known that under the present system the Judges had to go down specially to small towns where there was little or nothing for them to do, but where, nevertheless, great preparations

had to be made by the Sheriffs for their reception. Could not the hon. Baronet do something to enlarge the jurisdiction of the Quarter Sessions? What, he asked, was the use of these eminent Judges going down from Westminster to sentence a man for stealing a few ducks? Yet, such was the nature of the business which they were called upon to perform, and which, as hon. Members were aware, would be settled by a London magistrate in a very short space of time. While the Judges were engaged in trying little cases of this kind, there were causes of very much more importance at Westminster, which could not be gone through. Could not the hon. Baronet simplify these matters, and do away with these small trials, which required so much form to be gone through and kept jurymen for so long a time away from their occupations? Jurymen were called upon, most unnecessarily, to give up a large portion of their time at these Assizes, while other trials of far greater importance were decided in London very often without any juries at all.

MR. GORST said, he wished to call the attention of hon. Members to the fact that there was before the House the Criminal Code Bill, which dealt with the jurisdiction of the Quarter Sessions, which would, therefore, in a short time, receive proper consideration. That Bill would so enlarge the jurisdiction of the Quarter Sessions as to relieve the Judges of a great deal of the work which they had then unnecessarily to perform.

MR. D. DAVIES said, that the objection which had been raised to the Winter Assize would apply more to Wales than to England. In his district, jurymen complained bitterly of the manner in which their time was unnecessarily occupied. Taking the counties of Montgomeryshire and Merionethshire, for instance, there was really nothing for the Judges to do at the Winter Assizes; but, of course, in the case of the towns of Swansea and Cardiff, where there were a great many foreigners, the case was different. It was, no doubt, a very great waste of time to send Judges down to places where there was not one single case to be tried.

MR. O'DONNELL said, he was glad to hear the testimony which had been borne by the hon. Member for Cardigan to the moral character of the Welsh. Indeed, as they were near relations of

the Irish, he was highly satisfied at hearing of their good behaviour. He rose, however, to express his fear that the increased number of Assizes had rather pre-disposed a number of committing magistrates to think more lightly than before of leaving a prisoner in gaol without accepting bail. It was very hard to account for some of the refusals to receive bail to which they had lately been treated in Ireland on the part of the local justices. He had in view particularly a case where seven or eight poor men in the county of Galway had been accused, on the unsupported testimony of a process-server, of having entered into a conspiracy to intimidate him. Although these men had wives and families, and were persons of good standing, bail had been refused when it was perfectly certain that to keep them in gaol would be their ruin. The magistrates seemed to have no regard for humanity or justice, and appeared to think that as the Assizes were then so frequent there was no hardship in a man lying in gaol for a couple of months. It, however, meant ruin to the person so committed, as it most certainly did in the case which had pressed this state of things on his attention. It had been pointed out by several hon. Members that a remedy could be found for the existing condition of affairs by enlarging the jurisdiction of the Quarter Sessions. He thought, however, on the other hand, that it would be better if some cheaper means were provided by law to meet the cases of poor men refused to be admitted to bail by justices of so superior a station as those he had alluded to, and who had no means of putting in operation the rather expensive machinery then in use for the purpose of over-riding the dogmatic decisions of Justices of the Peace.

Vote agreed to.

(9.) £9,800, Queen's Bench, Common Pleas, and Exchequer Divisions of the High Court of Justice.

(10.) £25,206, County Courts.

(11.) £1,300, Police — Counties and Boroughs (Great Britain).

(12.) £216,245, Prisons, England.

MR. WHITBREAD said, that the sum required for compensation to prison authorities, amounting to £195,170, had

come upon the Committee without any previous warning; at all events, no provision had been made for this purpose in the original Estimates, and this appeared to him to be rather an extraordinary proceeding. He hoped that when they came to the accounts for the Prisons, that they would be presented in such a shape as would enable the Committee fairly to judge of the result of the Prisons' Act.

SIR HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON said, he assured the hon. Member who had just sat down that it was the wish of the Treasury, and those who had the administration of these particular prisons, to present full and accurate accounts of their working; but the hon. Member would see that up to the present moment, while the arrangements remained in their present state, it was exceedingly difficult to arrive at anything like an accurate account of prison management. The salaries of the different officers which had been transferred to the State had required to be classified; and there had been, besides, a large amount of other work to be gone through. But the whole arrangement had now become an accomplished fact, and would find its detailed statement in the accounts of the year. He was aware that the accounts had been up to that time of a very meagre character; but this was accounted for by their having been in a state of transition, and by the staff of officers who prepared them having also been under re-organization. They had been unable to give, in consequence, the results of the working of the whole system; and he was not surprised that the hon. Member for Bedford had called the attention of the Committee to the amount for compensation to prison authorities which had been included in that Vote. But had the hon. Member been present in the House rather earlier in the evening, when the discussion was raised upon the Supplementary Estimates of the year, he would have heard some explanation of the point referred to in the statement which he had addressed to the House. The hon. Member was aware that the Act of Parliament under which the transfer of the prisons was effected allowed a certain amount of compensation to be arranged, such as for prison accommodation, services, and loss of contract between the local autho-

rities and the Government. Now, all these questions had to be gone through after the prisons had been transferred to the State. In one case, the amount of compensation for cell accommodation over and above the necessities of particular localities where the prisons had been transferred to the State required to be considered. In another case, the sum payable by localities for not having fulfilled their obligations had also to be taken into account. There were five prisons with which, up to the present time, no settlement had been made. The amount claimed against the Government was £235,000; but the payments by localities for deficient cell accommodation, and from other sources, reduced the amount to about £40,000. The reason for the Vote appearing in the Supplementary Estimates was that when the original Estimates for last year were prepared there was no possibility of arriving at a knowledge of what the amounts would be that were recoverable from the different localities. The hon. Member would see that the preparation of these accounts required a great deal of time to be expended upon it. They were, at the present moment, still under discussion; and this, he believed, would show why so large a Supplementary Vote had been necessary, while it would also make it clear that the amount was really increased by the extra receipts.

MR. WHITBREAD said, that at the beginning of the year there was no sort of idea that the present large sum would be asked for at all. His hon. Friend the Secretary to the Treasury must have known perfectly well that the Government must have contemplated a charge of some kind; and he (Mr. Whitbread) did not think it was right that the Government, knowing a charge of this kind was coming on, should omit all reference to it in their original Estimates for the year because they were unable to estimate correctly what the charge would be. It was only right that Parliament should be warned of every charge that was likely to be made.

SIR MATTHEW WHITE RIDLEY remarked, that it had been known, after the passing of the Prisons' Act in the altered form in which it left the House, that there would be considerable cost incurred in transferring the prisons from the local authorities to the Go-

Mr. Whitbread

vernment. At the same time, there was a note in the Estimates to the effect that it was impossible to foresee what the actual charge would be, or to form any accurate idea of the sums that were likely to fall due this year. He thought his right hon. Friend would have been to blame if he had put down a sum which afterwards turned out to be altogether wrong; and it was impossible to form a proper estimate of the details, as they had to negotiate with the local authorities, and an Estimate might have prejudiced the negotiations.

MR. BELL said, he recollected that a very elaborate statement was made by the Home Secretary to show the economical character of the proposed arrangement. He (Mr. Bell) was afraid that the cost of the prisons to the country would be a great deal more than it was before.

SIR MATTHEW WHITE RIDLEY remarked, that so far that had not been the case.

MR. DILLWYN said, it was not unusual to give an estimate which, as an actual fact, was exceeded. In the case of new buildings and alterations, the estimate of £25,000 had been exceeded by £13,000; but in that instance there did not seem to have been any difficulty in giving a rough estimate. It certainly must have been a very rough estimate, or it would not have been so much exceeded. He did not see why there should not have been a rough estimate given of the larger sum.

MR. WHITBREAD said, he gathered from the last observation of the Under Secretary of State for the Home Department that there was a desire to do nothing that might interfere with the negotiations between the Government and the local authorities. The fact, however, that no Estimate had been given at the proper time could not be passed over in silence. He admitted the difficulty of making an accurate estimate; but, at the same time, the House of Commons should be very strict in not allowing any charge which the Government knew would come upon Parliament in the course of the year to be entirely omitted, even although the actual charge might largely exceed the estimate.

SIR MATTHEW WHITE RIDLEY said, that though it had been expected to cost a good deal more, £25,000 would cover the net cost to

the country of taking over the prisons. It was impossible to give such an item in the Estimates. No doubt a sum might have been put down; but it would have given no information whatever to the House. It would certainly be of no use for the Government to give an Estimate which they were not prepared to defend.

MR. DODSON said, the best argument offered by the hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary of State for the Home Department for not having submitted an Estimate of this expenditure to the House in the original Estimates of the year was that it might have prejudiced the negotiations the Government were required to enter into with the local authorities. He understood, moreover, that in the discussion upon the Prisons Bill the Home Secretary did mention a sum. Was he wrong in that supposition?

SIR MATTHEW WHITE RIDLEY said, his right hon. Friend made the House perfectly aware that there would be a charge for the expense of taking over the prisons; but he (Sir Matthew White Ridley) could not say that any exact sum was stated.

MR. DODSON was disposed to agree with his hon. Friend the Member for Bedford (Mr. Whitbread) that it would have been better to have submitted to the House an Estimate of what the Expenditure was expected to be. He hardly thought that the negotiations with the localities would have been very much affected by such an Estimate. The House of Commons must not forget this—that it was most advisable that, as far as possible, the Government should submit at the commencement of the year an Estimate of what the entire Expenditure of the year was likely to be. If they once got into the habit of allowing Supplementary Estimates to be introduced, once or twice, or three or four times in the year, it would become impossible for the House to exercise any control over the Expenditure.

SIR ANDREW LUSK was dissatisfied with the amount of the Vote. It was all very well for the hon. Baronet the Under Secretary of State for the Home Department to say that the Government could not give an Estimate. The hon. Gentleman forgot altogether what was stated when the Prisons Bill was brought in, and when this very matter was dealt with. The Home Secretary

told them that the change of control would effect a large annual saving. He had it all down with exactness, and was prepared to put all the magistrates of the country to shame by what his saving would be. He came now and told the Committee that last year he did give an Estimate; but he required now £216,000 more than the Estimate. It was quite evident that the Government had not been very accurate in their calculations; and if they had been so very much out in this particular item, how could the House expect that they had been more accurate in other respects? The Estimate now before the Committee showed one of two things—either that the Government were very inaccurate, or very careless, in reference to the Estimates they made. There ought to be no difficulty in arriving at an approximate Estimate. Builders and contractors who entered into very large undertakings were able to estimate very closely what their expenses were likely to be; but here it appeared the Government were no less than £216,000 out of their reckoning.

SIR MATTHEW WHITE RIDLEY said, the arrangements of the Government with the local authorities were of a very complicated character. Every single cell in all the prisons in England had to be considered with its dimensions, capacity, and so on; and all the calculations were carefully gone into. When the transference was made every prison book in England had to be searched, and the circumstances of each prison had to be thoroughly gone into in regard to separate accommodation, alterations, new buildings, and many other details. It was also necessary to find out if there were any contracts to be paid for; and after all these matters were ascertained negotiations had to be opened with the local authorities. Their views had then to be explained to the Home Office, numerous interviews had to take place between them and the Home Office, and a great deal of time was taken up. It was, therefore, absolutely impossible—indeed, as great a financier as the hon. Baronet who had just sat down would have found it absolutely impossible—to form an Estimate that should accurately state the claims of the local authorities. Then, again, on the other side of the question, a calculation had to be made of the amount which the Government were to receive from the local authorities. Al-

though the Estimate was for £216,000, the net charge to the country, which represented the cost of transferring the prisons to the Government, was only £25,000. Under all the circumstances, he thought it was hardly fair to charge the Government with inaccuracy in framing the Estimate.

MR. DODSON said, it appeared to him that the information which the hon. Gentleman had given landed the Committee in this dilemma. When they introduced the Prisons Bill, either they had a pretty good estimate in their minds of what the cost of taking over the prisons would be, or they had, as the hon. Gentleman now appeared to say, none whatever. If they knew very well what the cost of taking over the prisons would be, there could have been no difficulty in giving an Estimate that would have been pretty nearly accurate; but if they had no idea whatever, then they really did not know, within £50,000 or more, what the scheme was likely to cost the country.

MR. ASSHETON CROSS said, the right hon. Gentleman had totally forgotten one circumstance. When the Prisons Bill was introduced the matter was not gone into at all; but it was forced upon the Government. In the course of the discussion in Committee—not, perhaps, by the right hon. Gentleman himself, but certainly by right hon. and hon. Gentlemen opposite—it was insisted that the Government should pay the counties which had a certain amount of cell accommodation, and, on the other hand, should receive payment from those which had not. That was not his scheme, which was to take the rough with the smooth. It was forced upon the Government; and, therefore, the right hon. Gentleman had no right to say that when they introduced the Bill they ought to have made these calculations.

MR. DODSON admitted the soundness of the right hon. Gentleman's correction. The right hon. Gentleman had re-called the circumstance to his memory; but he also remembered that, as far as he could, he endeavoured to strengthen the hands of the right hon. Gentleman in resisting the proposition then made. He very much regretted that the right hon. Gentleman's Colleague, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, yielded to it.

MR. RYLANDS did not think it necessary to continue the discussion which had been raised. What the House were

more intimately concerned in was the course which the Government ultimately pursued. He thought the proposal was a fair, and probably a just proposal, and that it did not entail upon the country any serious expenditure. He did not take exactly the same ground of objection to this Vote. He admitted that the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary, who was perfectly competent to explain any point to the House connected with his own Department, had explained this matter with perfect satisfaction. That, however, was not the point; but he wished to point out that the Home Secretary had induced the House to accept the Prisons Bill in the expectation that it would be a very economical measure. These Supplementary Estimates certainly gave him the impression that the right hon. Gentleman would be disappointed in his expectations. He was quite aware that the Home Secretary thought, and fully anticipated, that he would be enabled to control the expenditure in such a way as to prevent excessive expenditure. But when the Bill was under discussion he (Mr. Rylands) raised an objection to it, that the moment the gaols came into the hands of the Government there would be a large increase in the cost of building; that they would have constant additions to the existing gaols; that some of them would be re-constructed; and that there would be expenditure in a variety of ways arising out of the pressure brought to bear upon the Department by surveyors, architects, and others. He found that they had already incurred an expenditure of something like £13,000 in new buildings and alterations, and £8,000 for the purchase of land. That was a class of expenditure which, he thought, was very likely to increase. He knew the Home Secretary would say that they must have efficient gaols. Of course they must. But the question was whether, under Government superintendence and control, the expenditure for the purpose would be in excess of what it would have been if the matter had been left in the hands of the local authorities? That was the point. Personally, he believed that under the local authorities there would have been a certain amount of control, and an anxiety to keep down the expenditure, that would check unnecessary proposals for alterations in existing gaols, or the construction of new build-

ings. He was afraid that the Estimate now before the Committee was only the commencement of an expenditure which was of a character that was likely to increase.

MR. ASSHETON CROSS said, he had explained at the time the previous Bill was introduced that the measure would not increase the prison expenditure. He was in a position now to assert that the expenditure under the previous Bill had actually decreased.

Vote agreed to.

(13.) £267, County Prisons, &c., Great Britain.

(14.) £435, Reformatory and Industrial Schools, Great Britain.

(15.) £342, Queen's Bench, &c., Division, Ireland.

(16.) £125, Probate, &c., Registries, Ireland.

(17.) £156, Registry of Deeds, Ireland.

(18.) £7,300, County Court Officers, &c., Ireland.

MR. O'SHAUGHNESSY asked for an explanation of an item which appeared in the Vote as follows:—

"A. Clerks of Crown and Peace for Cavan, County Cork East Riding, and City Cork West Riding and County appointed. Clerkship of Peace for City of Londonderry added to the office of Clerk of Crown and Peace for the County, entailing an increase of £2,600."

Was that merely for maintaining the Clerkship of the Peace for the City of Londonderry, or was it an increase paid by all the places mentioned? He should also like an explanation about another and more important matter, which he found in the same Estimate, under the letter D. "Salaries of additional resident magistrates, £200." He supposed that the £200 was a proportionate part of the new magistrates' salary for a certain time. He would like to have more information on the matter. He had always considered that in Ireland they had quite enough of resident magistrates for ordinary purposes, and there had been nothing in the late circumstances of the country to justify an increase of the number. He wished to know what the number of these new magistrates was, when they were appointed, and if it was intended that they should be permanent? In making these

remarks he believed he was speaking not only his own views, but the feeling generally of the people on the other side of the water, who agreed with him that the present staff of resident magistrates was sufficient.

SIR HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON said, that with regard to the first question, whether the whole of the increase mentioned was received by the Clerk of the Crown of the City of Londonderry, he might explain that the amount was proposed for the Clerks of the Crown and Peace of Cavan, County Cork, East Riding, and City Cork, West Riding, and City of Londonderry in this proportion—Cork £1,000, Cavan £750, and City of Londonderry £850. That would answer the first question. He was not able sufficiently to answer in detail the hon. Member's question as to the increase under letter D, with the exception that the increase was for three additional magistrates.

MR. O'SHAUGHNESSY thought that the answer was scarcely satisfactory. The Committee ought to know at least whether the three magistrates were to be permanent or temporary magistrates. Temporary magistrates in Ireland were called provisional appointments. He wished to know if these were permanent or temporary appointments? He was glad to see that the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland was now in his place, because it was desirable that some Member of the Irish Executive should tell them something about the matter. He hoped he might be excused for pressing the question now; but it was the first time, as far as he was aware, that such an item had been placed in the Estimate, and the Vote might be formed into a precedent for the future. It was highly desirable, if these new resident magistrates were to become a permanent charge, that they should know what they were doing.

MR. BIGGAR wished to call attention to another item in the same Vote, which appeared under the letter B—"Clerks of the Crown and Peace Allowances for 1878-9 and 1879-80, £3,550." He should have thought that these additional Clerks of the Crown were not necessary, and that, instead of an increase of expenditure under this head, there would have been a decrease. It seemed to him that the same person held the two offices, and where that was the case he ought

to receive a less sum than two officers would get if the appointment were held separately. What was the meaning of the term "allowance?" At present these officers got extravagant salaries, amounting, in his opinion, to about four times as much as they ought to get. Some of them got £1,000 or £1,200 a-year for about ten days' work in the year, and they were very much overpaid. He did not see that these gentlemen were entitled to any special favour. Of course, they were entitled to the salaries which Parliament awarded to them; but, as he had already said, those salaries were exceedingly extravagant.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (MR. GIBSON) said, he might explain that the reason why these Clerks of the Crown appeared in the Estimate was that there had been an amalgamation of offices previously paid for out of county sources. The salaries consequent upon the amalgamation of offices, under the provisions of the Act of Parliament, came for the first time in the Estimates. In regard to the question put by the hon. Member for Cavan, in relation to the allowance for 1878-9 and 1879-80 paid to these officers, the hon. Member would find that there was a provision in the Act of Parliament providing that they should be given offices and other allowances. The amount of those allowances was not sanctioned officially by the Treasury until recently; and, in fact, it was a very urgent grievance on the part of the officers that they had been kept so long out of their pay. It was quite a mistake on the part of the hon. Member to suggest that these officers had only to work for nine or ten days a-year, because he (the Attorney General for Ireland) knew, as a matter of fact, that in the larger counties of Ireland they worked for 120 or 150 days a-year, and their salaries were not at all out of proportion to the services rendered. They were all measured by the Act of 1877. The highest was £1,100, and there were some of that class as low as £450. He ventured to think that if there was any error it was on the side of moderation. With reference to the question raised by the hon. Member for Limerick (MR. O'SHAUGHNESSY), he might say that, up to within the last two or three years, the appointments had not been filled up; but when it became necessary to meet the exigencies of the country the appointments had been re-

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filled. The gentlemen appointed, however, were only appointed temporarily, and not permanently.

Mr. O'SHAUGHNESSY said, that he wished to ask the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland whether these offices were to be an addition to the present Government establishment in Ireland? What had rendered these additional appointments necessary, and what districts had been made for them? He should also like to know the names of the gentlemen, and what professional qualifications they had for their appointments?

Mr. J. LOWTHER said, that the additions to the resident magistracy were two, and the reasons for those additions were very simple. A few years ago the state of the country permitted the Government to amalgamate certain districts, and to diminish the establishment of magistrates by two. But in consequence not only of disturbances in various districts, but on account of the want of gentlemen who could take upon themselves the duty of magistrates, the Government had to consider the best course to adopt. It was decided, under those circumstances, to apply to the Treasury to allow the staff of resident magistrates to be increased to the number from which it had been reduced. The Treasury sanctioned the appointments, and two additional magistrates had accordingly been appointed. One of the gentlemen who had been nominated had for many years been in the Royal Irish Constabulary, and he was appointed to Balladaghareen, upon the borders of Mayo, Sligo, and Roscommon; the other gentleman appointed had been allocated to a district where a vacancy existed, and both were well fitted for their posts.

Mr. O'SHAUGHNESSY said, that the Government had informed them years ago that the ordinary establishment of residential magistrates in Ireland had been reduced by two; but now they alleged that, owing to the exceptional circumstances of the country, it had become necessary to fill up the two vacancies. He thought that hon. Members from Ireland were justified in supposing that the two men appointed were to be resident magistrates on the same footing as the others. He certainly thought that there were no grounds for the appointment when it was possible to obtain ordinary unpaid

magistrates to perform the duty. It seemed to him that those appointments, like many others made in Ireland, were simply for the purpose of placing additional patronage in the hands of the Government.

Mr. P. MARTIN said, that the gentlemen had, as the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland had observed, very arduous duties to perform, and which required for their due discharge great care and some skilled knowledge, and involved serious responsibility. It was impossible to obtain the services of competent men except they were paid adequate remuneration. So far from officials in Ireland being overpaid, he believed there was a very strong feeling in Ireland that they were very much underpaid, and that they received very much less for their services than was paid in proportion to the English officials. He did not wish to occupy the time of the Committee, but only rose for the purpose of preventing an impression that it was the opinion of Irish Members that officials in Ireland were overpaid. He was only speaking for himself; but he believed the general opinion in Ireland to be that officials did not receive sufficient remuneration. If the scale of remuneration paid to officials in England were compared with that which existed in Ireland, it would be seen that the Irish officials had very good ground for complaint.

Mr. BIGGAR said, that he was under the impression that all lawyers were overpaid. It seemed to him that a barrister who could make £200 a-year by his practice at the Bar would be very glad to accept a County Court Judgeship at £200 or £300 a-year. With regard to these offices, it was well known that they were always bestowed for political services rendered. The fact was that the number of attorneys in Ireland who could earn £100 a-year by their profession was very small. Those gentlemen were able to make a great deal more by occupying an official position than by the ordinary practice of their profession. Some of the Clerks of the Peace and Clerks of the Crown had private practices in addition to their official functions, and the duties of their official position were in many cases carried out by substitutes, who got, perhaps, not one-fourth of the salary which was paid by Votes of that House. The truth was that lawyers

were interested in allowing salaries to be paid to lawyers; but the public should make some exertion to put down the extortionate payments to lawyers both in England and Ireland.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. GIBSON) said, that no barrister could obtain one of these appointments at the present time. The effect of the Act of 1877 was practically to take away the patronage from the present Government, and to provide that, whenever a vacancy occurred in those offices, it should be filled up by a certain amalgamation of offices, and should be paid by salary. It was stipulated that the holders of those offices should retire from the practice of their profession. It would be obvious that every care had been taken to prevent the Government having patronage with regard to these offices.

MR. CALLAN said, he could bear testimony to the efficiency of the County Court Judges in Ireland, who administered the law for the majority of the people of that country. It was true that a large amount of patronage had been taken out of the hands of the Government by the Act of 1877. He thought that the Judges who had to administer the law to the bulk of the people of Ireland should be well paid, or, at least, as well paid as their brethren in England. He trusted that their scale of remuneration would be assimilated to that which prevailed in this country.

MR. BIGGAR said, that he did not wish to make any charge against the Government; but when he raised his voice against the exorbitant salaries paid to lawyers he intended to mean both barristers and attorneys, for he thought the two Professions seemed to play wonderfully well into each other's hands. Anyone who was acquainted with the doings of those people would, he thought, agree with him that the general public would do well to use their utmost exertions to lessen the amount of money paid to lawyers.

MR. O'DONNELL said, that he had listened to the explanation of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary on the subject of these additional magistrates, and he confessed that the observations of the right hon. Gentleman had inspired him with a thirst for further information. To make the matter clear, he believed that for some time past letters had appeared in the *Pall Mall*

Gazette very zealously denouncing the land agitation in Ireland. Those communications had, he believed, proceeded from a very promising young sub-inspector, named Blake, the son-in-law of a former Member of that House (Mr. Bernal Osborne). He wished to know whether it was not the case that one of those additional magistrates whom the Government had found it necessary to appoint was, singularly enough, of the same name as the gentleman who had defended the Government in the columns of the *Pall Mall Gazette*? If his information were accurate, it only went to show that, from time to time, on rare occasions, Her Majesty's Government could show a generous appreciation of literary merit. But he had great curiosity to know whether one of these additional magistrates was the Mr. Blake in question?

MR. J. LOWTHER said, that one of the magistrates appointed was a Captain Trawl, and the other was a gentleman whose name he had mistaken just now, when asked, but which certainly did not very closely resemble that just alluded to. The name was Mr. Monsell.

Vote agreed to.

(19.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a Supplementary sum, not exceeding £7,000, be granted to Her Majesty, to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1880, for the Constabulary Force in Ireland."

MR. O'DONNELL said, that notwithstanding that he had before his eyes the fear of the new Standing Orders of the House, yet he could not help characterizing this Vote as one of the most audacious that had ever been proposed to that House. The original Estimate for the Constabulary of Ireland was £1,097,192, and an additional sum of £7,000 was now asked for. That sum was divided between extra pay and allowances and travelling expenses. They were told that the extra pay and allowances were on account of the extra services occasioned by disturbances. He had heard of no disturbances except those occasioned by the officers of the law. It was true he had heard of disturbances being caused by armed troops charging helpless crowds of women and children; but he was not aware that those were services that required the especial recognition of that House. He

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should, therefore, feel it his duty to move that the item should be reduced by the sum of £3,250. In one case with which he was acquainted a man was brought down from Dublin to serve a process; and not being acquainted with the locality, a member of the Constabulary Force accompanied him, to point out the house at which it was to be served. He wished to know whether the appointment of a public officer to show the minister of a private vengeance the house of the victim was a service which demanded extra pay and allowance? He should like to know what there was in the extra services of the Royal Irish Constabulary for which the Imperial Parliament should be asked to recompense them out of public funds. Again, the services performed by the Constabulary had been employed in serving notices upon the tenants at Derry Park. Colonel Clements, who had succeeded to a portion of the Leitrim estates, seemed disposed to repeat some of the deplorable performances that had distinguished his predecessor for many years. At Derry Park the Constabulary were under the command of a sub-inspector, and accompanied a process server to serve notices of ejectment. They were not accompanied by any magistrate until they had arrived at the scene of operations, when a magistrate joined them with a reinforcement of 100 men. But before the magistrate arrived, the sub-inspector had made several charges in brilliant military style against the wretched women and children who were about. Before armed troops were called upon to act against the helpless population in England some such formality as that of reading the Riot Act was gone through. Troops in England would not be allowed to charge the civil population before the Riot Act had been read in the responsible presence of magisterial authority. He wanted to know how the services of the Constabulary at Derry Park gave them a title to public compensation, or how they entitled them to any compensation whatever from the public funds? Perhaps one of the services for which the Constabulary were to receive extra pay was that of providing a process server with a suit of their uniform; but he doubted very much whether disguising such a person in the uniform of the members of the Royal Irish Constabulary was a matter that could be properly recognized

as affording a title to extra remuneration. If quarrels took place between the Constabulary and the people of Ireland, whose fault was it? Everyone must admit that the conduct of the Constabulary in allowing a process server—the minister of the most petty and private vengeance—the minister of the spite of some landlord who had seen his tenants vote against him at an election—to be clothed in the uniform of the Constabulary, was to be condemned. The most noble the Marquess of Clanricarde—the most worthy representative of a worthy ancestry—had recently declared his undying hostility to his tenantry on account of the way in which they behaved at a recent election. His hon. and gallant Friend the Member for County Galway (Major Nolan) polled a majority of the electors, but was unseated by Judge Keogh on petition; and because his tenants voted against his wishes the Marquess of Clanricarde had declared his undying hostility to them, and was not satisfied with having lately raised their rent by a considerable amount. It seemed to him that clothing a process server in the uniform of the Constabulary was a most effectual method to adopt for stirring up the feelings of the people against the Constabulary, and that it would result in broils; but if that did happen it was the Government, and the Ministers of the Government, who would be responsible. In the observations he had made with regard to the Constabulary, he did not mean to convey any slight upon the members of that Force individually. He believed that no one could entertain a more strenuous objection to the use that had been made of them, in the way he had indicated, than the members of the Royal Irish Constabulary themselves. The feeling amongst the members of that Force was one of detestation of the policy which made them the ministers of landlord vengeance and landlord greed in that sore crisis of national distress. It was not, therefore, against the Royal Irish Constabulary that his observations were directed. They did their duty, however repellant to their manhood—they were simply faithful to their sword. It was against the Government that allowed them to be sent upon these miserable errands that their complaints were directed. The services of the Constabulary, for which this Vote was asked, had

tended to deepen the discontent in Ireland. The best troops, when thrown into conflict, must occasionally lose their heads; and it was not to be expected that the Royal Irish Constabulary could remain entirely free from blame in the struggles in which they were engaged. If he had any disposition to take up the time of the Committee, he believed that he could show, at some length, how operations had been carried on against the starving peasantry in the West of Ireland. While the Government's hand had been kept back, and not a single promise of relief had been made, the Constabulary had been sent, not only to point out to the process servers—the ministers of private vengeance—the house of the objectionable tenant; but again and again the Constabulary had been brought into conflict with the peasantry, even without being under magisterial supervision. They had used their bayonets against women and children, and struck them with the butt end of their rifles. He was not representing the accounts of mere National journals—he was not stating the representations of a mere disaffected Press. The Government itself had, on many occasions, recognized the moderation and the services of the Lord Mayor of Dublin; and in his responsible newspaper, *The Freeman's Journal*—a paper which was distinguished for the moderation of its tone, and which did not always go so far as they on that side of the House thought it ought to go, and exercised a great influence in Ireland—would be found accounts of what he had stated. Again and again acts of the greatest brutality had been reported against the Constabulary, and altogether the proceedings had been of the most demoralizing character. He could also quote columns from the correspondence of the Ministerial *Standard*, describing the dreadful scenes that had accompanied the action of the Royal Irish Constabulary. Both the Irish people and the Government ought to be proud of the Royal Irish Constabulary, for they were certainly a fine body of men; but they ought not to be employed in proceedings of this kind. No doubt, it suited the exigencies of the Conservative Party to permit their satellites in Ireland to do as they liked. It was in accordance with the traditions of English Toryism that starving families, who had no refuge but

the workhouse or the road side, should be permitted to be turned out by the ministers of private vengeance, supported by the bayonets of the military. But the employment of the Royal Irish Constabulary, during the recent distress in Ireland, as the ministers of private vengeance, had caused immense disaffection, and was the direct cause of many of the disturbances that had occurred. He would ask the Committee, and more particularly the Irish Members, to join with him in protesting against special allowances being made to the Irish Constabulary for work of this kind. The very services for which the Constabulary was to be paid were the direct cause of the disturbances complained of. They were, in fact, to be remunerated for their heroic conduct in fighting starving women and children. He could only conclude as he had begun, by saying that this was, perhaps, the most audacious proposal that even Her Majesty's Government had ever made in connection with its dealings with Ireland. He begged to move to reduce the Vote by the sum of £3,250, being the extra pay and allowance to the different ranks of the Royal Irish Constabulary.

Motion made, and Question proposed,
 "That the Item of £3,250, for Extra Pay and Allowances, be omitted from the proposed Vote."
 —(Mr. O'Donnell.)

MR. O'SHAUGHNESSY said, he should support the Motion for the reduction of the Vote. He went altogether with his hon. Friend the Member for Dungarvan in his objection to employing the police as assistant bailiffs for the serving of processes. No doubt, it would be said by those who defended such proceedings that the excited state of the peasantry required the protection of the police in order to carry out the process of the law; and that, *primâ facie*, might be some defence for their being so employed. But, in order to test that defence for the constant employment of force, one would be obliged to go into the circumstances which had excited the peasantry; one would have to go over the whole history of the injustice of the landlords which, undoubtedly, had excited the peasantry. But he knew that if he pursued that subject he would be called to Order; and, therefore, he would dismiss it by saying that as long as the landlords remained as they were, so long

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would the Government find, not a justification, but an excuse, for asking for that amount of force to carry out the law. Was it right that the law should be in such a state as to make it absolutely necessary to employ the police on such errands? Was it not better to consider proposals for a change in the law? However, passing to the second purpose for which the police were employed, he said deliberately that the absence of the police from the public meetings which had been alluded to would have done no harm, but all the good in the world. Everyone knew that there was no danger at those meetings, which were conducted in a perfectly peaceable manner. Whatever their objects were, whether they were prudent or not, the whole effect the presence of the police had was to excite the people and to render a breach of the peace imminent. Therefore, he protested in the name of peace against the employment of the police for such purposes, and against the taxpayers being called upon to pay for such duties. Further, he protested against it because it made the police unpopular by bringing them into unnecessary conflict with the people. The police were mixed up with the people in the cities, towns, and villages; and, under ordinary circumstances, they got on very well. They were admirable for the suppression of small crimes, and there was a fair amount of cordiality between them and the people. The only danger was their employment on political occasions, not for the purpose of preventing disturbances, but really for the purpose of preventing the people from expressing their opinions in a perfectly Constitutional way. He knew the good humour and good temper usually displayed by the police, and believed that, under ordinary circumstances, it would be impossible to produce any hostility towards them. If hostility could be created, it would be by the uses to which the police were put by the Government.

MR. D. DAVIES remarked, that if the hon. Member for Dungarvan (Mr. O'Donnell) used such violent language in Ireland as he did in that House with regard to the police, he was very much surprised that somebody had not been killed there before now. In his time he had had a great many Irishmen in his employment, and he found they were a very good class of men, provided that

care was taken not to excite them. They generally kept together, and sometimes some among them might say very strong things, and then there was a row. But with regard to this Vote, he thought that as Ireland would have to pay by far the least proportion of the amount the hon. Member for Dungarvan should be the last to complain. He did not agree that it was not necessary to have the police employed for the purposes in question. The hon. Member at first spoke in very complimentary terms of the police; and then, before he sat down, he said they used the bayonet and the butt-end of the gun for women and children. There seemed to be some little inconsistency in that, and he did not think that the police would be guilty of such violence towards women and children. But if there was much excitement, and especially if they heard the hon. Member's speech, the poor people might rush against the bayonet and so get hurt. He hoped the Committee would now allow the Vote to be passed. Ireland would only be paying something like £600 or £700, and England and Scotland would be paying all the rest. He was very willing, as a rule, to support the hon. Member; but he (Mr. Davies) thought he was unreasonable on the present occasion, and, therefore, he hoped he would withdraw his Motion.

MR. BIGGAR thought the money was not required. The police in Ireland were thoroughly idle nine-tenths of their time. They simply had to loaf about, and when they had a chance of some extra work on a pleasure occasion he thought they were able to do it without any extra pay. As to this alleged disturbance at public meetings, that did not exist at all. He had attended several meetings, and there was not the slightest excuse for bringing the police to them. The people were all unanimous, and there was nothing to fight for. In County Meath there was an enormously large meeting held in honour of the hon. Member for Meath (Mr. Parnell, the proceedings of which began in the morning and lasted until evening. The people came and peaceably listened to the speeches, and went away quietly; and he repeated that, so far as public meetings were concerned, there was not the slightest excuse for employing the police. He admitted that in County Armagh a few days ago there

was a meeting of North of Ireland Whigs, which was attacked and broken up by Orangemen of the district; but at the *bonâ fide* land meetings there was no such disturbance. The fact was that the Government took the part of dishonest landlords to extort most exorbitant and unreasonable and tyrannical rents from the tenants. He thought that when the landlords sought to eject their tenants they ought to bear the expense themselves. If they wanted extra police they should pay for them. If the promoter of a race meeting applied for police he had to pay for their attendance, and why should those extortionate landlords in Ireland not have to do the same? He really did not see what grounds there were for extra payment to these men, who were kept in ordinary times for ornamental purposes, just to overawe the people and make them believe that they ought to submit to that system of English government. Neither did he see why the taxpayers of this Kingdom should pay for police for the benefit of tyrannical and unreasonable and dishonest landlords.

MR. J. LOWTHER said, it was, fortunately, not necessary for him to defend the character of the Royal Irish Constabulary. Everybody knew there was not a finer body of men in the world. The only wonder was how, under such great provocation, they displayed so much moderation. He believed it was universally conceded that the Constabulary had, on recent occasions, under very trying circumstances, behaved with singular moderation. They had simply to afford protection to all Her Majesty's subjects in the discharge of their legal rights. It was not for him to go into the question whether the laws of the land were good or bad. They had been passed by Parliament, and were subject to the revision of Parliament. At the proper time he should not be slow to give his opinion on them; but, at the present moment, all the Committee were called upon to do was to vote a sum of money which was rendered necessary by the obligation of the Government to keep order in the country. The Government had simply discharged their duty, and the extra pay and allowances now asked for were only what had been usual under similar circumstances.

MR. SHAW thought it was important to ascertain whether there was any

foundation for the charges against the police which had been made that evening, and which he had seen in the papers. Some of those charges—namely, that the police acted towards women and children in a brutal manner, originated in English papers. From his own observation as a magistrate, he had never known the police as a body act in an unfair way; but he thought the Government were bound to investigate those charges. He would vote for the Amendment as a protest against the way in which the Government had employed the police. There was nothing more absurd, or more calculated to create a breach of the peace, than gathering a crowd of policemen in any district where there was likely to be a disturbance at a large meeting. Did any man in his senses think that the hon. Member for Cavan (Mr. Biggar) and the hon. Member for Dungarvan (Mr. O'Donnell) would risk their precious lives at any of those meetings? Was it likely that when 20,000 or 30,000 men were assembled those hon. Gentlemen would desire anything like a breach of the peace, or want to do anything illegal? Nothing of the kind. They met there to discuss a great public question. He might say that he had read almost all the speeches which were made at those meetings, and he did not think he ever remembered so many speeches in which there was such a fair average of nonsense. Now, he did not think that, as a general rule, looking at the history of insurrections, nonsense was ever the cause of an insurrection. The people of Ireland were not fools; and they knew very well that those hon. Gentlemen did not mean to do anything illegal; but to collect hundreds of police in martial array was almost a temptation to the people to commit a breach of the peace. The people of this country would not allow it for a moment. He thought such a use of the police was most unreasonable; and in that time of excitement half the evil was caused by ignorant people in Dublin Castle rushing to conclusions, and imagining that because a public meeting was going to be held there was going to be something illegal done. If the people had been let alone they would have listened to the sense and rejected the nonsense; but, by the action of the Government, the people had been almost led to prefer the latter. It was

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very objectionable, also, that the police should be employed in serving processes of ejectment, and more especially during last year. He had no doubt many landlords of Ireland were placed in a disagreeable position. They had their families to support and their engagements to meet; and the hon. Member for Cavan went rather against their getting any rent. Consequently, they were in a difficult position; but it was really putting them in no better position to send out those armed policemen, and to create such an excitement in the country that the rent which they would have got if the people had been left to themselves they would not now get at all. That was really the effect of the action of the Government. They had prevented the landlords from getting any rent at all. He hoped the Government would seriously consider that question of the employment of the police, because their present policy in Ireland did as much harm as good. In some parts of the country the police were not wanted at all, and they were idling about; whilst in other parts, where they might be usefully employed, they were so used as to create a great deal of prejudice and evil.

THE O'DONOGHUE said, although there could be no doubt that some members of the Force did commit grave indiscretions, he had always had faith in the patriotism of the great body of the Constabulary. He firmly believed they regarded with abhorrence the duty they were called upon to discharge in the West of Ireland. He had read the speeches to which the hon. Member for Cork (Mr. Shaw) referred as containing so much nonsense, and he must say he was totally unable to discover any nonsense at all; and although that statement of his hon. Friend might create laughter in the House, he ventured to say it would be regarded with deep displeasure by the people of Ireland. It was impossible for those who held certain opinions on the Land Question to vote for the remuneration of the police for such services; they were simply employed to drive people from their homes for the non-payment of rent which they were totally unable to pay. He hoped his hon. Friend the Member for Dungarvan would go to a division.

MR. O'DONNELL said, he should certainly go to a division. He had been deluged with letters of complaint from mem-

bers of the Constabulary as to the scandalous uses to which their Force had been put. They were brothers and sons of small tenant farmers, but they had to do what they were ordered, and they felt it bitterly when they were employed to escort process servers, and to turn out starving families into the roadside; and still more bitterly when they had to act as informers, and direct the process servers to the houses of their victims.

MR. P. MARTIN quite agreed with his hon. Friend the Member for County Cork (Mr. Shaw) that, as many of these charges had been stated on the authority of newspaper correspondents, an inquiry would be advisable. He must say, from what he had heard and read in some of the Irish papers, his own impression was that these charges could not be substantiated. But it appeared they had been made; and he thought it was for the interest of the members of the Irish Constabulary, and of the public in Ireland, these statements should be subjected to a searching inquiry and public investigation. He believed, as he had stated at these public meetings, that when employed in aiding the service of ejectment processes the members of the Constabulary had individually acted with great moderation and forbearance. He felt bound to say that he considered it opposed to the best interests of peace, law, and order, that the Constabulary had been employed on duties of this character. He thought the Government stood condemned by their own showing. They had drafted from other parts of Ireland to the West large bodies of these police; and these police had been marching and counter-marching, parading backward and forward in military array, merely to aid in trying to affix some processes. He considered that the use to which the Constabulary had been put was both unbecoming and lamentable. An impression was produced that the Government unduly favoured the landlord class. In case of difficulty in effecting service, the law provided that it could be substituted—at some additional expense, it was true. But, from the accounts, it appeared that in the case of small tenants, wretched men who were paying £2, £3, and £4 a-year, all this parade and military display had been made use of to facilitate service. The only advantage that was obtained by this mode of procedure was, that a decree could be procured six

months earlier. He need not remind the Committee that on application being made to a Judge of a County Court service could have been substituted, and the same result could be obtained by more regular and proper means. It should be remembered, also, that serious injustice was done by the Government to those parts of Ireland from which these police had been drafted. They had not only been deprived of their regular police, but had had to pay very heavy taxes to defray the charges consequent upon the appointment by the authorities at Dublin Castle of an extra Force.

Question put.

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 30; Noes 172: Majority 142.—(Div. List, No. 34.)

Original Question again proposed.

MR. BIGGAR begged to move that the next item, E, Travelling Expenses, be omitted. He would not go over the same ground as the hon. Gentleman had already done on the last item; but it appeared clear to him that if the landlords wished for special bailiffs, in order to execute the decrees of the Court, they ought to pay their travelling expenses. If the police had been called on, on behalf of landlords, to perform extra duty, the cost of such extravagance on their part should be defrayed by them.

THE O'DONOGHUE said, he thought his hon. Friend was quite right in asking that that item be rejected. He begged to second his Motion.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That the Item of £3,750, for Travelling Expenses, be omitted from the proposed Vote."—(Mr. Biggar.)

MR. O'DONNELL quite agreed with the remark of the hon. Member for Tralee (the O'Donoghue). The sum under consideration formed part of a very objectionable amount, and he should like to see it rejected. There were some very ludicrous incidents in the recent agitation with which that expenditure was concerned. As soon as it was known that a meeting was to be held about the tenant right, a force of about 100 constables was sent in search of the meeting. At first, they soon came upon the meeting; but, after a while, a fictitious meeting was arranged to be held at the same time as the real one, and the Constabulary almost invariably went to the wrong

Mr. P. Martin

place. That was the way in which the money had been spent which they were now asked to vote. These marchings and counter-marchings were, therefore, of little service; and a good deal of them was a practical joke played on Her Majesty's Government by the Irish people. For these reasons he felt bound to oppose the item being allowed to stand in the Estimates. He thought it was to be regretted that Irish blunders of this kind could not be made to come directly out of the pockets of Her Majesty's Ministers. Nothing would lead to good government in Ireland quicker than personal responsibility attaching to Ministers for their blunders. Another reason why the Amendment should be pressed to a division was that it would afford the Liberal Party another opportunity of evincing a laudable interest in the discontent which was rife not many hundreds of miles from where they were then assembled. But he was aware that the whole of their affections were centred in Bulgaria, and not at home; and, therefore, they must, he believed, put up with seeing them again enter the Ministerial Lobby.

Question put.

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 7; Noes 183: Majority 176.—(Div. List, No. 35.)

Original Question put, and *agreed to*.

(20.) £62, National Portrait Gallery.

MR. O'DONNELL said, he observed that credit was given in this Vote for a very remarkable saving—namely, the sum retained during the interval between the death of the Messenger and the appointment of his successor. He thought that the economical disposition of the Government would be better shown in some more important department than in the striking out of that pitiful sum. The office must have been performed by somebody during the interval between the death of the Messenger and the appointment of his successor, or else it must have been entirely superfluous.

Vote *agreed to*.

(21.) £203, London University.

CLASS IV.—EDUCATION, SCIENCE, AND ART.

(22.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a Supplementary sum, not exceeding £8,800, be granted to Her Majesty, to defray

the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1880, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland."

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL said, he should like to know whether they were to be committed to the payment of the increase in regard to the salaries of the National Teachers from the Imperial Treasury which had been foreshadowed last year?

MR. ERRINGTON said, he should like to ask whether information could be given as to the retiring gratuities of Teachers, and as to the meaning of the words—"Some large gratuities have been authorized for which the original provision was inadequate." As the item appeared to be of a very questionable character, he would be glad to know under what circumstances these unexpected gratuities had been authorized?

MR. J. LOWTHER said, in answer to the hon. Member for Kirkcaldy, that the increase of salaries to the National Teachers was due to the arrangements made last Session.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL said, that he intended to move the reduction of this Vote by the sum of £3,000, on the ground that it represented a change of the Government policy in regard to the salaries of National Teachers which had not been sanctioned last year. At that time it was only foreshadowed; but it was now introduced in the guise of a small addition to the Estimates. He had no desire whatever to reduce the salaries of Teachers, but only wanted to raise the question whether the charge should be a local one, or be borne by the Imperial Exchequer. It was unreasonable that the Committee should be asked to sanction so important a change which had not been brought forward in a straightforward manner. Under those circumstances, he moved the reduction of the Vote by the sum of £3,000.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a Supplementary sum, not exceeding £5,800, be granted to Her Majesty, to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1880, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland."—(*Sir George Campbell*.)

MR. SHAW said, he could not agree with the hon. Gentleman in cutting down the salaries to be given to the National

School Teachers. There had been no extravagance whatever in the working of the National Educational Board, which, in his opinion, had operated in the most satisfactory manner. There were, however, a few things which it was thought ought to be amended, and he would point out that the training of Teachers in Ireland was very inadequate, there being only one Institution in Dublin for that purpose. In England all denominations were enabled by Government to train their own Teachers; but this was not the case in Ireland, where it would be seen the training of Teachers was very badly provided for. He trusted the Government would attend to this question. Another point which he desired to bring before the Chief Secretary for Ireland was the question of Agricultural Education. The Government had adopted the policy of reducing the number of the agricultural schools to such an extent as he believed would almost entirely extinguish them. About 15 months ago two gentlemen met in the County of Cork and agreed to subscribe a sum of money for an agricultural school if the Government would give them some additional aid. But they had never been able to get the Government to see the use or need of this proposal. The school, consequently, remained in a dead-and-alive state. He complained that the Government would not take in hand those measures which the people in Ireland thought they ought to attend to. There was no doubt that in a country like Ireland it was perfectly absurd that there should be no means of giving the people any education in the great business of agriculture, in which they were principally engaged. The Government would not lay hold of this important question and give any distinct answer concerning it.

MR. MACARTNEY said, there were formerly in Ireland several model farms, established for the purpose of giving practical instruction to agriculturists in the best mode of farming; but, unfortunately, they had been managed in such a way as to bring them into disrepute. In one case there was an expensive building, provided with accommodation for 40 pupils, who, instead of being instructed in agriculture, and being made themselves to work the farms, were taught geography, mathematics, men-

suration, and other subjects of a like character, and the Institution had been made a stepping-stone for other purposes than those for which it was originally designed. It seemed to him that schools might be established in various parts of Ireland, in which farming alone might be taught, and not for the purpose of instructing persons in the higher branches of education.

MR. D. TAYLOR said, he acknowledged the great value of model schools for the purposes of education in Ireland. In fact, he thought that anyone thoroughly acquainted with that system could not but bear the highest testimony to their efficiency. From what he knew of them, he believed the Teachers had been altogether badly remunerated for the attention they had given to their duties. They had not only discharged their ordinary duties as Model School Teachers; but he knew that a number of them had spent a great deal of time in teaching science and other subjects. The remuneration which they received was, in his opinion, far below the amount which their talents entitled them to. The model school connected with the district which he represented had been the means of giving a number of Teachers to the district. He believed that their salaries should not only not be decreased, but that they were entitled to any additional sum which the Government might think it right to allow. He hoped the hon. Member for Kirkcaldy would not object to the Vote.

MR. ERRINGTON said, he wished to know whether the increase of retiring pensions indicated that the Government were going to inaugurate a new departure in this respect? If that were so, it was clear that in the ordinary course of things these retiring gratuities should not appear in the Supplementary Estimates.

MR. J. LOWTHER said, that the increase in the amount of retiring pensions was due to ordinary causes, and was not connected with any intention to inaugurate any new departure.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL said, there was no difference of opinion as to the desirability of increasing the salaries of the Teachers in the National Schools; but the question which had to be decided was, whether that charge should be taken from the taxpayers of England and Scotland, or whether it should be, as

he believed it should be, a local charge on Ireland. His impression was that the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland had only announced, incidentally, in a speech upon another subject, that he was going to make a proposal of this kind. What had been the policy of the House and of the country on this point? Parliament had consented, up to a certain point, to provide schools in Ireland in a different manner to that in which they were provided in England; but it was also decided that after that point any additions required must come from local sources. An Act had been passed by which the Guardians in Ireland were authorized to supplement the salaries of teachers to the required extent; but they had not done so. If they were not to be compelled, then the House had seen the Irish Church Fund lately devoted to this, that, and the other object; and it seemed to him that one of the most proper purposes to which that fund could be applied was to supplement the salaries of the National School Teachers. He protested against an important change of policy being introduced through the medium of the Supplementary Estimates, and the charge being thrown on the country.

MR. RAMSAY said, that the sum of £1,200 in this Vote was said to be payments entirely required for copyists. He should like some explanation of what kind of officials these copyists were?

MR. O'SHAUGHNESSY said, that the training now given to the Teachers did not accord with the views of the great majority of the Irish people. The result was that, so long as the present system was persisted in, trained Teachers would not be employed in the great bulk of the schools of Ireland. If a proper system of training schools were established, and the Teachers were trained in accordance with the views of the people, it would be possible to obtain an approach to universal elementary education in Ireland.

MR. MACARTNEY said, that he wished to know whether the gratuities to be given to the Teachers were fixed upon the same scale as those estimated for last year, by which the age of 65 years was proposed for men, and that of 60 for women. He knew that a great deal of disaffection prevailed with regard to that scale, and he should like to know if it had been abolished?

Mr. Macartney

MR. J. LOWTHER said, that the question raised by the hon. Member for Limerick was a very large one, and could not conveniently be discussed on a Supplementary Estimate. There was a very large amount of official Correspondence in consequence of the work caused by the National School Teachers, and the copyists were required in the Office of National Education in Ireland. With regard to the scale for retiring allowances, it was considered last year, and he believed that it gave general satisfaction.

MR. P. MARTIN said, that before the Vote was put he should like to ask the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for some information with regard to these schools. Very grave dissatisfaction existed with regard to those model schools. Undoubtedly, those model schools were attended by a class of persons who ought not to have their education paid for by the State. That was the grievance complained of with regard to these schools. He was sure that now attention had been drawn to the matter the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary would look into it. He should like to have some intimation of the intentions of the Government on the subject.

MR. J. LOWTHER said, that the hon. Member was quite correct in stating that his attention had been called to this matter. He looked into it when he was last in Ireland; but he trusted the hon. Member would excuse him from entering into a discussion of the matter at that period. The question was raised in a very infinitesimal manner upon the Supplementary Estimates.

Question put, and *negatived*.

Original Question put, and *agreed to*.

(23.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

“That a sum, not exceeding £810, be granted to Her Majesty, to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1880, for the Salaries and Expenses of the National School Teachers' Superannuation Office, Dublin.

MR. O'SHAUGHNESSY said, that this Vote appeared for the first time in the present Estimates, and was practically a Vote for a new Department. Some time ago it was desired to grant pensions to Teachers; and, accordingly, an Act of Parliament was passed to carry that purpose into effect. But, instead of

allowing the work to be done in the Education Office in Dublin, the Government had thought it necessary to create a new Office. He should like to know what was the necessity for the creation of this Office? Already the sum of £810 was required for it; and, according to the salaries paid, it would obviously amount in a few years to £1,000 a-year. It was certain that in the course of a few years the annual salaries of the clerks in the Office would be raised, and then the expenses of distributing these pensions would amount to £1,000 a-year. He could not see why it was not possible to conduct the administrations of these pensions by means of the staff of officials which already existed. When the work of estimating the pensions in the first instance had been gone through, then it seemed to him that it would be possible to return the work to the ordinary staff of the Education Office. The first person mentioned in the Votes was the Superintendent in Dublin, who, it was stated, also received a salary from the Army Votes as a principal clerk and actuary in the War Office. The next three persons had special allowances. It seemed that the first clerk was paid £190, including a special allowance of £100 a-year. The second clerk at present got £118, including a special allowance of £60 a-year. The maximum salary for the second clerk was £300 per annum; and each of the lower division clerks would receive a maximum salary of £250. Therefore, in the course of a few years, the expenses of the Office would reach £1,000. He should like to be informed whether this Office was intended to be permanent in its character or not?

MR. J. LOWTHER said, that an Act was passed last Session by which a large amount of additional work was caused. It had been found impossible to get that work done by the ordinary staff of the Education Office. In the first place, the work required the personal attention of an experienced actuary, and the Government had found a gentleman of the requisite experience in the War Office to perform the duties. He might say that the greatest economy had been observed in what had been done.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL said, that this Vote was another instance of the financially immoral process of trying to pass under these Votes entirely new es-

tablishments and charges which came before the House at a late hour and towards the end of the financial year.

MR. O'SHAUGHNESSY said, that his question had not been answered as to whether this establishment was to be permanent or temporary? No doubt, in the first instance, it might be necessary to have a temporary staff; but he could not see why a permanent one would be requisite.

MR. J. LOWTHER said, that so far as it was at present determined the establishment would be temporary as regarded some of its features, but the matter was not finally decided upon; but some addition to the staff of the National Education Commissioners would have been required to enable the duties to be discharged if they had been attached to that Department. The items in the Votes at present were temporary.

MR. COURTNEY said, that last year they passed a Bill by which £1,300,000 was voted out of the Irish Church Surplus Fund for the purpose of working this pension scheme. Now the House had started upon it an additional charge for managing those pensions. He considered that the £1,300,000 was granted for the purpose of managing the whole business; and he was surprised that a further sum should now be asked by means of the Supplementary Estimates for the management of the scheme.

MR. CALLAN said, that if the hon. Member for Liskeard would read the Act of Parliament, he would find that the money voted was not allocated for the expenses of the Education Office, but for the pensions only. He wished to point out that no new appointments had been made in this matter, but only that promotions had been made in the Education Office in Dublin.

MR. J. LOWTHER said, that it was distinctly stated last year that the money so taken from the Irish Church Surplus was to go to defray the charge for pensions and not for management. The staff now employed was, to a great extent, only temporary, though, no doubt, some of the clerks would have to be permanent.

MR. RYLANDS said, that with respect to the first clerk, who had a special allowance of £100 a-year, he should like to know whether that gentleman held a temporary appointment? No doubt, there might be good reason for

putting an experienced actuary in the first instance to superintend the granting of these pensions; but he did not know whether the gentleman who was employed in the Office should receive special allowances. Why should there be any special allowances in that department? He agreed with what had been said, that this work ought to have been undertaken in the Office of the National Education Commissioners. It would have been more economically conducted in that manner, and it would have given the clerks in the Education Office full occupation for their time instead of taking gentlemen already engaged in public business from their work. In his opinion, this item was one of the most objectionably loose Estimates which had ever been laid upon the Table of the House.

MR. SHAW said, that he did not see anything particularly loose about this Estimate. It appeared to him that there were only two ways of paying clerks. They might be paid by making a deduction from the Pension Fund, or they might be paid out of the public rates. It seemed to him that the proper course had been taken in the present instance by making their salaries fall upon the public purse rather than upon the Pension Fund. He was extremely sorry that any objection had been raised to the Vote.

MR. DODDS said, that the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary had been challenged to say whether or not this was the establishment of a new office; but he had carefully refrained from giving them any information on that point. The right hon. Gentleman had had the point put to him two or three times as to whether or not the establishment was to be a new office; but he had only gone so far as to state that an additional expense might be thrown upon the National Board of Education in Ireland. If that were the case, he did not think there would be very great objections; but what he did object to was the establishment of an entirely new office. The Vote was inserted in the Estimates as entirely new matter, and was not put forward in any way as an addition to the expenses of the National Board of Education in Dublin. The items showed that one clerk received a salary of £118 a-year, which was to be increased to £300, and four lower division clerks

were now paid £148, which might be increased to £250 each, thus bringing the total expense of the office, on this account alone, to £1,000 per annum. Another item showed that the office was intended to be permanent—namely, that of 15s. a-week for a messenger. If the Government felt disposed to establish a new office, let it be done by all means after the customary explanation, but it should not be done in the manner that was attempted in this case. His attention was also called to an allowance for cleaning the office, and that showed clearly enough that a new office was intended. He hoped that the Committee would not allow the Vote to pass in its present form, for the creation of a perfectly new office by a side-wind, without any kind of explanation, seemed to him to be open to very great objection.

MR. J. LOWTHER said, that the objections of hon. Members to the establishment of a new office should have been taken when the Bill sanctioning these pensions passed through Parliament. The Bill was received with very general satisfaction on both sides of the House, and under it £1,300,000 was voted out of the Irish Church Surplus Fund for these pensions. It must occur to the House that the administration of that sum of money would require the services of a certain amount of staff. There was no power under the Act to charge the expenses upon the Pension Fund, and therefore the Government had had no alternative but to bring the expense into the Supplementary Estimates. As he had said before, it would no doubt be necessary to retain some of the clerks permanently, but most of the appointments were temporary only.

MR. O'SHAUGHNESSY said, that it seemed to him a matter of importance for the Committee to know whether the administration of the Pension Funds was to be entrusted to a new office, or simply to be made an addition to the work of the National Education Commissioners. He looked forward to the day when they might manage their own affairs in Ireland, and if they had legacies of this kind in the shape of new establishments, they would find considerable difficulty in dealing with them. It seemed to him that the constant creation of offices was likely to exercise a most demoralizing effect in Ireland. By placing further patronage in the hands of the Govern-

ment, it tempted the people to seek it. Although he was in Opposition, the amount of communications which he was continually receiving from persons desirous of obtaining situations under Government was enormous. He should like to be informed whether this additional expense was to be always borne upon the Estimates as a separate Vote, or whether it was in future to form part of the general expenditure of the National Education Board?

MR. CALLAN said, that he happened to know something about the Educational Office in Dublin. It was not, he believed, very well known in London, that so small was the number of clerks employed in the Education Department in Dublin, that when Returns had been asked for, the staff had been unable to furnish them except by working overtime, and receiving an increase of pay in consequence. There were only two or three rooms in Dublin, which went under the name of the National Teachers' Pension Office.

MR. DODDS said, that the Chief Secretary for Ireland had stated that the office had been rendered necessary by the Act of Parliament passed last year, and that the sum now required was to be expended for that purpose. But he had also told the Committee that there was no power under the Act of Parliament to provide the necessary machinery. The question which the Committee had to decide was how this should be provided. The only single item which had been mentioned as being of a temporary character was that of £89 for the Actuary. All the other items appeared to be connected with the new establishment which the Committee were told was to be formed as a branch of the Board of Education in Dublin, but which had to be accounted for by the Treasury Remembrancer in Ireland. He had no hesitation whatever, under those circumstances, in moving that the Vote be reduced by the sum of £610, that was to say, by omitting all the items except the special item which had been paid to the Actuary. He, therefore, begged to move to reduce the Vote by the sum of £610.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £200, be granted to Her Majesty to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1880, for the

Salaries and Expenses of the National School Teachers' Superannuation Office, Dublin."—*(Mr. Dodds.)*

SIR PATRICK O'BRIEN said, that the House had most unanimously voted this sum last year for the pensions of the National School Teachers in Ireland. The question now raised by the hon. Member for Stockton appeared to be one of economy as regarded the administration of the office. Everyone would admit that it must be administered in some way; and no hon. Member had given any intimation of how it could be more economically administered than under the system proposed by Government. Would any hon. Gentleman say that the staff of the National Board in Ireland were qualified to settle the question of pensions? The hon. Member for Stockton had not made any proposal by which he had shown that the existing administration of the National Board in Ireland could take men away from their existing duties to perform this particular function. Had the hon. Member done this, he, for one, would not have opposed the Motion for reduction; but, as he had failed to hear any reason of that kind, he should certainly support the Government with reference to the Vote.

MR. DODDS said, that the hon. Baronet could not have heard what had taken place, or he would have learned that the Vote for the Actuary was of an entirely temporary character, and was not to be continued. He seemed to think that it was suggested that the fund should be administered by the Board of Education. This was not a question of economy, but a question of establishing a totally new and distinct office, instead of adopting one of two other courses open to the Government—either to provide funds under last year's appropriation out of the Church Surplus, or to increase the Supplementary Estimate in connection with the Board of Education. He had adopted the explanation of the Chief Secretary for Ireland so far as the actuarial business was concerned, by moving the reduction of the Vote by the sum of £610, which was ordinary expenditure, and which ought to be provided for out of the Church Funds under the Act of last Session.

SIR HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON said, he believed that the Act of last year meant that a sum should be set aside out of the Church surplus for the

especial purpose of raising the salaries of the teachers, and that no part of that sum was contemplated for the management of the office. The Fund was guaranteed by the National Debt Commissioners; and, under those circumstances, the Treasury were bound to account for any expenditure there might be in the management of the work done under that particular Act of Parliament. The National Debt Commissioners were ultimately responsible for the whole of the management of the matter.

MR. C. S. PARKER said, he should like to ask the Secretary to the Treasury whether he was prepared to say that the House had contemplated taking funds from any other sources than the Irish Church Surplus Fund?

MR. MONK said, he wished to know what it was that the National Debt Commissioners had guaranteed? Had they guaranteed that this Fund of £1,300,000 should be properly expended in providing pensions for the teachers in Ireland? He had no doubt that Parliament had intended that the whole expense connected with the management of the Department should come out of that sum of £1,300,000. He recollected what had taken place last year as well, probably, as most other hon. Members, and there had not been one word uttered in his hearing as to the expense of managing the Fund being taken out of the Consolidated Fund. He was certainly of opinion that it was a reckless expenditure on the part of the Government to establish a new office for the management of this Fund, inasmuch as there was an office already in existence by which it might be admirably administered. He thought the Committee would have no objection to vote the necessary funds for increasing the Educational system; but he objected altogether to the establishment of another office, because the consequence would be the formation of a new staff of clerks and managers, with prospective claims for compensation, and all the reckless expenditure which had been so frequent during the last few years.

SIR HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON said, he had endeavoured to point out that this office was necessary, because the National Debt Commissioners of England were ultimately responsible for any deficiency which might occur in the Church Surplus Fund, so far as the pen-

sions of Teachers were concerned, and that it was a safeguard to them that it should be administered under the direction and responsibility of the Treasury in this country. What had really happened was that a sum had been allocated to pay the pensions of teachers; and although it was not probable that the Fund from which that amount was to be drawn would fail to provide the necessary amount, yet it was necessary, when the Government had to deal with the question of pensions, that some guarantee should be given. Now, the National Debt Commissioners were the guarantees of this particular Fund; and as some administration of the sum voted for the pensions of teachers had had to be provided, it was thought necessary that it should be carried out under the eyes of the Treasury. A certain number of clerks had, therefore, been appointed in addition to the Actuary, who had been sent over to Ireland to work this particular branch of the Education Department.

MR. DODDS (who, on rising, was met by cries of "Divide, divide!") said, that the hon. Member for Dundalk (Mr. Callan) might cry "Divide, divide!" as long as he pleased; but he should continue to address the Committee as long as it was necessary, or until he was stopped by the Chairman. The Committee had now heard from the Secretary to the Treasury something like an explanation of the reason why this Vote had been submitted to its consideration; although, up to the time of the rising of the hon. Baronet, no such explanation had been given. The hon. Baronet had told the Committee that the Commissioners for the Reduction of the National Debt were the backing for this sum of £1,300,000, and were responsible for it in case the Irish Church Fund was not sufficient. He had been looking at the Act of Parliament whilst the hon. Baronet had been speaking, but had failed to see anything therein which justified that view. What he had found was, that this Fund had to be provided by the Commissioners of Church Temporalities in Ireland, and that the Commissioners, with the consent of the Lord Lieutenant and the Treasury, were to provide for the purposes of this Act such sums, not exceeding in the whole £1,300,000 sterling, as the Commissioners of the

National Debt should from time to time certify as required. The National Debt Commissioners were, therefore, to find such sums not exceeding the amount named as were necessary for the purposes of this Act. He contended that one of the purposes of the Act was that it should be put in operation, and though it fully justified the payment out of the Fund of the expense of putting the Act into operation, there was no clause which justified the view taken by the hon. Baronet. The 10th clause of the Act commenced as follows:—

"Any time after the passing of this Act, the Treasury, with the consent of the Lord Lieutenant, may make Rules for the administration of this Act; and all such Rules shall be laid before both Houses of Parliament within 14 days if sitting, and, if not sitting, within 14 days from the re-assembling of Parliament."

He asked whether these Rules had been made, and, if so, why they had not been laid upon the Table of the House? Had the Irish Government Department done its duty with regard to this Act of Parliament, the Committee would have had these Rules before them, and would have had an opportunity of discussing the whole question in a regular and proper manner. Instead of that, they had laid before them an Estimate which established a new office directly contrary to the Act of Parliament.

MR. CALLAN said, he cried "Divide!" because he felt that the Committee were placed in a humiliating position by the delay of Public Business in spending two hours over that paltry Vote.

MR. MONK said, he wished to ask the Chief Secretary for Ireland, whether the Rules referred to in the Act of Parliament had been framed; and, if so, why they had not been laid upon the Table of the House?

MR. J. LOWTHER said, that the arrangements of the Department were at that time not quite complete.

Question put, and *negatived*.

Original Question put, and *agreed to*.

CLASS V.—COLONIAL, CONSULAR, AND OTHER FOREIGN SERVICES.

(24.) £35,170, Diplomatic Services.

MR. H. SAMUELSON did not like to be constantly putting Questions to the Secretary to the Treasury on the same subject; but the hon. Baronet would now have an opportunity of answering

his inquiry with respect to the item for telegrams more fully than he had done on a former occasion. He observed that the sum of £2,800 additional was required for telegrams, and farther, he saw that on page 12, Class II., Vote 5, there was another very large extra sum charged for the same purpose. The total amount spent on telegrams was, therefore, £17,200, which seemed to be a very large sum, considering the small quantity of information derived from that source. He had not objected to the Vote on a former occasion, because he was informed that the charge was for telegrams sent out from this country; and as he thought it was necessary that telegrams should be despatched in order to obtain information, he did not consider the amount to be extravagant. Now it was found that the cost of telegrams sent to the Foreign Office amounted to no less than £7,800, and that according to the Supplementary Estimate, the additional sum of £2,800 was asked for; and yet nothing was more remarkable than the slight amount of information which the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs ever seemed able to afford the House upon any subject. He must say that, considering the little information that they got for the money, he considered the item for telegrams in the present Estimate excessive. He would like to know, now that the Committee were upon this Vote, whether Mr. Blunt, the Consul General at Salonica had yet sent home the further Report in the case of Mr. Ogle, which had been promised; and, also, whether, if it had not been sent home, Her Majesty's Government had communicated with him with the view of obtaining that Report? Mr. Ogle was murdered in March, 1878, and the Government shortly afterwards promised that a full inquiry should take place whenever it became practicable. When the murder was committed, that part of the country in which it occurred was in a state of insurrection; the House was even told, during the debate which took place in the month of May, 1878, that the country was in a state of war. Now, there had been nothing like a state of war about Volo for two years, and the country was not in any such condition as would prevent an inquiry being carried out. The neglect to hold this inquiry, therefore, showed that Her

Majesty's Government were not as careful in protecting the lives of British subjects abroad as they ought to be. But it was not only the murderers of Mr. Ogle who had remained unpunished; there was another British subject who had been murdered by Turks in the island of Crete, and nothing had been done to bring the murderers to justice; and, at that very moment, a British ex-official was in the hands of Turkish brigands. He trusted that Her Majesty's Government would give some information upon the point in question. When he brought forward the subject on a former occasion, his Motion had received the full support of the House, not one single hon. Member, except the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, having spoken against it. The Chancellor of the Exchequer himself had said that he was not asking for anything improper or unreasonable; on the contrary, he stated "that the demand was both reasonable and proper." The right hon. Gentleman, however, had taken exception to some parts of the Motion, which he had accordingly waived. Knowing that there existed a considerable feeling in the country to justify his inquiries into this matter, he desired to state that the only object he had in view in so frequently calling the attention of the House to the subject was that it appeared to be quite impossible to obtain from the Government the fulfilment of the definite promise which they had given in August, 1878. On the contrary, Her Majesty's Government had continually put him off upon one plea or another, while always asserting their intention to fulfil their promise. He wished to know whether the Government were willing to allow it to be understood that Englishmen might be murdered in different parts of the world, and that there would be no inquiry into the circumstances of their death? There had been no real inquiry into the circumstances of the murder of Mr. Ogle, and no witnesses had been examined, although there were witnesses who were willing to give evidence (the Blue Book, *Turkey*, No. 24, 1878, would inform hon. Members of the perfect correctness of his statement), whose whereabouts, as he had been informed by a gentleman lately returned from the part of Thessaly where the murder was committed, had never been lost sight of up to the pre-

sent time. The deepest and greatest shame was felt by the Christians, not only of Greece but of that part of Turkey which had not been incorporated in the Hellenic Kingdom, at the apparent carelessness of England with regard to this murder. The day of the murder had, moreover, been kept as a sort of saint's day by the people of Volo out of respect to his memory, because they knew that when he met with his untimely end he was discharging his duty, and was actuated by the most philanthropic motives. Two years had now elapsed since Mr. Ogle's murder, and a year and three quarters since Government promised a new inquiry. The question was one which should as quickly as possible be attended to by Her Majesty's Government, or it would be too late to inquire into the murder at all. He had been informed, on every occasion of his referring to it, that it was their intention to deal with the case. The last answer received was that the case had been referred to Mr. Blunt, the Consul General at Salonica, against whom he had not one word to say, although he was obliged to remark that when he put forward a plea in favour of delay a certain amount of suspicion was cast upon his absolute impartiality, when it was remembered that he was the very person who held the abortive inquiry which had taken place into the circumstances of this murder, and who had signed every deposition. On the removal of Mr. Blunt on another mission, Mr. Fawcett was appointed to continue the inquiry, but he did not examine one single witness. Nevertheless, he had reported on the strength of the depositions taken, but not on oath before Mr. Blunt. What that Report was worth he had shown last year. He did not think that the Government had taken the proper course in dealing with this matter, nor did he think it right that it should be allowed to rest, because it was a matter which excited the greatest possible interest in the country, and because the honour of this country was distinctly involved in the question.

MR. BOURKE said, that he did not suppose that the hon. Member really intended to dispute the correctness or fairness of the additional amount charged in the Vote for telegrams, but had simply taken the opportunity of that Vote for making a speech upon other questions. Probably the Committee on that occa-

sion would not wish him to go into the question of the murder of Mr. Ogle. The hon. Gentleman, however, pointedly asked whether Her Majesty's Government were in earnest on that subject? As he understood, that was the object which the hon. Gentleman had in view. His right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer had already stated, in answer to Questions put to him, that it was the intention of the Government to do all they could to obtain a proper inquiry into the subject of Mr. Ogle's death. But to say that the Government wished for an inquiry was one thing, but it was quite another to carry out that inquiry in Turkey. They had it upon high authority that it would be perfectly impossible for an impartial inquiry to take place at the present time. They had received other Reports from Sir Henry Layard, and also from Mr. Blunt, with respect to the matter. The latter said that, in his opinion, it was impossible to hope that witnesses would come forward to tell the truth at the present time, considering the state of the country. He (Mr. Bourke) fully admitted that the hon. Gentleman did make out a very strong case for an inquiry when he originally brought the subject forward. At the same time, he could not conceal from himself that the hon. Gentleman's case, although, no doubt, perfectly *bond fide*, was, after all, but an *ex parte* statement. That speech was sent out to Turkey, and it must be taken for what it was worth. No doubt, it was made by the hon. Gentleman in perfectly good faith, but no *ex parte* statement could be assumed to be altogether accurate. When an hon. Member of that House came and said that he was prepared to vouch for the statements he made, it was impossible for the Government to do otherwise than to believe in his accuracy. They could only say that they would inquire into the subject. The Government had done its best to obtain a further inquiry. They had, however, been told by their Ambassador that a satisfactory inquiry at present would not be obtainable. He did not think that the hon. Gentleman could, under these circumstances, charge Her Majesty's Government with having been guilty of any neglect in the matter; at all events, he did not think that that opinion was held by any large number of persons in England.

MR. H. SAMUELSON said, that the hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs had, no doubt, unintentionally, somewhat misrepresented his observations. No doubt he had answered him, as he always did, to the best of his ability; but he must say that there was nothing in the hon. Gentleman's statement which could be deemed at all satisfactory. They were told that the Government wished for an inquiry to take place at the proper time. Then, said the hon. Gentleman, "that it was one thing to wish for an inquiry, and another to obtain it." Now, he (Mr. H. Samuelson) wished to know what steps had been really taken to obtain it? The hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary of State said that the statements he had made on the subject of Mr. Ogle's death were *ex parte*; but he could inform him that that statement was submitted to Lord Tenterden, to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and other Members of the Government before he made it; the names of the witnesses were not concealed from the noble Lord and the right hon. Gentleman, and the general accuracy of the assertions which he (Mr. H. Samuelson) had made in bringing the matter before the House had never been disputed. It seemed to him that Her Majesty's Government was strangely unwilling to take the proper steps in this matter. The right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer, on a previous occasion, had informed him that Sir Henry Layard did not think that any good would be effected by an inquiry at the present time; but that, in his opinion, there was nothing in the state of Thessaly to prevent anyone coming forward to give evidence. But in order to fortify himself with the opinion of a witness on the spot, Sir Henry Layard wrote to Mr. Blunt. In answer to that letter, Mr. Blunt stated that he did not think it would be desirable to hold an inquiry, but he would himself ask for the opinion of another person on the actual spot. But to the present time the result of the inquiry by Mr. Blunt had not been communicated to him. He really must press for the Report which had been made by the person to whom Mr. Blunt referred; and in order to put himself in Order, he would move, unless he received proper information, that "The Chairman do now re-

port Progress, and ask leave to sit again."

MR. BOURKE said, that he had not the slightest idea that this case would have been brought before the Committee upon the Supplementary Estimates. It had been brought forward without the slightest Notice to him, and it seemed to him that it was very unfair to raise it at that time. He had already stated what the intentions of Her Majesty's Government were, and he would give the hon. Gentleman any further information if he gave him due Notice of a Question. The hon. Gentleman could put a Question to him to-morrow, or at any other time upon the subject; but he had no right to say that he had withheld any information.

MR. H. SAMUELSON said, that he had not accused the hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of any desire to withhold information. He had never made that statement, although the hon. Gentleman always accused him of making it to suit his own purposes. He did, however, complain that the hon. Gentleman never had any information to give. He might say that this case had been before the Government now for two years; he had put three Questions with regard to it that Session, and the hon. Member for Dundee (Mr. E. Jenkins) had put another Question; but it was quite impossible to get an answer of a satisfactory character from the hon. Gentleman because he always took care to answer Questions in so very literal a manner. It was in order to save the House from the constant repetition of Questions on the same subject that he had introduced the matter at that time. A number of Questions had been put upon this subject during the present Session; and he did not see, therefore, how the hon. Gentleman could complain that he had been taken by surprise. He thought that the Government might consent to lay the Papers upon the Table, and to inform him whether the Report which Mr. Blunt had led them to expect had been received.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said, that he quite acquitted the hon. Member for Frome of any wish to do anything unfair; but he certainly had placed his hon. Friend the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in a position in which it was not rea-

sonable that he should be placed. He thought that the Committee ought to know how the matter stood. There was originally an inquiry made into the circumstances of Mr. Ogle's death, and a certain Report was made. The hon. Gentleman the Member for Frome, who took a great interest in the subject, brought the matter under the notice of the House, and made a very interesting speech, in which he said that he was in possession of a good deal of information which would show that the result of that inquiry had not represented the real state of the case. A promise was then made to him by the Government that a further inquiry should be held whenever the state of the country was such as should make it possible to conduct an investigation without causing any inconvenience. The matter had been brought from time to time before the notice of the Representatives of this country in Turkey; but it had not been thought possible, owing to the condition of that country, to undertake an inquiry. The hon. Member had naturally, at intervals, put Questions on the subject, and the answers given to him had generally been that, in consequence of the unsettled state of Turkey, it was impossible to institute further inquiry. Some little time ago he renewed those Questions, and was then told that very recently communications had taken place between Sir Henry Layard and Consul Blunt. In answer to a Question, the hon. Gentleman was informed that Consul Blunt had wished to take the opinion of another gentlemen before answering the Question. He (the Chancellor of the Exchequer) was not able to say whether that answer had yet been given; but, at all events, he had not seen it. It seemed to him that his hon. Friend the Under Secretary of State could only answer the Question put to him in the general terms in which he had done so. He would state that the Government was anxious to proceed with the inquiry, if it appeared that it could safely and properly be done. But the hon. Member had taken the opportunity of the Vote for the purpose of making a sharp attack upon the Government, and threatened to move to report Progress unless his inquiries were satisfactorily answered. His complaint was that there was a difficulty in getting information. The only information which

the Government possessed was that to which he had referred. If the hon. Gentleman had given Notice of the Question he was about to put, then the Under Secretary of State would have given him every information that was in his power.

MR. H. SAMUELSON said, that he was entirely satisfied with what the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer had said upon the subject. He had informed him that the Report in question had not yet been received, and that when it was he would communicate it to him. He had endeavoured to get that promise from the hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary of State, but he had now received the assurance from the right hon. Gentleman, which he was unable to extract from the Under Secretary.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said, that the question of the hon. Member ought to be put in a proper way to his hon. Friend the Under Secretary. He could not promise him that the Report should be laid upon the Table of the House, but an answer would be given in the proper way, when the communication in question was received.

MR. H. SAMUELSON asked whether the right hon. Gentleman would inform him when the communication was received?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: Yes.

MR. MONK said, that he wished to ask for an explanation with regard to an item in the Vote, under the head of Special Rewards and Services for "Mr. Harrison's expenses in connection with the Financial Inquiry Commission at Constantinople, £2,690." As that inquiry took place at the desire of the Turkish Government, he thought that the Turkish Government ought to be responsible for the expense. He should be glad to know whether this expense would be paid by this country or by Turkey? There was another item to which he also wished to refer, and that was "Expenses incurred by Officers employed on Special Service in Turkey, £1,350." First, they had the expenses of the Special Mission to Turkey, and then a vote was proposed for Special Service in Turkey. The latter Vote seemed to be for some anonymous employment, which, perhaps, the Secretary to the Treasury could explain.

MR. D. DAVIES said, that £1,000 had been expended on account of the Alexandria Harbour Dues Commission. He wished to know whether that sum had been paid in the interests of the harbour authorities, or in the interests of the public? Was the Khedive going to repay that money to the country?

An hon. MEMBER said, that he should like to hear some explanation with reference to the additional sum for the Boundary Commissions under the Treaty of Berlin. The amount now charged, £1,800, was about five times the sum of the original Estimate, and he should like to know whether the cause for this expense had arisen recently?

MR. BOURKE said, that first, with regard to the question of the hon. Member for Gloucester (Mr. Monk) as to the expenses connected with the Financial Inquiry Commission at Constantinople two years ago, it was absolutely necessary for Her Majesty's Government to know, as nearly as possible, the exact financial condition of the Turkish Empire. There was no necessity for him to enlarge upon the importance to Her Majesty's Government, in a political point of view, of exact information on that point. It was thought most desirable that an English officer should be sent out to ascertain, as nearly as possible, what was the position of the Turkish Empire. Under those circumstances, Her Majesty's Government decided to employ Mr. Harrison, who was then at home on leave from India, he being a gentleman who was thought to be well suited for the business. When Mr. Harrison got to Turkey it was found, owing to representations made, that it would be best to appoint a Regular Commission, and Mr. Harrison was made a member of it. He had since made a Report that went most fully into the question. That was the whole history of the case. So far as he was aware, everything that had been done in that matter, had been to the full satisfaction of Her Majesty's Government, so far as Mr. Harrison was concerned. Another Question had been asked with respect to the expenses of the officers employed on special service in Turkey. It was thought most desirable to employ officers particularly well suited for the special service in which they were to be engaged. Some of the officers were charged with missions in the neigh-

bourhood of the insurgents, and others were stationed on the frontiers of Turkey and Greece. The remuneration of the officers employed, was not settled until some time afterwards. General Cherm-side, who was employed near Smyrna, had made a Report, which had appeared in the form of a Blue Book. Colonel Synge was also engaged on a similar mission with regard to the insurgents. With respect to the Question asked by the hon. Member for Cardigan (Mr. D. Davies) as to the Alexandria Harbour Dues Commission, the matter arose in this way. For some years past large works had been going on at the Alexandria Harbour, and a large harbour and wharfage had been constructed. Some little time ago the Egyptian Government proposed to put a scale of dues upon all ships using the harbour, and also to charge certain rates for wharfage, and when that scale became known, the greatest dissatisfaction was produced. After various negotiations, it was thought desirable that this country should join in a Commission which was appointed on the subject, and that Commission had now prepared a Report. The Government of France also joined in the matter, and in all probability the labours of the Commission would result in a satisfactory conclusion. As for the Boundary Commissions under the Treaty of Berlin, those various Commissions were appointed to ascertain the boundaries of the different States. Those Commissions were five—namely, Bulgaria, Servia, Roumelia, Montenegro, and the Asiatic Commission. In consequence of the unwillingness of Montenegro, the labours of that Commission had not yet come to a conclusion; nor had the labours of the Asiatic Commission yet concluded.

Vote agreed to.

(25.) £2,000, Consular Services.

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF said, that he wished to impress upon the Government the necessity of providing better salaries for the Consular officers in Bulgaria. He was assured that the salary given to the Consul General at Philippopolis was utterly inadequate to the services which he had to perform. The Consul was a man of remarkable ability, and he trusted that the Chancellor of the Exchequer would not find it necessary to exercise any great caution in giving him a fair and proper remuneration.

neration. There existed a great scarcity and dearness of provisions in his district, where there was very little food to be obtained besides geese. He hoped the Chancellor of the Exchequer would not grumble at giving him an addition to his salary of £100 or £200.

MR. RYLANDS said, it would be better to consider the matter when they came to the Estimate for the whole Consular Service, when they would be able to compare the salary of the Consul referred to with the various salaries given to officers in situations of a like character. He had observed that Consuls always had friends amongst Members of Parliament, who were ready at all times to point out that their remuneration was insufficient. He desired some information upon another point which the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs would, no doubt, be able to afford. The Vote included a charge for deficiency through the stationing of Consular officers of a higher rank at Philippiopolis, Salonica, and Bourgas, and by the new appointments in Anatolia. On this point he wanted to ask whether the officers so appointed were on half-pay, and why it was considered desirable to appoint military officers to these Consular posts?

MR. BOURKE said, the selection had been made with the greatest possible care, and he thought that the best answer which he could give to the hon. Member for Burnley was that when the Secretary of State had to appoint men for the discharge of special duties, he had taken all points into consideration in selecting each individual person. He did not think it desirable to say anything more upon the subject, other than that he believed that the appointments made would turn out to be thoroughly satisfactory.

MR. RYLANDS said, that the answer of the hon. Gentleman was of a very remarkable character; but it was quite in accordance with the whole of the proceedings of the Government, who took a line contrary to custom, and then, declining to give any information, expected hon. Members to accept, without any justification, a departure from the usual practice. It was an unusual thing to appoint military officers to the position of Consul; but the Committee were informed that there was some high policy involved in this proceeding—the old story when the Government expected

hon. Members to accept their arrangements without question—and that they could not answer questions because it would be detrimental to the Public Service. It was perfectly right, however, for the Committee to inquire into any unusual course which the Government took in appointing persons to public offices, and he protested entirely against a departure from the usual custom being insisted upon by Government under the plea that to give information would be detrimental to the Public Service.

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF said, he protested against the Consuls being considered friends of his. He had merely spoken in the public interest, and because he knew that it was very difficult for those officers to live on the salaries which they received.

MR. O'DONNELL said, he thought the Committee were entitled to receive something like an explanation of the nature of the services expected from these semi-military Consuls who had been appointed in Asia Minor. It was possible that the Government considered it too late to enter into any question of detail relating to this subject, and it did seem rather late to be discussing the proceedings of the Boundary Commission. A year and a-half had elapsed since the Berlin Treaty was executed, and at the end of that time he thought something should be known as to the policy of the Government in the appointment of these officers, because, although the hon. Member for Burnley had intimated that the Government might have some mysterious policy behind all that, he reminded the Committee that there was a Party in the country which considered that the Government had no policy at all. Whichever Party was right, however, it was well to know what was being done, and what was not being done, in Asia Minor. He confessed that with regard to a couple of the appointments in question, he had heard it stated by people who affected to know something about the matter, that military gentlemen had been appointed who really might not have got speedy advancement in another line. The Government, of course, would not like to say that there was nothing of importance in these appointments; and having taken part with Prince Bismarck and Count Andrassy at Berlin, and having come home as grand as the fly in the

fable who said to the ox—"How we are carrying that cart along," Lord Beaconsfield was, of course, bound to keep up the appearance of managing everything besides. It was quite possible that the country might find itself in a muddle in Asia Minor, as it had found itself in a muddle everywhere else, and when that muddle occurred, they would have it explained away by the Government. After this a little disaster would take place which the Government would also explain away; in short, everything would be explained down to the last possible point, when, no doubt, some fresh muddle would occur. He trusted that the appointment of military officers to Consular posts in Asia Minor would do no harm to the interests of the country or to the Conservative bogey—the Russian Empire.

Vote agreed to.

(26.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a Supplementary sum, not exceeding £8,704, be granted to Her Majesty, to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1880, in aid of Colonial Local Revenue, and for the Salaries and Allowances of Governors, &c., and for other Expenses in certain Colonies."

MR. COURTNEY said, he did not understand how it was that Sir Bartle Frere was going to get five quarters' salary; upon which point, as also upon the next item for the salary of Sir Garnet Wolseley as Governor of Natal, he hoped to receive some information from the Colonial Secretary. He did not understand the position now held by Sir Garnet Wolseley in South Africa; and, further, he wished to be informed as to the position of Colonel Sir George Colley?

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH said, that by some technical error in the year 1878-9, Sir Bartle Frere had not drawn his last quarter's salary until after the end of that financial year, for which reason that quarter's salary appeared in the Supplementary Estimates of the present year. The hon. Member for Liskeard (Mr. Courtney) had asked what was the position occupied by Sir Garnet Wolseley, to which he replied that it remained precisely the same as that which he originally occupied. Sir George Colley would succeed Sir Garnet Wolseley and Sir Henry Bulwer as High Commissioner and Governor of Natal.

Mr. O'Donnell

MR. COURTNEY: What is to be the salary of Sir George Colley in his new position?

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: It is not yet decided.

MR. O'DONNELL said, the question was a very important one; and it was quite clear that the Committee were not likely, at that advanced hour, to get any detailed statement from the Government. He, therefore, begged leave to move that Progress be reported.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—*(Mr. O'Donnell.)*

SIR HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON hoped the hon. Member for Dungarvan would remember that the Committee were then discussing certain items which must necessarily be completed before the end of the financial year. A debate on the Government policy, with respect to the Transvaal, Natal, and other parts, might surely more properly come on at a time when the Estimates brought before the Committee the arrangements for the coming year. He was quite aware that it was working the Committee a great deal to go through the whole of the Votes at that time in the morning; but the Government were driven to that necessity by the fact that the Supplementary Estimates would have to be put into the Ways and Means Bill, which had to go through all its stages before the end of the financial year. On those grounds, therefore, he asked the hon. Member for Dungarvan to withdraw his Motion to report Progress, and to allow the Business in hand, which was of the utmost necessity, to proceed, and to defer the question of policy to the time when the Estimates for the coming year were in the hands of the Committee.

MR. MONK said, he joined the hon. Baronet in appealing to the hon. Member for Dungarvan to withdraw his Motion, and allow the Vote to be taken. The hon. Member for Liskeard had received as full an answer as could be expected; but he must remind the hon. Baronet that they had been already seven hours engaged in the consideration of the Supplementary Estimates, and that they had passed a very fatiguing night. It must be clear that it was impossible to get through all the Votes that evening, for they would certainly take an hour or

more to finish. He hoped, therefore, that the Government would consent to report Progress after the Vote then before the Committee had been taken.

SIR HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON said, it was on the ground of absolute necessity that he had asked the hon. Member for Dungarvan to withdraw his Motion. He had admitted that it was working the Committee a great deal to continue, although there were occasions when the interest of the Public Service had to be considered. He again appealed to the Committee to finish the Supplementary Votes, as the delay of the Estimates might prevent the Government from getting through a Ways and Means Bill.

MR. RYLANDS said, he should be the last person in the world to stand in the way of the Secretary to the Treasury in his desire to get all the Votes passed, if he thought that, under the circumstances of the case, it was absolutely necessary, in the interests of the Public Business, to yield to his opinion. He would remind the hon. Baronet that if the Supplementary Votes were completed on Monday, they could be reported on Tuesday, and there would, certainly, be ample time to get through a Ways and Means Bill before the end of the financial year. There were some other Motions on the Paper that would occupy some little time; and he, therefore, hoped that the hon. Member for Dungarvan would allow this Vote to pass, as he (Mr. Rylands) quite agreed that it should pass. With regard to the other Votes, he thought they should be taken on Monday along with the other Civil Service Estimates.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE said, he also appealed to his hon. Friend the Member for Dungarvan to allow the Votes to go through that evening. He would point out that the Government had been calculating on beginning their Easter Recess on Thursday in Passion Week. The House had never sat either on Wednesday or Thursday in Passion Week before—at any rate, he had looked up the cases since 1857—but he had no doubt that the Government would get Tuesday in Passion Week given to them.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said, he should prefer the arrangement suggested by the hon. Baronet, which he believed would be much to the convenience of the House in

general. The Government had a great deal of necessary Business to complete by the time named, and he hoped the hon. Gentleman would allow them to get through the Supplementary Estimates that evening.

MR. O'DONNELL said, as there appeared to be a general wish on the part of hon. Members that the present Vote should pass, he did not see why the Government should not take all the Votes that evening, and he therefore begged leave to withdraw his Motion to report Progress.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn*.

Original Question put, and *agreed to*.

(27.) £4,450, Tonnage Bounties, &c., and Liberated African Department.

(28.) £10,425, Subsidies to Telegraph Companies.

(29.) £136, Treasury Chest Robbery.

(30.) £13,000, Superannuation and Retired Allowances.

(31.) £3,000, Relief of Distressed British Seamen Abroad.

(32.) £2,716, Pauper Lunatics, Ireland.

(33.) £9,110, Temporary Commissions.

MR. MACDONALD said, it had been his intention to call the attention of the House at some length to the expenses in connection with the Accidents in Mines Commission. Considering, however, the appeal made by the hon. Baronet the Secretary of the Treasury, he would not stand in the way of the House passing the Vote, but would reserve his observations until the main Vote came before them in the Civil Service Estimates. He must, however, take that opportunity of saying that he did protest against the expenses incurred by this Commission. It was the belief of many that much loss of life in the mining districts would have been prevented had the subject been dealt with at once, instead of being referred to this Commission. He went further than others. The manner in which this Commission was conducted—it being with closed doors—to his mind, was an outrage on common sense. Hundreds, from its privacy, never heard of it that could have given valuable evidence. But, beyond these, there were, among mine owners of the country and mine managers,

hundreds that were not only willing for improvement, but were anxious to take advantage of all information that would enable them to save life, and to protect the limbs of the workmen who toiled under ground. Had the investigation been public, all information would have been scattered broadcast in the mining districts weekly. It had not been so from the Resolution of this worse than stupid Commission; and he would say that if there had been laid before it anything that would have prevented the loss of one single life, he charged that life to their action—which was a crime.

MR. DODDS said, that amongst the expenses of the Accidents in Mines Commission, the sum of £650 was charged for travelling expenses. He should like to know how much of that sum had been spent for witnesses, and how much of it had been paid for the travelling expenses of those engaged upon the Commission?

SIR HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON said, that he could not undertake to answer the Question then, but would inform the hon. Gentleman upon Report.

Vote agreed to.

(34.) £9,869, Repayment to the Civil Contingencies Fund.

MR. RYLANDS said, that he thought that some information was required with respect to various items in this Vote. The sum of £2,120 was charged for "special packets for the conveyance of distinguished persons." Perhaps, upon Report, the hon. Baronet the Secretary to the Treasury would tell the House the names of those persons for whose conveyance the packets had been provided? It had been customary to adopt that course on similar occasions. He did not wish to move a deduction of the Vote for that sum, but only to obtain information. Then, with respect to the sum of £300 for a gratuity to Lord Giffard, V.C., for bringing home the despatches announcing the successful termination of military operations in South Africa, he thought that that matter had caused a considerable amount of dissatisfaction in the Army. There was no doubt, whatever, that that gratuity ought to have been given to the distinguished officer who was chiefly instrumental in capturing Cetewayo, and that he ought to have been sent off with the despatches to this country. Instead of

Major Marter receiving the £300, it had, by some means or other, been given to Lord Giffard. That seemed to him, and to many persons, to be an instance of the grossest favouritism, which ought not to pass without some observation.

MR. COURTNEY said, that he should like to know what was the meaning of the item of £331 19s. 3d. on account of the

"Record and Writ Clerks' Office, Chancery loss sustained by Mr. A. Ash and Mr. J. Warwick, as stamp distributors, in respect of stamped copies not called for?"

SIR HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON said, that Messrs. Ash and Warwick were the stamp distributors in the Record and Writ Clerks' Office. It had been the custom in the Record and Writ Clerks' Office that solicitors should leave the deeds there to have the proper stamps affixed for them, and the deeds were made ready for the solicitors when they called. In course of time the number of deeds that had not been called for accumulated very largely, so that the value of the stamps on the deeds so left amounted to £820. Messrs. Ash and Warwick had paid for those stamps, and through no fault of their own, but entirely through a Rule with which they were bound to comply, the deeds were stamped and the money lost. In answer to their application for an allowance for spoiled stamps, the Board of Inland Revenue said that they could not admit their claim, inasmuch as the stamps in question were not spoiled stamps. The Treasury was desirous of compensating Messrs Ash and Warwick for the loss which they had incurred, and, consequently, the item in question had been included in the Estimates, under the head of Civil Contingencies Fund.

MR. MONK said, that, perhaps, the hon. Baronet would inform the Committee why the sum of £2,500 had been awarded to Mr. Ford and wife, as compensation to them in respect of their illegal arrest?

SIR HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON said, he must ask the hon. Gentleman to allow him to ask that Question upon Report.

Vote, agreed to.

(35.) £4,300, Revenue Departments.

(36.) £7,400, Post Office Packet Service.

Mr. Macdonald

(37.) £985, Abyssinian Expedition.

(38.) £15,050 3s. 3d., Charges De-frayed by the War Office on account of India.

House resumed.

Resolutions to be reported *To-morrow*.

Committee to sit again *To-morrow*.

BLIND AND DEAF-MUTE CHILDREN BILL.—[BILL 41.]

(*Mr. Wheelhouse, Mr. Montague Scott, Mr. Benjamin Williams.*)

COMMITTEE.

Order for Committee read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."—(*Mr. Wheelhouse.*)

MR. DODDS said, that he objected to this Bill proceeding. He had given Notice of opposition to it, but that Notice had not been put upon the Paper.

MR. MONK said, that the Bill was read a second time yesterday, and he then asked the hon. and learned Member for Leeds (*Mr. Wheelhouse*) whether he intended or was willing to accept the Amendments which were inserted in a similar Bill last Session? The hon. and learned Member, he considered, might have condescended to make some reply; at all events, when he made the Motion "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair." He had, however, heard nothing from the hon. and learned Member; nor did he know whether he intended to accept the Amendments. It was impossible for the House properly to consider the Amendments until they were on the Notice Paper. He believed that it was a Rule of the House that Amendments should not be printed until a Bill had been read a second time. This Bill was read a second time yesterday, and, as the House adjourned at 4 o'clock in the afternoon, there was no time for the Amendments to be printed. The Bill was only read about five minutes before the House adjourned. His Amendments were now lying on the Table; and even if they were placed in the hands of the Chairman of Committees, it would be impossible for hon. Members to understand them properly until they were printed. He did not think there was any absolute Rule against the Amendments being then considered; but he

thought it would be a very unusual course for the hon. Member to press the Bill before the Amendments were printed. He begged to move "That the Debate be now adjourned."

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be now adjourned."—(*Mr. Monk.*)

MR. RYLANDS said, that he objected to the Bill when it was read a second time. It was quite clear that they could not consider the Amendments of his hon. Friend with any advantage until they were printed. There had been no opportunity as yet of printing the Amendments, and he thought it would be most unreasonable, at that time of the morning, to ask the House to proceed with the Bill.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said, that the best course to be adopted would be that the Chairman should take the Chair, and that they should then report Progress in order that the Amendment might be put upon the Paper.

MR. DODDS said, that he should object to that course being pursued, because he thought the Amendments ought to be circulated before Mr. Speaker left the Chair.

Question put.

The House divided :—Ayes 9; Noes 54: Majority 45.—(*Div. List, No. 36.*)

Original Question again proposed.

MR. DODDS: I beg to move that the House do now adjourn.

MR. SPEAKER said, that he must remind the hon. Member that he had already spoken upon the Main Question.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House do now adjourn."—(*Mr. Brogden.*)

MR. DODDS said, that his reason for wishing to move the adjournment of the House was in order to make an appeal to Her Majesty's Government not to force the House to consider, at that hour, a Bill which was very much opposed. It was then nearly half-past 2, and about half-an-hour before an appeal was made to them to allow the Supplementary Estimates to be got through. To that appeal the House yielded, and the Government ought not to assist a private Member in forcing on a Bill of

that kind at such an hour. He believed, moreover, that Her Majesty's Government entertained as strong an objection to the measure as any Member upon that side of the House.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said, that although he had not looked at the Bill, he believed it was substantially the same as that which had passed through the House last year; and he thought it was only fair that his hon. and learned Friend should get a stage from Progress. He proposed, therefore, to proceed as far as that, and he would then agree to the Motion for the adjournment of the House.

MR. MONK said, he was perfectly ready to accept the offer of the right hon. Gentleman.

MR. BROGDEN begged leave to withdraw his Motion for adjournment.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn*.

Original Question put, and *agreed to*.

Bill *considered* in Committee.

Committee report Progress; to sit again upon *Monday* next.

PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS AND CORRUPT PRACTICES BILL.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE said, he did not know whether the Government were bringing in the same Bill which was introduced last year; but he had objected to that measure on the ground that it did not deal with the employment of vehicles at elections, and had pointed out that the law was universally broken, while, at the same time, he had moved a Resolution that it should be either enforced or repealed. He begged to give Notice that he should move a similar Resolution on the second reading.

On Motion of MR. ATTORNEY GENERAL, Bill to amend and continue the Acts relating to Election Petitions and to the prevention of Corrupt Practices at Parliamentary Elections, *ordered* to be brought in by MR. ATTORNEY GENERAL and MR. SOLICITOR GENERAL.

Notice taken, that 40 Members were not present; House counted, and 40 Members not being present,

House adjourned at a quarter before Three o'clock.

Mr. Dodds

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Friday, 5th March, 1880.

MINUTES.]—SELECT COMMITTEE—Reporting, *appointed and nominated*.

PUBLIC BILLS—*First Reading*—Beer Dealers Retail Licences * (27).

Committee—Report—Local Courts of Bankruptcy (Ireland) (11).

Report—Relief of Distress (Ireland) (26).

LOCAL COURTS OF BANKRUPTCY (IRELAND) BILL—(No. 11.)

(*The Lord Chancellor.*)

COMMITTEE.

Order of the Day for the House to be put into Committee, read.

Moved, "That the House do now resolve itself into Committee upon the said Bill."—(*The Lord Chancellor.*)

LORD O'HAGAN said, he was glad that the Government had given its attention to the matter, and, having reached a definite conclusion on its own responsibility, had endeavoured to give effect to the view it had adopted. He wished, however, to indicate that the extension of local jurisdiction in Bankruptcy to a few towns involved a wide concession of it, such as had, for a long time, been enjoyed in England. Heretofore, the County Courts of Ireland had not the machinery which enabled the County Courts of this country to deal with cases of Bankruptcy, and they did not possess it even yet. But their constitution had been greatly changed. They had now a considerable jurisdiction in Equity, and their Judges were no longer to practice at the Bar. The want of a more effective Official Staff was felt in the exercise of the Equity Jurisdiction; and when that want was supplied, there seemed to be no reason why, with sufficient safeguards and adequate supervision by the Courts in Dublin, business in Bankruptcy might not be done locally, in proper cases. The Judges of the County Courts were able and competent men and might be fully trusted to do it satisfactorily; whilst it was difficult to see, once that the advantage of the change was practically admitted, why it should not operate to a larger extent.

This subject had been much discussed, especially by Lord Westbury, when he (Lord O'Hagan) had the honour of carrying the Irish Bankruptcy Bill through their Lordships' House; but it was then impossible to take practical steps with regard to it, and before it could be dealt with generally the machinery of the Local Courts must be improved and strengthened.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR said, the Bill made a very considerable change in the administration of the law in Ireland. At present, the whole Bankruptcy business of Ireland was transacted in Dublin. Manifestly, that was an inconvenient state of things; and it was proposed in the Bill, by Order in Council, to establish Local Bankruptcy Courts in the two great commercial centres of Belfast and Cork. It proposed, also, to take further steps in the same direction by establishing similar Courts in Londonderry, Galway, and Limerick. He thought that, with such provisions, a further extension would not be found necessary. In England there were officers and offices in which Bankruptcy proceedings could be initiated wherever County Courts were held. That was not the case in Ireland. There, wherever a Bankruptcy jurisdiction was established, it would be necessary to create new offices, and at present this did not seem to be necessary to any greater extent than was provided for in the Bill. Should it become necessary hereafter, in consequence of the success of the experiment, it could be effected by further legislation.

After a few words from Lord EMLY,

Motion agreed to.

House in Committee accordingly; Bill reported without Amendment; and to be read 3^d on Thursday next.

PARLIAMENTARY REPORTING — THE HOUSE OF LORDS.

APPOINTMENT AND NOMINATION OF SELECT COMMITTEE.

Moved, That a Select Committee be appointed to consider the question of reporting in this House.—(The Lord President.)

Motion agreed to.

The Lords following were named of the Committee:—

M. Bath.
Ld. Steward.
E. Stanhope.
E. Kimberley.
L. Lovel and Hol-
land.

L. De L'Isle and Dudley.
L. Sudeley.
L. St. Leonards.
L. Houghton.
L. Kenry.

The Committee to meet on Monday next at Four o'clock, and to appoint their own Chairman.

AGRICULTURAL PRODUCE.

QUESTION.

THE DUKE OF ST ALBANS asked the Lord President of the Council, Whether the Royal Commissioners on Agriculture are instructed to inquire into and report on the rates charged for the carriage of agricultural produce, live stock, and manures by the railway companies in the United Kingdom, and also, as far as possible, in foreign countries?

THE DUKE OF RICHMOND AND GORDON, in reply, said, that the Commission thought the question of transport and rates was of immense importance in the inquiry intrusted to them. They thought it was a point which should be considered very carefully and fully; but as they had not yet come to that branch of their inquiry, he was unable to answer the second portion of the noble Duke's Question.

RELIEF OF DISTRESS (IRELAND) BILL.

(The Lord President.)

(NO. 26.) REPORT OF AMENDMENTS.

Amendments reported (according to Order).

LORD EMLY: My Lords, now that the Bill is on the point of becoming law I hope the noble Duke opposite (the Duke of Richmond and Gordon) will not think me unreasonable if I make some observations as to the manner in which its provisions are to be administered. I regret to say that two hours ago I heard a very alarming report of the intensity of distress in the North-Western part of Ireland from one of those excellent men belonging to the Society of Friends, who, having worked hard in the cause of charity in 1847, has now returned to the scene of his former labours. He says the people there have only been preserved from starvation by the Relief Funds of the Duchess of Marlborough and the Lord Mayor of Dublin; and I fear that all along the Western coast, if great suffering and even starvation is to be averted, there must be no delay in

putting to work the machinery provided by this Bill. Mr. Tuke says—

“The Poor Law is at this moment in abeyance in the West of Ireland, and, judging by that, there is no distress in the West. But there is at this moment in one part 600 or 700 families who are fed from day to day by charitable funds, yet the Poor Law Guardians have not moved a finger, though there are but very few inmates in the workhouses. Take, again, another large Union in which we have been working for some days. It is bounded by the rugged Atlantic coast, and has a population of about 33,000, and the assumed rateable value is £20,000. How many persons do you suppose are receiving out-door relief? Just 143, and yet in that district the greatest distress is existing.”

My Lords, even a more serious matter is the distribution of seed. Mr. Tuke states that many Unions have refused to exercise the powers given to them to provide seed, and he remarks—

“The distress will last until a new crop comes in; the most pressing need exists to supply distressed districts with seed. If this is not done, future famine is certain.”

If properly administered, the provisions of the Bill will reach every nook and cranny of the suffering. The Poor Law Guardians are bound to give out-door relief to the cottiers as well as the labourers where it is required, and if any Board of Guardians neglect their duty, the Government have the power to dismiss them, and to appoint vice-Guardians in their place. The responsibility then rests with the Government of adequate relief being given. The liberal facilities given to the landed proprietors and corporations for reproductive employment will, I trust, render any great extension of out-door relief in any but the districts inhabited almost exclusively by cottiers unnecessary. In these districts out-door relief must be given, or the land will remain untilled, and famine will be stereotyped. But here, again, everything depends on the Government. I mentioned to the noble Duke that from various quarters I had been told that the Board of Works had broken down under the heavy pressure of the last two months. The noble Duke will remember that three years ago a Treasury Commission, appointed by the present Government, made a Report that its constitution was unsatisfactory and required improvement. The Government, then, have not been taken unawares; and I trust the noble Duke will be able to inform your Lordships that it has reinforced the

Lord Emly

Board of Works. Over the three Private Committees in Dublin—those of the Duchess of Marlborough, the Lord Mayor, and *The New York Herald*—the Government cannot, of course, exercise any direct control. The want of any apportionment of districts between those three Committees has led to grave abuses; the same districts have in some cases managed to get relief from more than one of these funds, and much demoralization has followed. My Lords, the way in which, in my opinion, the whole organization for the relief of distress might best be worked, both for meeting real distress and preventing abuse, would be to follow the example of 1847, and to appoint some distinguished and experienced man, such as Sir Alfred Power, to direct and control the whole machinery of relief in the distressed districts. Such an officer would, of course, have no direct control over charity purses; but, no doubt, all three Committees would willingly accept his advice and assistance, and he would, of course, have in his hands the threads of the operations both of the Local Government Board and the Board of Works. This is, of course, a question for the Government to decide upon. I hope they will excuse me for having ventured to make this suggestion to them. My Lords, I do not address you as an alarmist; I do not take the gloomy view of the prospect before us. If it pleases God to give us a good harvest, I am convinced that our troubles will be over. The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. J. Lowther) said, the other day, that in every way Ireland had retrograded within the last 10 years, and he sought to connect this with the legislation of the late Government. My Lords, nothing can be more untrue. The loss of £10,286,000 in value of potatoes in three years, £5,000,000 of which loss occurred in 1879, sufficiently accounts for the distress which now prevails. But if you will compare 1868 with 1878, you will see Ireland both morally and materially has made satisfactory and, indeed, remarkable progress—morally, for in 1868 the number of serious crimes was 9,090, while in 1878 they were only 6,959; and materially, for while in 1868 the deposits and cash balances in Irish Joint Stock Banks were £22,164,000, in 1878 they were £31,534,000. We have difficulty enough to deal with, we have agitators

preaching undisguised Socialism, and setting against the race and religion of Ireland the feelings of the people of England and Scotland. Is this a time for the Chief Secretary for Ireland to add fuel to the flames of agitation? Sir Erskine May, the highest authority on such subjects, lays down "that to abuse a statute you do not intend to repeal, is contrary to the usages of Parliament," yet the right hon. Gentleman never loses an opportunity of denouncing the Church and Land Acts; and only the other day at Kendal he called the one "confiscation and spoliation," and the other "confiscation, and the transfer of property from one class of Her Majesty's subjects to another." But he did more; he said—

"We now find bands, or armed men, wandering over Ireland in the dark hours of the night, threatening, and not only threatening, but, we regret to say, actually perpetrating outrages on those who are guilty of the heinous offence of complying with the honourable engagements of paying their rent. It often happens, when an Irish landlord returns to Ireland, his first greeting is probably a missive with a death's head for a crest and for a device a pair of cross bones."

My Lords, is it fair to the tenants who, in the greater part of Ireland, have under great difficulties discharged faithfully their honourable engagements, thus to malign them on account of crimes committed in a few districts? What would be said of the Governor General of Canada if, on account of crimes committed in Manitoba, he aspersed the character of the Dominion? Is it fair to those who through evil and good report are trying to bind together the hearts of the people of the Three Kingdoms for a Minister of the Crown to utter these calumnies? My Lords, I make these remarks in no Party spirit. I was ready to assist my noble Friend the late Lord Mayo quite as much as my noble Friends the Marquess of Hartington and Lord Carlingford, when they were Chief Secretaries. In these matters, under whatever flag we muster, we are all Members of the same Party of law and order. I entreat Her Majesty's Government not to allow the Member of their body who represents Ireland to generate in some cases and to intensify in others anti-loyal feelings by his reckless rhetoric.

THE DUKE OF RICHMOND AND GORDON said, that on the Report of

Amendments to the Relief of Distress (Ireland) Bill, he was not prepared for so violent an attack on his right hon. Friend the Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. J. Lowther). Considering that his right hon. Friend was not present to defend himself, and that no Notice had been given of an intention to call in question the conduct of his right hon. Friend, he (the Duke of Richmond and Gordon) was not prepared with the documents and papers necessary to answer this attack. The speech which his right hon. Friend had made at Kendal had escaped his notice, and he doubted very much whether, if he had seen it, he would have read it; but be that as it might, he had not seen it. The noble Lord had, in plain terms, accused his right hon. Friend of making a statement which was not true; and maintained that in Ireland rents were paid.

LORD EMLY: In the greater part of Ireland.

THE DUKE OF RICHMOND AND GORDON said, he was not aware that his right hon. Friend included the whole of Ireland. Then, again, the noble Lord went on to assert that the state of Ireland was not such as his right hon. Friend had described it—a place where attempts were being made to set class against class, and carry on social agitation throughout the country. But the noble Lord's assertion that Ireland was not so bad as that, was not borne out by the statement at the end of his (Lord Emly's) speech, for the noble Lord himself admitted the existence of a Socialistic agitation, and that armed bands did go about to prevent the payment of rents in some parts of that country. No doubt, it was desirable that there should be combination in the distribution of relief, as it lessened the chances of imposition; but the existence of separate Relief Committees in Dublin, competing with each other, was a matter with which the Government could not deal, as the noble Lord had himself partly admitted, and it was unnecessary to enter further into it. The noble Lord had also mentioned the Board of Works; but the staff of the Irish Board of Works had been considerably strengthened, and with the result that, whereas proceedings for obtaining a loan took about six weeks some time ago, they were now completed in three weeks or a month. Moreover, landlords knowing them-

selves that their titles to their property were perfectly good, in many instances anticipated the completion of the formalities, and commenced works out of their own money, without waiting for the instalments, knowing that they would get it from the Government; and though he did not mean to say that the Board of Works should not make every effort to supply the money, yet, even if there had been some delay, it would not be injurious, seeing the landlords had advanced the money. Besides, the noble Lord must know that before sums of money could be given by the Government, certain inquiries were necessary. Titles must be inquired into, and local inquiries must be made. As to the *lâches* of Boards of Guardians, if the noble Lord put him in possession of the information which had been forwarded to him from Ireland, as he had said, only that morning, he would take care that the cases should be inquired into. If a proper remedy could be devised for persons in a starving condition, Her Majesty's Government would be the first to apply it. In the meantime, he would at once communicate with the Irish Government on the subject.

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY said, that the other night he ventured to make a few remarks, in which he said that it would be very much to be regretted if, while adopting extraordinary measures for the relief of destitution in Ireland, the ordinary resources of the Poor Law were not put into execution. What he had apprehended had actually come to pass. The statements forwarded to his noble Friend (Lord Emly) showed that; and he (the Earl of Kimberley) himself had read a similar account in one of the newspapers. If Boards of Guardians in Ireland held their hands and refrained from giving relief, because there was a good deal of money to be obtained from the Imperial Treasury, that would be a lesson which, once learnt, would not easily be forgotten, and would lead to most mischievous results. If Boards of Guardians in Ireland did not do their duty to the poor, the Government ought immediately to put in force their power of superseding such Boards, and appointing paid Guardians to discharge the functions which they had failed to perform. These Boards ought to remember Mr. Drummond's maxim—"Property has its duties as well as its rights," and

one of the first duties of property was to provide for the poor. Where there was such an amount of distress that its relief by means of the Poor Law would practically mean ruin to the ratepayers, no one would hesitate to meet it by extraordinary assistance; but it was of the greatest importance that, in the first instance, the resources of the Poor Law should be made use of to the fullest extent possible. Turning to another point, he could not accede to the doctrine that the speeches of a Member of the Government must only be referred to in the House in which he happened to sit. With regard to the speeches of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. J. Lowther), anyone who had read them must admit that he had shown a great want of discretion, and that the lack of it in the management of Irish affairs was invariably productive of evil. It was very important that they should not be told that because outrages occurred in one part of Ireland, there were outrages in another part, as in many parts of that country the people were peaceably disposed. On the other hand, there had been, from various causes, disturbances which were very much to be regretted. Still, no such observations as those which had been made by the Chief Secretary for Ireland ought to have been made by any person holding office. Now, there was another habit which that right hon. Gentleman had got into, and that was the denouncing of the Church and Land Acts. Those Acts were opposed, and no doubt conscientiously, by the Party now in power; but they had become part of the law of the land. They were measures which could not possibly be revoked, and he felt that there was no idea on the part of the Government to disturb them. Then, was it wise or prudent to continue attacks against those measures, and by doing which angry feelings were aroused in the minds of the people? Nothing could be more mischievous in Ireland than to talk of unsettling what had been done. He had had a short experience of government in Ireland, and he could say that while in Office as Lord Lieutenant he derived much benefit from the kind assistance of political opponents, and especially from the advice of his noble Friend the late Lord Mayo. Both Parties in the State desired the prosperity of Ireland, and for that a steady and settled system of government

was more desirable than anything else; and if he were an Irishman he should give every possible support to the Chief Secretary in the difficult duties he had to discharge. That being so, if the present Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant kept more watch over his words, he would not himself regret it hereafter, and it would be for the advantage of Her Majesty's Government, and more satisfactory to the country.

VISCOUNT CRANBROOK said, that in regard to the measure before the House, no one could complain of the course which had been taken by noble Lords opposite. An equal desire had been shown on both sides to advance legislation with a view of relieving the distress which unhappily prevailed in Ireland; but when the Government were called upon by noble Lords opposite to take certain steps, those noble Lords appeared to forget what was the position in which affairs actually stood. It might be true—and he was afraid there were good grounds for saying it was true—that there had not been sufficient activity on the part of the Guardians in Donegal; but until this Bill was in force, the Government had not the power to do what they were called upon to do. The Government had done all in their power to induce the Guardians to act in the matter; but until the Bill was passed, they could take no stronger measures. He quite agreed that the powers of the Poor Law ought to be put in force, and it was extremely desirable that the powers conferred in respect of the Seeds Act should be put into operation, because once the seeds were in the ground, the minds of the people would be relieved, to some extent, as to the future. If, however, the facts which had been referred to by the noble Lord could be substantiated, the Government would at once see what could be done with regard to them. Another subject had cropped up in connection with this question which had little to do with the measure before the House. He referred to the speech made by his right hon. Friend the Chief Secretary for Ireland, which he regretted had been introduced, though he was not the one to complain of one Member of Parliament attacking another, in a fair and reasonable manner, for any speech he might have made out-of-doors. He had no doubt that his right hon. Friend the Chief Secretary

for Ireland had made a very out-spoken speech, and he should have been glad to have read that speech, in order to see context of the quotations that had been brought before the House. But it should be remembered that a speech such as that delivered by his right hon. Friend, in a part of the country with which he was familiar, and in which he and his family were well known, was not like a speech delivered in Parliament. In a speech delivered in the House of Commons, it was necessary for the speaker to guard himself against surprise; but in such a speech as was made at Kendal, before a general audience, it was only deemed necessary to put before the auditory the strong points and leave out the weak ones—speeches which required much explanation never making much impression on such occasions, the effect of the explanation given being to destroy the efficiency of the strong points. No doubt, his right hon. Friend spoke strongly on that occasion, and said that rents were not paid very well in Ireland at the present time. Well, no doubt, there were many parts of Ireland where the rents did not come in freely; but that was not always because of any dishonesty on the part of tenants, or disinclination to perform their contracts, but because of the cruel and distressing pressure put upon them by men not to discharge their duties. No one could take up a newspaper in the country without seeing in it some allusion to threatening letters and such like menaces, which had been sent to well-disposed tenants. It was only right, therefore, that men on both sides should speak out upon this subject, and show that they were not parties to a Socialistic agitation, which was endeavouring to turn men who would be honest into men who could hardly be distinguished from rogues; while the agitators themselves, taking advantage of the occasion to carry out their designs, yet took care not to put themselves in the responsible position of those whom they advised to follow a particular course. There was allusion made to another point, and that was in respect of certain legislative measures which had been passed. But he could not be deterred from saying that, without attempting to repeal the Land Act of 1870 and the Church Act of 1869, harm resulted from such legislation. They were told that

they must leave those Acts where they were; but, while he would admit that it was impossible in the case of those measures to restore what had been taken away, he would say that the principles which were laid down in them had, instead of giving the relief which was foreshadowed, only whetted the appetite of the people for further legislation in the same direction. In that sense, therefore, they spoke; and, while assisting the Executive to carry out the law, they could not be prevented from saying that in the measures which had been passed there were principles laid down that had brought about greater evils than those which those measures were intended to cure. However, he hoped that as regarded the Bill before the House, they would all heartily act together and endeavour to provide means for the relief of that distress which prevailed in Ireland.

Report of Amendments *agreed to*.

Bill to be read 3^a on *Monday* next.

ARMY — AUXILIARY FORCES — THE VOLUNTEER REVIEW ON EASTER MONDAY—ADDRESS FOR PAPERS.

LORD CAMPBELL, in moving—

“That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty for Copies of the despatches from military officers in general command of the volunteer reviews upon successive Easter Mondays,”

said, that the Government had, wisely or unwisely, resolved, to sanction a Volunteer Review upon the ensuing Easter Monday. He (Lord Campbell), the other evening, asked for a Copy of the Report of Sir Hope Grant made in 1871; but the noble Viscount the Under Secretary of State for War (Viscount Bury) would not consent to produce it unless all the other Reports, which were less censorious, were produced. It would now be quite unnecessary to say anything more upon this subject, as the whole of it was before the House. His aim was not to cast any stigma upon the Auxiliary Force with which he had been connected, but he wished to see what Sir Hope Grant had reported about them. He did not move for that despatch for his private information, but in the public interest; and in now moving for the whole of them, as he did,

it was solely in deference to what the noble Viscount had suggested in declining to give alone the particular despatch in question—namely, that he (Lord Campbell) should move not for one, but for all. He therefore hoped his Motion would be acceded to.

Moved, that an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty for Copies of the despatches from military officers in general command of the volunteer reviews upon successive Easter Mondays.”—(*The Lord Campbell*.)

VISCOUNT BURY said, he had not suggested that the noble Lord should move for all these despatches; but what he said was, in answer to some of the observations of the noble Lord, that it would be hardly fair to have a Return of one despatch which was unfavourable, and leave out of the bundle all those which were of a very different tenor. The production of all these despatches would not be of any general interest. To grant the Return would require a large amount of Departmental work, and it would be work which was purely of an antiquarian character, and not of general interest to the public. There were 16 or 17 of them, and the details were of matters of bygone days, and would be dreary and unprofitable reading. He had himself relations with a great many Volunteers, and he had not met with one who desired to have these Reports. It should be remembered that the Volunteer system had been very much changed in recent years, and really no good purpose could be served by granting the Return. Besides, sufficient publicity had been given to them at the time by the insertion of them in all the newspapers, which were of easy access to the noble Lord. Not only that, but they had all been published in *The Volunteer Service Gazette*, a copy of which could be purchased for the small sum of 3d.

LORD CAMPBELL said, the noble Viscount suggested the Motion, and he (Lord Campbell) was surprised that he had come down to oppose it.

VISCOUNT BURY begged the noble Lord's pardon; he did not suggest it.

LORD CAMPBELL said, he would be perfectly ready to accept the Report of Sir Hope Grant, and would not ask for the others. The Motion was not of sufficient importance to divide the House upon; however, he would not withdraw

it, but leave the Government to negative it.

On Question? *Resolved* in the *Negative*.

House adjourned at half past
Six o'clock, to Monday next,
Eleven o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Friday, 5th March, 1880.

MINUTES.]—SELECT COMMITTEES—Public Works Loans, Merchant Ships Laden in Bulk, Public Accounts, *nominated*.

SUPPLY—*considered in Committee*—Exchequer Bonds, £3,410,000.

Resolutions [March 4] *reported*.

WAYS AND MEANS—*considered in Committee*—Consolidated Fund, £3,982,902 3s. 3d.; Consolidated Fund, £16,641,300.

PRIVATE BILL (*by Order*)—*Second Reading*—Edinburgh Suburban and Southside Junction Railway*.

PUBLIC BILLS—*Resolutions in Committee*—Probate of Wills, &c. [Stamp Duties].

First Reading—Parliamentary Elections and Corrupt Practices* [102].

Third Reading—Road Debts on Entailed Estates (Scotland)* [95], and *passed*.

QUESTIONS.

POOR - LAW — LIABILITY TO POOR RATES — OVERSEERS OF ST. WERBURGH v. HUTCHINSON.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE asked the President of the Local Government Department, Whether his attention has been called to the case of the overseers of St. Werburgh v. Hutchinson, reported in the "Justice of the Peace" for 6th December last, in which it was decided that when an outgoing occupier quits premises before the expiration of the period for which a poor rate is made and the premises remain unoccupied, the outgoing occupier is liable for the whole of the rate; whether he has considered the severity of the fine thus imposed on persons for a mere change of residence; and, whether he is prepared to propose any amendment of the Law thus declared?

MR. SCLATER - BOOTH: Sir, my attention has been called to the case re-

ferred to, in which the decision was to the effect stated in the Question. It has been the law ever since the statute of Elizabeth that a poor-rate which is made to cover prospective expenditure during the estimated period becomes due immediately after its allowance by the Justices, and the occupier at that time is liable to pay the whole amount. If this were not so the parish officers would be involved in difficulty, as any occupier might allege that he was going to quit before the end of the half-year, and claim to pay part of the rate only. With regard to the broken periods there is, no doubt, some complication. If an outgoing tenant has not paid his rates, the law provides that the incoming tenant shall be liable for so much as is due in respect of his own term of occupation; but if, on the contrary, the outgoing tenant has paid the rates for the whole period, it is doubtful whether he can recover the like proportion from the incoming tenant. To this extent, perhaps, the law might be properly amended, although the general principle of it is evidently designed for the protection of the interests of the ratepayers as a body. It would, however, entail endless difficulties if an occupier could refuse to pay his full rate on the ground that he was going to quit before the end of the half-year, or if the overseers were obliged to refund to him a portion of his rate. Every tenant knows what his legal obligations are, and it is for him when taking his house to make his contract accordingly.

CRIME (IRELAND)—ATTACK ON TENANT RIGHT MEETING AT PORTADOWN.

MR. O'DONNELL asked the Chief Secretary for Ireland, If his attention has been drawn to the reports that, on Wednesday last, a public meeting to advocate Tenant Right in the neighbourhood of Portadown was attacked by a large body of persons armed with bludgeons and other weapons, and headed by a band of fifes and drums playing Orange party tunes; whether it is true that a notice or proclamation had been previously published denouncing the proposed Tenant Right meeting as disloyal and seditious, and summoning the adversaries of Tenant Right to attend and oppose it; whether it is true that many of the advocates

of Tenant Right present were severely struck and beaten and the meeting violently broken up; and, whether he can inform the House why the authorities took no precautions for the defence of a number of people engaged in holding a public meeting?

SIR THOMAS M'CLURE asked the Chief Secretary for Ireland, Whether any of the persons concerned in the attack upon a public meeting held at Portadown on Wednesday the 25th ult. for the purpose of urging upon Parliament the further security of tenant right in Ireland had been made amenable; and, if it is the intention of the Government to institute an inquiry into the circumstances connected therewith?

MR. J. LOWTHER: Sir, I find that the facts are substantially as stated in the first three paragraphs of the Question of the hon. Member for Dungarvan (Mr. O'Donnell). With respect to the last paragraph, I find that the constabulary authorities, both before and after the publication of the notice denouncing the intended gathering, consulted the local magistrates as to the necessity for the adoption of extraordinary measures of precaution. The magistrates, however, among whom was the gentleman who occupied the position of chairman at the tenant-right meeting, were unanimously of opinion that there was no necessity for precautionary measures, and they recommended that the constabulary should not be displayed in force in the field where the meeting was to be held. In defence of the action of the authorities, I think it right to place before the House the evidence upon which they had to form their judgment. A proclamation was published, as has been indicated. It ran as follows:—

“To the Loyalists of Portadown and Neighbourhood.—A number of reckless agitators, under pretence of endeavouring to ameliorate the condition of the tenant-farmers, are promulgating doctrines in the south and west of Ireland which, if acted upon, would rupture the bond of union between England and Ireland, create universal anarchy and communism, and plunge the country into the horrors of a civil war. The province of Ulster has hitherto been happily free from this pestilential agitation; but latterly attempts have been made to divert the attention of the tenant-farmers from the peaceable industries which they have hitherto contentedly pursued, and incite them to a denunciation of their landlords, with whom the most cordial relations have up to the present been maintained. In answer to the so-called tenant-farmers' meeting announced for Wednes-

day next, let the loyalists of Portadown and neighbourhood assemble in their thousands to protest against this exhibition of sedition in a town which has so long maintained a reputation for loyalty to the Crown and Constitution. God save the Queen.”

I must say that, taken by itself, the perusal of this document might have given rise to some apprehension that a breach of the peace might possibly occur, but about the same time a resolution adopted at a meeting of the Portadown Orange Lodge was made public. It was in the following terms:—

“That no drums or drumming parties in connection with this district will assemble in Portadown on Wednesday for the purpose of interfering with the meeting to be held on that day, and that we, as a body of loyal Orangemen, will not have anything whatever to do with the meeting.”

Acting on that information, the authorities and the constabulary arrived at the conclusion that there was no necessity for any exhibition of the police force. With regard to the Question of the hon. Member for Londonderry (Sir Thomas M'Clure), I understand that no person has been made amenable to the law with regard to these transactions. It, however, rests with the persons assaulted to institute proceedings themselves, and until the result of such proceedings is ascertained it would be premature for the Government to arrive at any conclusion in the matter.

CENTRAL COLLEGE OF TECHNICAL EDUCATION.

MR. W. H. JAMES asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, If the Commissioners of the Exhibition of 1851 have consented to recommend the acceptance of the proposals made to them by the City and Guilds of London Institute for the purchase of land fronting the Exhibition Road, South Kensington, for a central College of Technical Education; and, if so, whether there would be any objection to produce the Correspondence?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: Sir, I understand that the proposal is not for the purchase, but the gift of a site to the City and Guilds' Institute for the purpose of establishing the Central Institution. Such a proposal has been made, and at present is under consideration.

Mr. O'Donnell

ORDINANCE MAPS—HERTFORDSHIRE.

MR. HALSEY asked the First Commissioner of Works, When the Ordinance Maps on the 25-inch scale will be published of those parishes in the county of Hertford, the survey of which has now for some time been completed?

MR. GERARD NOEL, in reply, said, he had communicated with the Director of the Survey, who informed him that the survey of Hertfordshire was completed, and the plans of a 25-inch scale all drawn. Maps for one-half of the county were ready, and it was hoped the rest would be completed in the course of the next 18 months.

CRIMINAL LAW—CASE OF MARTIN LEONARD.

MR. EDGE asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether his attention has been called to a case which was brought before the borough justices in the town of Hanley on Monday the 23rd of February, and which was reported in the "Staffordshire Advertiser" of Saturday last, in which one Martin Leonard was charged with being drunk and disorderly, and assaulting a police officer, and was fined by the bench one guinea and costs. Afterwards, on being asked by the clerk of the court if he had any goods to be distrained upon, Leonard replied that he had a matchbox if that would do. Whereupon the magistrates, to mark their disapproval of his insolence, fined the prisoner five pounds and costs, or two months imprisonment in default; and, whether the magistrates in this case did not exceed their jurisdiction; and if he will order the release of the prisoner on the payment of the original fine?

MR. ASSHETON CROSS, in reply, said, there could be no doubt that if the facts of the case were as stated in the Question, the magistrates would have exceeded their jurisdiction. It appeared, however, from the statement of the magistrates, that the prisoner was brought before them on two charges—the one of having been drunk and disorderly, and the other of having assaulted the police. They decided, dealing very leniently with those charges,

to impose a fine of one guinea and costs, or one month's imprisonment in default of payment. The prisoner declared that he would go to prison, and while he was about to be removed the police brought under the notice of the Bench a previous sentence which had been passed upon him without the option of a fine. It was in consequence of that previous conviction, and for no other reason, that the fine of one guinea had been increased in amount.

ARMY RETIREMENT—THE ROYAL WARRANT.

COLONEL ARBUTHNOT asked the Secretary of State for War, Why the Royal Warrant dealing with voluntary retirement and service under twenty years of age, which was to have been circulated on 1st instant (with antedate of 5th ultimo), has not yet been issued from the War Office; and, whether he has any objection to laying a Copy of the same upon the Table of the House without delay?

COLONEL LOYD LINDSAY: Sir, a copy of the Warrant is at this moment lying in the Library of the House. The delay in its publication was owing to there being more printed matter in it than usual.

MERCANTILE MARINE—THE "LOUISA FLETCHER" OF LIVERPOOL (UNSEAWORTHINESS).

MR. BIGGAR asked the Parliamentary Secretary of the Board of Trade, If he is prepared to prosecute the owner of the ship "Louisa Fletcher" on the charge of sending an unseaworthy ship to sea; and, if not, if he would explain why he does not think it desirable to do so?

VISCOUNT SANDON: In the absence of my hon. Friend, I beg to be allowed to answer the Question. I have referred all the official Papers connected with the case to my legal adviser for the purpose of ascertaining whether any offence has been committed as to which it would be my duty to direct a prosecution. In the meantime I can give no opinion on the subject, but I shall be ready to lay Papers on the Table of the House if desired.

CAPITAL PUNISHMENT—THE
PRISONS ACT, 1868 — EXECUTIONS
IN KIRKDALE GAOL.

MR. HIBBERT asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether his attention has been drawn to the stringent conditions laid down by the High Sheriff of Lancashire for the admission of reporters to Kirkdale Prison during the executions on Tuesday last; whether he is aware that the editors of some of the Liverpool newspapers declined to accept such conditions of admission, as being opposed to the spirit of freedom in which English journals are conducted; and, whether, as the coroner and jury who held the inquest upon the bodies unanimously condemned the exclusion of the representatives of the Press from executions, he will at once issue regulations which will not only permit a certain number of reporters or other unofficial witnesses to be present at an execution, but will also allow an independent statement to be given to the public of the manner in which the law has been carried into effect?

MR. ASSHETON CROSS: Sir, I wish to point out that an erroneous impression appears to prevail on the part of the public on this subject. There seems to be an idea that executions are carried out by the officers of the gaol under the direction of the Home Secretary. Nothing could be more erroneous. I have nothing to do with the matter from beginning to end. The condemned man is handed over to the High Sheriff, who, by the law, is the person appointed to carry out the execution, and I presume that the High Sheriff is a person of the highest possible standing in his county. With respect to this particular case, the High Sheriff told me that he was perfectly willing that unofficial persons should be present; but that he had a very strong feeling—a feeling which I believe is shared by every hon. Gentleman in this House—that nothing can be more injurious to the public, in any form or shape, than those description of executions which we were accustomed to see in the newspapers from time to time for a long series of years; and I am quite sure that nobody wants that kind of thing to be revived. Those hon. Members who took an interest in the passing of the Private Executions Act

will remember that its object was to prevent the demoralizing scenes that might be witnessed by a mob varying, perhaps, from 200 to 2,000 persons at the outside; but if these descriptions are to go on, they will be read, not by 2,000 persons, but by millions throughout the country, and great harm cannot fail to be done by them. Therefore, as I have said, I do not believe that anybody would care to revive that state of things. The High Sheriff in this case, according to my mind, did quite right. He was quite willing that the representatives of the Press should be present, but he wanted to take precautions that no such descriptions as I have referred to should appear. I think that he was quite right. I am quite aware that the liberty of the Press ought not to be interfered with or controlled. I believe it is very likely that some of the representatives of the Press said that whenever they did go they must go unshackled. But if they were to be admitted to executions, and if the descriptions that we used to have are again to go forth without any control, then I say that the mischief will be increased tenfold. What I stated the other night I now state again—that these matters are entirely in the hands of the High Sheriff, and I do not think that I, as Home Secretary, ought to interfere. I have not the smallest objection that the matter should be left to some independent authority, but the difficulty is to get independent persons to act. What I stated was, that I would communicate with some of the principal High Sheriffs, and also with the Visiting Justices, to see if any arrangement could be made; but, whatever is done, I must enter my most emphatic protest against any revival of those old descriptions which we used to have of executions, which caused much demoralization.

MR. JOHN BRIGHT: Sir, I suppose I am not in Order in following the right hon. Gentleman; but the right hon. Gentleman has made a speech upon a very important, I think a very painful, subject. He has referred to what was recommended by the Commission on Private Executions. One of the objections made before the Commission—*[Cries of "Order!" and "Move!"]*

MR. SPEAKER: If the right hon. Gentleman desires to put a Question arising out of the Answer of the Secre-

tary of State for the Home Department, he would be in Order in doing so.

MR. JOHN BRIGHT: Sir, that I may put myself in Order, if the House will allow me, I will conclude with a Motion. Amongst the witnesses whose evidence was taken by the Capital Punishment Commission, upon which I sat, there was one witness who was entirely against public executions, but he said that he was greatly afraid that if private executions were permitted capital punishment would very soon be abolished. He believed that the public would not stand such a monstrous state of things as that a man should be strangled in private and the public should know nothing about it. That is my opinion. I was against public executions; I am against capital punishment. But I believe that the present system is one which is outraging the feelings of the public, and that the High Sheriff of Lancashire has done much to make it impossible to continue private executions as they have been carried on. I beg to ask them the question—I will not intrude further—if we and the country are to understand that the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State washes his hands entirely of the whole matter, and leaves it in the hands of the High Sheriff, who may be anybody? I have been at Council meetings where the high sheriffs are chosen, and I know how they are chosen and how they are nominated, and I happen to know several of them. They are only appointed for one year; they are not, generally speaking, men of experience. They may bring their own particular fashion and their own particular thought into such a transaction as this just for one year. I wish to ask the right hon. Gentleman if the House and if the country is to understand that he, as Home Secretary, has nothing whatever to do with the matter, and that Parliament has no remedy whatever, except declaring by Resolution its opinion on this question? It is something painful to think that a High Sheriff may exercise his private judgment as he pleases in a matter of this kind. I beg to move that the House do now adjourn.

MR. MITCHELL HENRY, in seconding the Motion, said, it was right that the House should know that executions as they were now conducted were in many respects experimental. The present executioner was an individual who

seemed to be at liberty to put into practice any particular theory. The question was a much more serious one than hon. Gentlemen opposite seemed to think. It was quite clear to his mind that if the matter were left in the position in which the Secretary of State seemed determined to leave it—that was to say, to the caprice or judgment of one person, the High Sheriff, who varied in accordance with the number of counties and from year to year—the public would no longer tolerate private executions at all. The lecture, he might add, which the right hon. Gentleman had read to the newspapers must, if it were to be attended to, be extended in other directions, and their columns must be revised in connection with other subjects. What he desired particularly, however, to point out was that those executions were in the nature of experiments. Formerly criminals were executed in this country by the process of strangulation; but at present they were deprived of life by the dislocation of the neck and the tearing of the muscles which united the neck to the head, and the House ought to know that on one occasion when an experiment of the kind was made, a man's head was actually pulled off. In the case which he referred to, the rope was of a particular character and the drop of a particular length. The rope was too unyielding and the drop too long, and the result was that the man's head was jerked off his body. If there had been no reporters present, the circumstances of that case would never have been known to the public; and the country, he was sure, would not stand having executions carried on in private unless there were independent witnesses who would narrate to the public as much or as little as they pleased, on their own responsibility, of the horrifying and bungling incidents that frequently occurred. He entered his protest against the doctrine which had been enunciated by the Secretary of State, and he trusted that the right hon. Gentleman would himself lay down regulations, and not leave the matter to the caprice of High Sheriffs.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House do now adjourn."—*(Mr. John Bright.)*

MR. HIBBERT wished to explain the reason why he had put his Question.

He quite agreed with the desire of the right hon. Gentleman to do away with sensational reports in newspapers; but the reason he had asked the Question was that, owing to the passing of the Prisons Act, the position of matters had been entirely changed. When the Act was passed substituting intermural for public executions, power was retained to the High Sheriff and Visiting Justices to allow a certain number of the general public to be admitted to executions. By the Prisons Act, however, the powers of the Visiting Justices in regard to the admission of independent witnesses had been transferred to the Home Secretary. Therefore, he (Mr. Hibbert) thought he was justified in asking the Home Secretary whether, as the Visiting Justices had now no power to permit the admission of a limited number of persons at the time an execution was taking place, he was prepared to lay down regulations which would admit of the presence of some of the public at executions? But he should like it to be clearly understood that he had not the slightest sympathy with the publication of sensational articles, nor had he the least desire that any member of the Press, or others who were admitted into the prison, should make use of their presence for that purpose.

MR. ASSHETON CROSS: I must, Sir, if I may be allowed to do so, rather deprecate discussion on this matter. It seems to me rather contrary to the ruling which fell from the Chair a few days ago, and this certainly cannot be a matter of imminence—"Oh!"—there is no execution immediately pending that I know of. The right hon. Gentleman will have an opportunity—[Mr. JOHN BRIGHT: No!]¹—well, I think the right hon. Gentleman will have an ample opportunity another time of putting a Question on going into Committee of Supply or otherwise; and rather than interrupt the ordinary course of Business, which appears to me to be distinctly at variance with the ruling of the Speaker twice over in one night, it appears to me that it would be better to take that course. Having said that, I am perfectly willing to answer the right hon. Gentleman's Question. I do not think he could have been in the House when this question was raised a night or two ago; but what I stated then, and what I believe I stated this afternoon, was that I had promised to put myself in communication with the

High Sheriffs and Visiting Committees of the prisons to see what understanding could be come to. [Mr. JOHN BRIGHT dissented.] I have stated so twice over. What I stated was, that I should put myself in communication with them to see what arrangements could be made. What I state now is, that no one wishes that sensational paragraphs should appear, but no one would object to independent criticism. That is all I wished to say.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: Sir, I do not rise to continue the debate on this question; but I wish to protest against the lecture which the right hon. Gentleman has thought it necessary to administer to my right hon. Friend. I see no analogy whatever between the case which has arisen to-night, and that which was adverted to by the Speaker a few nights ago. Upon that occasion the Speaker ruled—and ruled very properly, I think—that it was irregular to refer to debates which had taken place in this House during the present Session, and also irregular and highly inexpedient to occupy the time of the House by Questions on the conduct of Members as to pledges they had or had not given to their constituents; and the Speaker pointed out that those irregularities were not covered by a Motion for the Adjournment of the House. It appears to me that it is a very different case, indeed, when an hon. Member rises to make some observations which, in his opinion, are called for by the very elaborate Answer—which amounted almost to a speech—which has just been given by the right hon. Gentleman. Whether Answers of the kind are desirable, or whether it is desirable that debates on short Notice should arise in this way or not, I will not say. Certainly there is no analogy whatever between the case adverted to by the right hon. Gentleman and the present case on which my right hon. Friend has spoken; but I do not think my right hon. Friend has fairly laid himself open to the strictures of the right hon. Gentleman.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: Sir, I likewise do not desire at all to enter upon the subject to which the Question refers; but I do think it is of importance that, if we are to have any regularity in our proceedings, there should be care exercised in allowing the practice of raising debates upon Ques-

tions in this way. If it is always to be held that when a Question is put to a Minister, and the Answer does not satisfy the Gentleman who puts it, an opportunity is to be taken of moving the Adjournment of the House, and of springing a discussion upon it, we destroy the whole of the system by which Motions get precedence one of another, and at any time we may have questions raised without Notice. Without saying that there are no cases in which some latitude ought to be allowed, we ought to carefully restrain the practice; but I have heard you, Sir, on former occasions reprobate or deprecate the practice of raising discussions on Answers which were given by Ministers relative to Answers which were not considered satisfactory to the Questions as one most injurious to the order of our proceedings.

MR. GLADSTONE: Sir, like my noble Friend near me, I did not intend to enter upon this question; but a point of considerable importance in connection with the order of our proceedings has arisen out of the debate. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, I think, is providing against a danger that does not exist. He seems to suppose that there is a disposition somewhere on this Bench to hold that whenever an Answer given by a Minister is unsatisfactory to the questioner, a Motion of Adjournment should be moved. I will go as far as the right hon. Gentleman in deprecating the Motion of Adjournment. Many a time I have winced and smarted under them, especially on one or two occasions on which I remember they had been made by Gentlemen whom I see sitting opposite. But the real case, I think, is this. The right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary was led—and I cannot in the slightest degree blame him for it—to reply to a Question by what was virtually a speech upon a subject which is not viewed with the same warmth of feeling by all Members of the House, but which is viewed with great warmth and depth of feeling by certain other Members. I am sure my right hon. Friend would be the last man to encourage Motions of this kind upon slight occasion; but it did appear to him that this was one of the exceptional cases on which the Chancellor of the Exchequer thinks that Motions may be made. I cannot see that censure is due to my right hon.

Friend for having set forth very clearly, and by no means at undue length, his views on a question of great interest and importance. I never made a Motion under such circumstances myself, and I trust I never shall; but my right hon. Friend, having a strong feeling on the matter, had, I think, a very fair justification for the Motion out of the speech made, also, I think, without blame, by the right hon. Gentleman. I think we may now let the discussion drop, especially as nobody has been very much hurt.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn*.

ORDERS IN COUNCIL—PUBLICATION.

MR. ANDERSON asked the First Lord of the Admiralty, If he is aware that the Orders in Council, to which he referred as being in the Library, are not in the Library for dates after 1858; and if he will cause the subsequent ones to be sent there?

MR. W. H. SMITH: Sir, the Orders in Council are to be found in *The Gazette*, which are in the Library of the House of Commons. There have this day been supplied to the Library bound copies of the Admiralty Orders in Council up to June, 1873. Since that date the Admiralty Orders in Council have not been bound. It will, I think, be desirable that they should be bound, and issued as a book or books. The Orders in Council issued since 1873 shall be supplied to the Library, and there will also be supplied copies of all future Orders in Council as they are issued.

NAVY—RECREATION GROUNDS AT PORTSMOUTH.

LORD CHARLES BERESFORD asked the First Lord of the Admiralty, If the Admiralty are going to grant any help towards the proposed recreation ground for the Officers, Blue Jackets, Marines, and Soldiers, at Portsmouth; and, if so, whether in money, labour, or material?

MR. W. H. SMITH: Sir, the question of providing a recreation ground for the Navy and Army at Portsmouth has been under the consideration of a joint committee of Officers of both Services at Portsmouth, and their Report, which includes the questions of the expense which may be contributed from Navy funds, or of any assistance which

may be provided from the Dockyard, is now under the consideration of the Admiralty.

RETURN OF MEMBERS OF THE CIVIL SERVICE ENGAGED IN TRADING.

MR. BLAKE asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, If he can state when the Return, ordered at the close of the last Session of Parliament, of the names of all Civil Servants now in the pay of the Government who are engaged in trading for profit, will be presented?

MR. ASSHETON CROSS, in reply, said, that all Departments of the Government had been applied to on the subject by the Home Office, but that answers from all of them had not yet been received. If he did not receive the information soon, he would send another notice to the Departments.

MERCANTILE MARINE—THE ELECTRIC LIGHT IN LIGHTHOUSES.

MR. LEA asked the President of the Board of Trade, If sufficient information has been obtained to warrant a decision as to the general use of the Electric Light in Lighthouses; if not, when he expects to obtain such information?

VISCOUNT SANDON: Sir, it rests with the Lighthouse authorities to make any proposal for the adoption of the electric light. No such proposal is now before us, and it does not belong to the Board of Trade to originate action on this matter. The hon. Member will find in the evidence appended to the Report of the Select Committee on Lighting by Electricity which sat last Session some most interesting and exhaustive statements respecting the use and cost of the electric light in lighthouses.

IRISH NATIONAL SCHOOL TEACHERS.

MR. DODDS asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Whether rules for the administration of "The National School Teachers (Ireland) Act, 1879," have been made pursuant to that Act; and, if not, when it is intended to make them, and present them to Parliament?

SIR HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON: Sir, the rules in question were presented to Parliament on the 5th of February, the day on which Parliament met.

Mr. W. H. Smith

CORONERS' FEES (IRELAND).

MR. O'CLERY asked Mr. Attorney General for Ireland, Whether the Grand Jury of Carlow had a discretionary power to disallow the Coroner's fees for holding of inquests in cases where death resulted from drunkenness; in case the Grand Jury have not that power, whether the Coroner can include such disallowed fees in his next presentment; and, if such powers are vested in Grand Juries, will he explain how it is that, in the form for Returns to Government by Coroners, there is a separate column for such cases?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (MR. GIBSON): Sir, under 9 & 10 *Vict. c. 37*, the Grand Jury have the duty cast on them of examining and approving the Coroner's abstract and account of the inquisitions held by him, and they are empowered to examine the Coroner upon oath as to their correctness; and it follows that in taking these steps they are clothed with a discretionary power. If the Coroner is dissatisfied with the action of the Grand Jury on any point, it is open to him to apply to the Judge of Assize on the subject. In reference to the last paragraph of the Question, I may draw the attention of the hon. Member to the fact that in the Returns the column containing those cases in which the verdict was "Death from excessive drinking," is ranged under the more general heading of "Death from natural causes."

PARLIAMENT—THE EASTER RECESS.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE inquired, Whether the Chancellor of the Exchequer had changed his arrangements for Passion Week?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: Sir, When the noble Lord (the Marquess of Hartington) put his Question to me at the beginning of yesterday's Sitting I had received no Notice of his intention to do so, and I gave a doubtful answer as to the precise day on which I hoped the House might rise—namely, Thursday, the 25th instant. In the course of the evening several Gentlemen, including the hon. Member for Chelsea, represented to me that it would be more convenient for hon. Members that we should rise on Tuesday, the 23rd, which it was suggested might be

done, as has been done in previous years, by the Government taking a Morning Sitting on that Tuesday for such Business as remains or which must be got through before the Easter Holidays. As I stated last night, I shall be very glad to be able to adopt that plan if it should be found possible; but, of course, it must depend somewhat on the progress of Business.

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

—o—

SUPPLY—COMMITTEE.

Order for Committee read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."

INTOXICATING LIQUORS (LICENCES).

RESOLUTION.

SIR WILFRID LAWSON: Sir, I beg to move the Amendment which stands in my name—

"That, inasmuch as the ancient and avowed object of Licensing the Sale of Intoxicating Liquors is to supply a supposed public want, without detriment to the public welfare, this House is of opinion that a legal power of restraining the issue or renewal of licences should be placed in the hands of the persons most deeply interested and affected, namely, the inhabitants themselves, who are entitled to protection from the injurious consequences of the present system, by some efficient measure of local option."

I am sure, Sir, that I shall not be thought to be bringing forward a subject which is not of the greatest importance. The attendance in this House shows that there is an interest taken in this question which is, I am sure, equalled out-of-doors. Now, if I want any excuse for bringing this subject forward—if I want any reason to prove the very great evil that I am attacking—I think I could find that proof nowhere better than in a speech which the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer made at the close of last year. I will just quote one sentence from that speech, which was delivered at a meeting of the Licensed Victuallers of Exeter. In speaking there, he said—

"The evils of drunkenness become more and more patent every day. If we examine into the matter, we are more and more impressed with the frightful evils which arise from it."

And the right hon. Gentleman concluded by saying—

"The conscience of the country is fairly aroused upon the subject."

Well, I believe this is the case. This is the reason why I bring the subject before the House; and I hope that hon. Gentleman will not for a moment be possessed with the idea that this is a teetotal question—I mean one which is only interesting to those who advocate temperance or total abstinence. We are not here to discuss whether drunkenness is a sin or a vice; but we are discussing a national question—whether drunkenness and drinking which exist to so large an extent in this country is not a national evil, and therefore one which it behoves the House to deal with in the best way it can. Now, Sir, I will endeavour to say something about the power which we have of dealing with this evil; and I think that everyone will agree with me when I say that the laws which we have now for the regulation and distribution of drink amongst the people in this country are not perfect laws. I think that most people, and that all parties in the House, will agree that they might be improved, or, at any rate, that they are not working thoroughly satisfactorily. It may be held that those laws are so arranged that there are some people who procure too little drink; but everybody will agree that they are so arranged that a great many people get too much, more than is good for them, and more than is good for the State. Sometimes people talk of Free Trade; but I do not think I need occupy the time of the House in arguing against Free Trade in drink. That is very nearly, if not quite, an exploded idea. The House must remember that it is because Free Trade in drink failed—because it was found impossible to allow the sale of liquor in the same way as other commodities—it was because of that that you have had to do away with Free Trade and to resort to a system which is sometimes called a restrictive system, and sometimes called a regulated monopoly. This is rather an important matter to remember. We have tried what we may call alcoholic facilities in almost every shape in the country. The House will remember that 50 years ago great efforts were made to promote sobriety by giving the people cheap beer. The cry was—"Cheap wholesome beer to keep people from spirits;" but I think that everyone will agree that that Act failed. It had to be abandoned about 11 years ago. In 1860, the then Prime Minister (Mr. Gladstone) made a point

of introducing cheap wines, and gave facilities for doing that. That was done with the very best intention, and some people thought it would be some good; but again that has utterly failed, as all agree, in checking a great evil. Then we had the licensed grocers, whom we hear so much about. That was another system of dealing with the evil; but everyone agrees that the licensed grocers are most injurious to the community—[“No, no!”]—at least, almost everyone will agree, but not absolutely everyone. I beg pardon of the House. I should not generalize on this matter. It is principally the publicans who condemn the licensed grocers, and who say that they are the cause of all the crime and immorality of the country, and they are making a great attack upon licensed grocers, in which I heartily join; and when we have succeeded in putting down licensed grocers, I hope the licensed grocers will join me in attacking the publicans. I may say that for generations now we have tried to arrange the How, the When, and the Where to supply drink to the people; and I am entitled in my argument to assume that we have made the law as perfect as we could make it, because all the great Parties in the State have tried their hand at it. Everybody remembers Lord Aberdare’s Bill—the Licensing Bill of the late Liberal Government—and everybody remembers—we have painful cause to remember—the Licensing Bill of the present Government, and which was the best they could do for us. And when both Governments had tried to amend the system—and they both failed—we had one of the most important Committees ever nominated; I allude to the Committee of the House of Lords on Intemperance. It sat for the long period of nearly three years to inquire into the state of intemperance in this country and the causes which led to it, and whether it could be cured by any legislation. Remember this was a very valuable Committee, and it has proved very valuable to a variety of people. The Secretary of State for the Home Department hardly ever made a speech for some years without hoping that the Lords’ Committee would soon report. It was the greatest godsend to him that ever a Secretary of State for the Home Department had; for he never received a deputation from Teetotalers, Tipplers, Good Templars, Licensed Vic-

tuallers, or anybody else, but he must conclude—as you will see if you look at his speeches—that the whole subject was under the serious consideration of Her Majesty’s Government, but that, unfortunately, nothing could be done until the House of Lords’ Committee had reported. Well, it has reported. I was all on tip-toe of anxiety to know what would be done. I asked last Session from the Ministers what they meant to do? but, of course, they were unable to give me any information on the subject then. I took the first opportunity I had this Session of asking the Chancellor of the Exchequer again what steps the Government meant to take in order to carry out the recommendations of the Lords’ Committee?—and there were 20 recommendations of that Committee, all of them, I am happy to say, going in my direction, and tending to reduce the facilities for the sale of intoxicating drink. But, instead of obtaining any satisfactory reply, I have always been assured that the Government are going to do nothing; therefore, as I have said already, I am justified in concluding that the licensing system is not going to be amended by this House and by the right hon. Gentlemen on that Bench, and that it is intended to allow it to continue as at present. Therefore, let me describe that system, and then proceed to show what I would propose as an amendment of the present system. I have said that we have first to consider how this drink is obtained; and here you notice the curious fact that there is no other trade in existence in which character is so strongly insisted upon except that of the Church. An applicant for a licence has to go before a magistrate to prove the soundness of his character, and once a-year he has to go up again to show that he still retains that excellent character that he had at first. I do not think I can give the Licensed Victuallers too high a character; because the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in that remarkable speech, which has been such a great blessing to me, that he made at Exeter, the Chancellor of the Exchequer described “the publicans and beer-shop-keepers of this country as of the very highest class.” He went to Scripture, and said—“If you turn to the pages of the Old Testament”—[*Laughter.*—]—these are the Chancellor’s words remember, not mine—

"You will constantly see that mine host is the person of the greatest importance, and that he exercises a very considerable influence and authority with regard to those who come under his hospitality; and I need not say that this is a position which he has not altogether lost in the present day. We know very well that when a stranger goes into a town or country, and, perhaps, requires information and assistance, mine host is the man to whom he naturally applies to give him the assistance and the support which he requires."

If I am not mistaken, I see the hon. and learned Member for Southwark (Mr. Clarke) sitting opposite to me. We are all glad to see him in the House—not as a politician, but as a man—and I am quite sure he will endorse the words of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and say that when a stranger or a candidate goes into any town, he finds all the support and assistance which he requires from the Licensed Victuallers. Sir, I say seriously that I do not wish to run down the Licensed Victuallers. I think there is nothing more foolish than getting up and calling them all sorts of names. It has been done now and then by some of those who take what is called an extreme temperance view; but any man who does that damages the cause in which he is engaged. I wish to give them every credit. I should no more blame the publican than I should blame the faggot-voter. Both of them are carrying on a legal business, and those who revile them revile this House, which allows faggot votes and other evils to exist; and when we run them down we are running down ourselves, since we gave them the commission to carry on their trade. Then we come to the When this traffic is to be carried on, and here the law has most carefully dealt with it; because we in this House have been constantly called upon to say the hours, the days, the times, and seasons licensed houses should be open. There is to be no Sunday drinking in Scotland, and no Sunday drinking in Ireland, except in four or five of the largest cities—now, I believe, called the cities of refuge—where people can get drunk if they like. Then we have extension of hours. The publican goes before the magistrates and asks them to extend the hours during which the sale of drink may be carried on in certain cases, where the public are likely to want something more to drink. The last extension was a curious one, I have heard. It took place at the "Liverpool

election," where both Parties on the Bench united to permit an extension of hours for the declaration of the poll, and the plea on which that extension was asked for was, that it was intended for the maintenance of "peace and order." That is one way in which they maintain peace and order in Liverpool. Then you come to the Where—so we have had the How, the When, and the Where. There, again, the law is most particular in what place the trade shall be carried on—the rateable value, the kind of house. When the publicans go before the magistrates, they generally have to explain that they have no back doors. Now, that is a very great point, though I never could understand it; but I believe that the reason is that the people who visit these places may be seen coming out by the front door; and I find in studying the works of my friends the Licensed Victuallers, that if there is one thing they have a rooted objection to it is the practice of secret drinking. We have not only the How, the When, and the Where; but we have the arrangement of the house to attend to; and then we have to consider the kind of people to whom the drink shall be sold. We passed a Statute declaring that nobody should sell it to a person who was under 16 years of age; and the publicans themselves have said that they would never sell anything to those who had had what they considered to be enough liquor. At the Exeter dinner, where the Chancellor of the Exchequer was in the chair, Mr. Alderman Harding, speaking for the "respectable members of the trade"—though I supposed that they were all respectable—said they were all determined not to serve any man who showed the slightest sign of intoxication. Well, that shows that the law is a failure; because although the Licensed Victuallers, according to their own confession, took the greatest care not to sell any liquor to a man who had had enough, it is a fact that in England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland, a year or two ago, there were about 350,000 persons dealt with for drunkenness; and if you question any intelligent police officer on the subject, he will tell you that for every one person who is so caught at least 10 escape. Therefore, although the law is so very stringent and lays down these rules, and the country is anxious to carry them out, you see what the result has been; and

I think I am justified in saying that that law has been one of the greatest failures which the world has ever seen. Now, we see that every man who contemplates the sale of drink has to go before the magistrates and has to prove three things—firstly, that he is an excellent man; secondly, that he has an excellent house; and, thirdly, that he has an excellent intention not to make anybody drink too much; but on this matter what I want to point out is this—that for the benefit of the public the Justices of the Peace have a protective veto. They have the power of saying—“Although this man’s character is good, although his house is good, and although he himself is a suitable person as any we can find, yet, in our opinion, it is not desirable that he should sell drink in that particular locality.” The neighbours around about him do not want another public-house or a gin-shop set up in their midst, and the magistrates have the power of vetoing the application, and they have the power to exercise this veto for the benefit of the public at large. In this matter they are representatives of the public, although they are not a representative body. They are one of the few public bodies which exercise considerable power without being representative. That power of regulating the sale of drink, that power of protecting the public, is individual option—the option of four or five individuals on the magisterial bench. In many cases it is exercised to the greatest satisfaction of their countrymen; but there may be other cases where it is not, and where I think the wishes of the people ought to be consulted as to whether they would have another gin-shop set up amongst them or not. In addition to individual option let us have local option. Let us get at the opinion of the inhabitants themselves to make quite sure that injustice is not done, and that the drinking system is not forced on the local community against the wish of that community. Now, I wish this important matter to be dealt with by all. I do not want to confine it to one class. I want the rich and the poor to stand on the same footing, and to get the opinion of the public on the matter as largely and truly as you can possibly get it. You know that the rich man has plenty of means now of influencing the Justices as to licensing, and of prevent-

ing public-houses being set up near the place where he lives, because he considers them a nuisance; and all I ask is that that same power should be given to the poor which the rich man enjoys, and finds so much advantage from. This is not a teetotal question. I wish all men to express their opinion—sober men, moderate drinkers; aye, even drunkards, for I believe that they would be the very first people to say “Put it away.” I want to have the opinion even of the drink dealers—to let all have the chance of saying how much they like the publicans and whether they want them or not. Why do I want this to be done? Because I know as well as I know anything, and anybody else may know it, too—I know that when these facilities for getting drink have been removed from the people there they have had the very greatest benefits, and everybody is contented with the system. I do not know whether the hon. and learned Member for Cambridgeshire (Mr. Rodwell) is here to-night—oh! yes, I see him sitting there on the other side, and I am very glad to see him. I did not see him at Cambridge the other night. I was going to pay him a compliment on that occasion; but as he was not there I have reserved it for this House. He is a local optionist, although he does not know it. I have been informed that there is a very nice village belonging to him, somewhere or other, called Ampton, which contains somewhere about 120 inhabitants spread over a large area; and I have been told—the hon. Gentleman will correct me if I am wrong—but I have been told that he will not allow a public-house to be established or opened in the place. I am right; he takes his hat off. I wish he had gone down to Cambridge and assisted me the other night to get the people of that county to support local option; instead of which he was rattened by the brewers, and ran away, leaving me ignominiously driven from the platform by his own constituents, waving bottles in their hands. I hope he is going to speak to-night; and if he does I hope he will explain why the people of England in every locality are not to have the same power which he is beneficially using at his own place in getting rid of the drinkshops? I hope I need not occupy the time of the House by going over the whole world; but it will be found, and it is the same everywhere

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—go to Sweden, for example, and you will find that since the people abolished drinkshops Sweden, instead of being one of the most drunken countries in Europe, is one of the most sober. It is all the same everywhere you go. There is a Report of a Committee of the Convocation of Canterbury which tells you of thousands of places in England where good landlords have prohibited drinkshops on their estates, and thus promoted sobriety. I am glad to see the hon. and gallant Member for West Sussex (Sir Walter B. Barttelot) in his place. He made a very effective speech the other night in defence of the soldiers who are charged with committing outrages in Zululand. He said—"The charge may be true or not, 'but wait for the evidence,'" and then he added—"The House must remember this of these men. They had been in Zululand, and then they came back into a civilized country where they could 'get drink.'" That is civilization. I am pleading, Sir, for the power of getting rid of that kind of civilization. I was in hopes that my hon. Friend, and I may say my venerable Friend, the senior Member for Manchester (Sir Thomas Bazley) would second my Motion to-night; but I am sorry to say that, owing to the state of his health, he is unable to be present. My hon. Friend the Member for Morpeth (Mr. Burt), however, will supply his place. But what I would say of the senior Member for Manchester is this. He also, like the hon. and learned Member for Cambridgeshire, has put this local option, or individual option, in force with the best results. In the year 1864, when I first took up this question in this House, I did not know where to find a Seconder. The question has grown, at any rate, since then. But I got for my Seconder the senior Member for Manchester, and I will tell you how I got him. Some working men were talking to him just before my Motion came on, and they said to him—"Mr. Bazley"—for he was Mr. Bazley then—"have you not some property somewhere in Lancashire, and have you not done away with all the public-houses on it?" "Yes," he said, "I have." "Then," said they, "won't you let us working men have the same power of protecting our families as you have?" and my hon. Friend said, "I will." He seconded me on that occasion, and he has voted for me ever

since. I am very glad that these good landlords are doing this up and down the country and setting an example. If people would only use the power they have of doing good the country would be very much benefited. There is the case of Lord Zetland, who proposes to exercise the right which he happens, from the accident of property, to possess, and to prevent the sale of drink in the town of Grangemouth; and in consequence of his so doing Scotland is ringing with his praises. [Admiral Sir WILLIAM EDMONSTONE: No, no!] Well, all except the hon. and gallant Admiral. What I want to point out is that about four-fifths of the ratepayers in that town have already sent up a Memorial to his Lordship thanking him for what he has done. I want the majority in other places where there are no good landlords to be placed in the same position. I want to give them the same power that Lord Zetland has exercised. Now, I must make a quotation. Let me read what Lord Lorne said only a few months ago. This is what he said at some celebration—I think the opening of a Town Hall, or something of the sort. He had just visited several towns in Ontario, and he said he had there seen some hundreds of thousands of Her Majesty's subjects, and he was happy to say that he had not seen amongst them one whose attire did not indicate what he called comfortable circumstances; and he added—

"I have to congratulate you also upon the absence of those buildings which in other countries are but too conspicuous. I allude to the gin and liquor palaces, which in Canada are almost entirely absent, and, looking at the country round, I cannot imagine a more prosperous, and more smiling, and a more delightful country."

Mr. Speaker, they have local option there, just what I now propose. But they have schemes for licensing, and elective boards, and so on. They have power of deciding not to have drinkshops if they do not like; and by a large majority they are clearing them out in many districts, and restoring the country to the happiness which would be found in most places if these drinkshops had no existence at all. At the Exeter dinner, the Chancellor of the Exchequer drew a moving picture of a land without liquorshops as the most miserable place he could imagine. It is something very different to hear Lord Lorne—a competent witness—giving this evidence on

the other side. I say you may call us fanatics or fools, or one-idea men, or what you will; but when there is any chance of getting the same blessings for our country which these Canadians have already got, we do not care what you call us, we will go on until we get the power for which we ask. But how are we to get it? I have tried very hard for a long time without success, possibly because I do not advocate the thing as I ought to. I have brought in year after year what is called the Permissive Bill; and, in doing so, I had no other object than to pass a measure giving localities power to prevent the sale of intoxicating drink. I had no new bodies to create. I simply said—"Let public opinion be allowed to have its due weight, as it should have." As the House knows, I was much opposed as to the details of my Bill. Hon. Gentlemen can hardly find fault—in their sober moments—with the principle of the Bill—that if licences are for the public good the public should say whether they want them or not. The machinery of my Bill may have been very bad. I do not say it was, because I did my best; but very likely much cleverer fellows than I saw that it was bad. I proposed that a two-thirds majority should decide the matter. Hon. Members did not like that proposal. I took a parish or a borough as a limit; that was wrong. I took voting papers to get at the public opinion. They did not approve of that. I said, let three years' trial be given, and then let the people revert to the old system if they wished. But people said—"Oh, but there is no compensation in your Bill." Well, there was not; but that should not prevent compensation being given if it was proved to be right. I do not attempt to propose compensation to-night; that is not the question before the House. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Greenwich (Mr. Gladstone) when he was in Midlothian alluded to this subject; and he said, so far as I can remember what he said, that he did not object to the principle of local option; but he said—

"If it can be carried out, you will have carefully to consider the rights of those who are interested and involved in the matter, and they will have to have fair compensation awarded to them if it is proved to be necessary."

I entirely agree with the right hon. Gentleman. I say, let us have fair com-

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penensation "if it is proved to be necessary." The whole thing depends on what is fair compensation, and I shall wait until I have the Bill sent in to me. Nobody pays a bill until it is sent in; and as soon as the Licensed Victuallers present their Bill and say—"We want compensation," I am sure the House will hear fairly what they have to say on the subject. This House delights in compensation. There are no interests or rights in the world which they will not compensate if they have a chance. Is it likely, then, that they would refuse to compensate these—the best men of the country, who are so very useful at elections? But I do not talk of compensation in my Resolution, because I do not know myself what the claim would be. I do not know whether a man who, having a valuable monopoly given him, and his house having been increased in value by a couple of thousands through a single stroke of the magisterial pen, I do not know why the man who has been given such exceptional advantages over his fellows for nothing at all is to be entitled to anything when he has to quit them; and if he has lost money in carrying on his business, surely he is not entitled to compensation when he is deprived of that business, while, if he has neither gained nor lost, I do not see how he should form the object of charity either. Perhaps we ought also to consider whether the man who did not get a licence is to be compensated. Suppose both A and B go to the magistrates and make application for a licence. A says "licence me," and B says the same. A gets a licence, and his property is at once increased in value by £2,000. B does not get one, and his property is damaged to a very large extent by the neighbourhood of A's house. Surely we should have to consider B's case as well as A's. Now, Sir, I wish to say what I propose to do. I have explained that I do not intend to move any Bill, and I have explained the reason why—namely, because I found that the details of a Bill as suggested by myself were much objected to. I now propose a Resolution instead; and I dare say a good many will say—"Oh, this is really the Permissive Bill in a new shape." Now, I challenge anybody on either side of this House to prove to me that a Bill is a Resolution or a Resolution a Bill. I say that is entirely impossible. What I

propose is no Bill, but a Resolution. Then I am told that this is a Resolution to catch votes. Of course, it is. Show me a Member of Parliament who brings in a Resolution which is not calculated to catch votes, and I will show you a man who does not know his business. Every Resolution and every Motion made in this House, every pamphlet published, every newspaper article written, every sermon preached, is intended to catch votes. That is to say, that every man who has a truth in which he believes, and who wishes to announce it to his fellows, or a principle to advocate, tries to put it before his countrymen in the way to secure the greatest measure of support. That is what is called catching votes; I am not ashamed of it; and if I could catch an enormous vote to-night I should be extremely glad. This is not a Party question. I believe that is a proper thing to say when anybody brings in anything. This is not a Party question. Some people say it is only the Liberals who are against the publicans; but last year I am sorry to say that more than 40 Liberals went against me. There were 42 who voted against me. Why did they do that? So far as I can make out, they were awaiting the Report of the Lords' Committee. Well, if they had that reason, I do not quarrel with them. They will not have that reason for voting against me to-day; and I hope I shall have those 40 Members of the Liberal Party who rather unkindly deserted me before. Although there were 40 Liberals who went against me, I am proud to say on the opposite side I got no less than 17 hon. Gentlemen, headed by my hon. Friend the Member for Manchester (Mr. Birley), who seconded me on that occasion; but to-day he declined to do so, not because he objects to the Resolution, but because he has some Local Option Licensing Bill in store for us. I have alluded to the Resolution, and what does it mean? That is the point. It means that power ought to be given to local communities to put themselves in the same position as the tenants of the hon. and learned Member for Cambridge in the village of Ampton. That is what I mean by the Resolution, and if it means anything else that is for good I am exceedingly glad; but that is my meaning, and do not let hon. Members run away with the idea that

I am establishing a *plébiscite*. There is a great prejudice against the *plébiscite*, and I do not say you are to take the opinion of the neighbourhood by a vote of that kind. You may elect someone if you please—I am not bigoted, I leave out all the details, and move the Resolution. I know what my hon. and learned Friend the Member for Leeds (Mr. Wheelhouse) means. He will, no doubt, get up and talk about the *plébiscite* and majorities of two-thirds, and go over the whole thing just as if he were making a speech against the Permissive Bill—as he has made many a one; but there is nothing of that machinery in it, and if he makes a speech against the Resolution he will make a speech against his fellow-countrymen having power to express by vote their wishes on the subject. He shakes his head; but the vote to-night is—Aye or No—ought drinkshops to be forced on a community against their will, or ought they not? I wanted to make the Resolution plain, and to say what power it ought to be. I copied the Resolution from the Report of the Convocation of Canterbury. Those who drew up the Report, after they had written the sentence which forms the Resolution which I to-night move, added the following sentence, which makes it quite clear:—

“Such a power would, in fact, secure the district willing to exercise it the advantages now enjoyed by numerous parishes in the province of Canterbury, where, according to reports furnished to your Committee, owing to the influence of the landowner, no sale of intoxicating liquors is licensed.”

Now, my policy is simply that neither magistrates nor any other irresponsible power should be allowed to act on the “crotchet” that the only way to secure sobriety is to force drinkshops upon the people. I think that is a very mischievous crotchet. Sir, this is no large and comprehensive measure; it is simplicity itself. It does not propose any great change in the mode or machinery of licensing; it is simply to let the opinion of the neighbourhood be effective by some means or other. Now, Sir, I want to look for a moment or two at the Amendments which have been put upon the Paper. I do not exactly know what the course of the fight will be to-night; who is going to vote, or how; or what arrangements have been made. I do not even know whether Her Ma-

Jest's Government have summoned their supporters to oppose me; all I know is, I have seen a Circular put out by certain minor leaders of the opposing Party, calling upon the Members to come down and oppose Sir Wilfrid Lawson's Resolution, and it is signed by William St. James Wheelhouse, Denzil Onslow, Saul Isaac, and Thomas Thornhill. What they are going to do, what Amendments they are going to support, I do not know; all I say is, that the Amendments are quite irrelevant. I have no particular objection to any of them, except the one proposed by the hon. and learned Member for Leeds. Of course, I could not accept that; but the others may run on the same line as my Resolution. I do not want to find fault with any of them. But they might as well propose—"The British Constitution is a good thing," "Drink is delightful," "That Sir Wilfrid Lawson is a political nuisance." Any Resolution of that kind might be received with cordiality and unanimity in the whole House; but I do not see why they should be proposed as Amendments to my Resolution. I am glad to see the hon. and learned Member for Leeds there. I am, indeed; for I read in the newspapers in the autumn that he had been appointed Resident of Zululand. [*Laughter.*] Well, the House laughs; but I am sure he would make a very efficient one, for he would there have had full scope for carrying out his policy for the protection of Native industry and the licensing of Native drinking. But here he is with his old Amendment, which was negatived last year by a vote of the Whole House; here he comes up to the scratch again and talks about having "a tribunal subject to periodical election," which would probably lead to repeated instances of turmoil. Then he talks about the tumults and the riots, the disturbing of the peace and quietness of every neighbourhood in England. Why, it is peace and quietude we want; it is his beloved public-houses that disturb the peace and quietude; and he ought to know better, because even if I had the *plebiscite* there would be no disturbance. In Manchester, last year, they took a vote of 60,000 electors as to whether they should be supplied with water by a certain scheme; but there was no rioting. Does he think there would be any tumult if a vote was taken with re-

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spect to gin? If so, it speaks very ill for his beloved gin. Well, then, I come next to my noble Friend the Member for Calne (Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice). I am not going to stay upon that. I have no objection to his scheme at present. I dare say it is a very good one; but I am sure he would agree with me, if he had that Board he would not be so illiberal as to say that Board should force drinkshops upon the people who did not want them. Then I come to my hon. and learned Friend the Member for Dewsbury (Mr. Serjeant Simon), and he is at his old game again of swearing. That hon. and learned Serjeant requires swearing, the magistrates "cannot tell without sworn evidence." That is rather a slur on the magistrates, for they would not know much better even with sworn evidence. Now, I have a number of friends who belong to the order of Friends, and they object to swearing. Then I come to the hon. Baronet the Member for Scarborough (Sir Harcourt Johnstone). He has a scheme which is very elaborate, with which I am not going to find fault, but let him get his Board; would he have them force drinkshops upon those who do not want them? I am sure he would not. Then there is my hon. Friend the Member for Hull (Mr. Norwood). The same remark applies to his Resolution; it is almost the same as mine, and why he cannot vote for mine I do not know. Well, Sir, I think I have gone through the Amendments now in a very brief manner, for I do not want to detain the House. I have done my best to explain what I mean; and I hope I have made it clear, and put it in such a position that hon. Gentlemen will not have any excuse for misrepresenting what I want. If anybody has any new plan to try which is likely to be adopted, any new licensing scheme that might put things on a new footing, well and good; but as we do not hear of anything of that sort, I say that any locality ought to be allowed to try that plan, that has never failed, of decreasing drunkenness wherever it was applied. We do not get on in these matters. You have had one or two generations of what I may call painstaking legislation; you have had an age of sanitary reform and an age of religious teaching; more education than you ever had before; more temperance teaching; more argument to induce

people not to drink; and yet the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer said—as I believe correctly—that the evil of drunkenness was still one it was impossible to exaggerate; and it does seem to me a little selfish in us who are rich and comfortable, and able to resist temptations, to refuse to our fellow-countrymen the means of removing those temptations which they believe would add to their benefit and advantage. I feel sure that many an hon. Gentleman on the other side of the House, who agrees with me in heart, will feel somewhat sad when to-night he, at the bidding of an unseen power, goes into the Lobby to refuse his poor fellow-countrymen the means of protecting himself. Now, Sir, I am going, just before I sit down, to place the whole case in a paragraph, which, I think, places it very convincingly before us. I thank the House for the kindness with which they have heard me, and I will conclude by reading the case, as stated here in the Report of the House of Lords' Committee. It is stated by the Committee that—

“When great communities, deeply sensible of the miseries caused by intemperance; witnesses of the crime and pauperism which directly spring from it; conscious of the contamination to which their younger citizens are exposed; watching with grave anxiety the growth of female intemperance on a scale so vast and at a rate of progression so rapid as to constitute a new reproach and danger”—

Those are not my words; I am not exaggerating—

“Believing that not only the morality of their citizens, but their commercial prosperity is dependent on the diminution of these evils; seeing, also, that all that general legislation has been hitherto able to effect has been some improvement in public order, while it has been powerless to produce any perceptible decrease of intemperance; it would seem somewhat hard, when such communities are willing, at their own cost and hazard, to grapple with the difficulty, and undertake their own purification, that the Legislature should refuse to create for them the necessary machinery, or to entrust them with the requisite powers.”

That, Sir, is my case; and that case I now very respectfully leave to the consideration and decision of this House.

MR. BURT: I rise, Mr. Speaker, to second the Resolution. I readily acceded to the request of my hon. Friend the Member for Carlisle when he asked me to second the Motion which he has just submitted to the House. At the same

time, I should certainly have felt better satisfied if the duty had devolved, as it was originally intended it should do, upon my hon. and venerable Friend the Member for Manchester (Sir Thomas Bazley). I entirely agree with the principle embodied in this Resolution; I understand the principle to be, to give the inhabitants of localities—those who suffer and pay the cost—the power of saying whether or not they will have public-houses in their midst. I shall follow the example set by my hon. Friend in not dwelling at any great length upon the evils of intemperance, as those evils, I think, are generally admitted. It may, however, be doubted whether many people realize the gravity of those evils. Perhaps the most fanatical teetotaler never exaggerated the evils flowing from intemperance, even in his wildest flights of rhetoric. The best summary I have seen of those evils was in a pamphlet that was published some time ago by an eminent brewer, who, I believe, was once a Member of this House, Mr. Buxton. Mr. Buxton in that pamphlet commenced on the very first page with this sentence—

“If we add together all the miseries generated in our time by war, pestilence, and famine, the three great scourges of mankind, they are not exceeded by those that arise from this one vice of intemperance.”

Mr. Buxton seems to gain power as he proceeds, because he soon speaks of intoxicants as devils; and he goes on to say—

“That the struggle of the schoolhouse, the library, and the church, all united against the liquor traffic, is but one development of the war between heaven and hell.”

I have not heard my hon. Friend the Member for Carlisle use stronger language than that. I shall not, Sir, enter into the discussion as to whether intemperance is or is not on the increase; but I think it is very clear, at any rate, that drinking is on the increase, and one of the most deplorable facts in connection—and I trust we shall all agree upon that point—the most deplorable fact is that referred to in the closing extract which my hon. Friend has just read to the House with reference to female intemperance—the great increase of female intemperance. I find from the Report of the Lords' Committee that in Salford the number of female arrests for intoxication doubled in the last seven years.

In Manchester, in 1851, they were 18 per cent, and in 1876 they were 28½ per cent. In Sheffield the arrests were 18 per cent, and in two years the proportion of arrests increased from 15 to 24 per cent; and in London very nearly as many women as men have been arrested for drunkenness. I find, too, from the Judicial Statistics of 1878, just lately published, that there has been a very much greater increase in the number of deaths from excessive drinking amongst females than amongst males. Well, I think that we all agree that that is a matter, at any rate, to be very much regretted, and we are all of opinion that this is a fit subject for legislation. As my hon. Friend has pointed out, this House has very frequently had to deal with the question of the liquor traffic. I believe that during the last 200 or 300 years not less than 400 Acts of Parliament have been passed to control the liquor traffic and make it respectable. Now, I will put the question which my hon. Friend has put, as to whether our licensing system is a satisfactory system, and as to whether it is a success or a failure? Those who oppose repressive measures are jubilant when they can quote the experience of travellers who have visited some parts of America where those measures have been adopted and where they can assure us that the Maine Liquor Law has been evaded. Now, I am not advocating the Maine Liquor Law; but I say that the test of the failure or success of that measure is not, in my opinion, to be found in the question whether the law can be evaded or not, because I think that nearly every law can be evaded; but the real question is, whether it is effective in suppressing drunkenness and the evils that flow from drunkenness? Are there as many drunken people reeling about the streets, are the goals and workhouses as full of criminals and as full of paupers as they were when the liquor traffic was in full swing? Tested by that standard, I do not think we can say that our licensing system is a complete success. What is the object of this licensing system? If I understand it aright, it is to control the traffic in intoxicating drinks; to allow the people to have drink without drunkenness, and without public disorder. According to the law as it exists at the present time, drunkenness is illegal; every man who is seen in a public

place under the influence of drink is liable to arrest, and the Licensed Victualler who has supplied him with drink has also subjected himself to a fine of from £10 to £20. Well, what do we find with regard to the statistics of drunkenness? I find that in a single town—in the town of Liverpool—for the last year there were 15,705 arrests for drunkenness, and in addition to these 1,166 persons who were arrested for other offences while in a state of intoxication, making a total of 16,871. Now, I would ask if any legislative measure could be a more complete failure than our existing licensing system, when tested by those statistics? And I should like to know—we have here thousands of arrests for drunkenness, there must have been a great number of publicans and Licensed Victuallers who violated the law—and therefore I should like to know the number of those who were subjected to fines for the violation of the law, and then we shall see how far our present licensing system is a dead letter. Well, Sir, I shall follow the example of my hon. Friend, too, in not making any attack upon any particular class of persons such as the magistrates. I consider that the magistrates devote a great deal of valuable time to the transaction of their duties; and I should think there are very few duties they have to perform that are less pleasant or more harassing than those connected with the licensing of public-houses. But what I have to say with regard to the magistrates is that I believe, from their position, they are not, nor can they be, able to fully know the wants of the neighbourhood for which they have to provide licences; nor can they be expected to sympathize with the intense, with the strong conviction of a great number of the respectable working people in their objections to having public-houses placed in their midst. The magistrate, as my hon. Friend has pointed out, is generally a wealthy man; he seldom lives in the neighbourhood of public-houses himself. We see nearly every day advertisements of public-houses to be let, and it is set down as a strong recommendation that they are in the neighbourhood of a large population of working people. Well, now, Sir, there is a very strong feeling on the part of a great number of working people against having those public-houses forced upon them. These men

love their children, and they do not like to have to bring them up surrounded by the corrupting atmosphere of the public-house. The hon. and learned Member for Leeds (Mr. Wheelhouse), a short time ago, very good-naturedly put me through a private examination as to my personal habits as regards this question, and extracted from me the damaging admission that I am a teetotaler, and I have no doubt he will be using that as the groundwork of a very powerful argument why the House should refuse to accept this Resolution. Though I am a teetotaler, I do not advocate this question on teetotal grounds. I do so on the broader grounds of good citizenship; and if I were to cease to be a teetotaler to-morrow my attitude towards this traffic in intoxicating drink would not change one iota. Well, Sir, I wish to point out to the House that, in seeking that magistrates should be relieved from the duty of dealing with licences, my hon. Friend is not altogether an innovator. Forty-five years ago, when the Corporations Reform Bill was before the House, an attempt was made in that Bill to take the power of licensing from the magistrates. In an able and interesting speech, three or four years ago, my hon. Friend the Member for Newcastle (Mr. J. Cowen) entered at length into this subject. This is not a new proposal of the hon. Baronet, and an examination of the debates which took place at the time I have referred to (1835) I think will be interesting and instructive to some timid Whigs who may suspect they are deserting the traditions of their Party if they do not maintain that magistrates are the persons most fitted to deal with licences for intoxicating drinks. The debates, as I have said, were of a very interesting character, and the Bill, as originally introduced by Lord John Russell, was a very liberal measure. Among other things, it proposed the abolition of the property qualification for members of Town Councils. But the 52nd clause of that Bill dealt with the question of licences, and this clause provided that the power should be handed over from the magistrates to the Town Council. The Bill was strongly supported by the late Lord Derby; it passed its second reading without a division, and, in Committee, the 52nd clause was attacked by Sir James Graham, the Mem-

ber for Cumberland, and, after a long debate, a division was taken, and out of 377 Members a majority of 45 decided to retain the clause. It was, however, thrown out afterwards in the House of Lords. That Division List is a very interesting one, and contains some very eminent names. Among others, there is Sir George Grey, my distinguished predecessor in the representation of Morpeth, three Lords Russell, headed by the late Earl Russell; and for the encouragement of my Irish Friends, I may say Ireland was well represented in that division by five O'Connells, among them the great orator Daniel, Mr. Sheil, and Sir Henry Parnell. The debate, too, was of an interesting character. But I will not trouble the House with quotations from speeches delivered on that occasion; but it is interesting to notice the grounds taken by the opposition. Those grounds were that the publicans had a great amount of electoral influence, and to vest the power of licensing in the Town Council would lead very likely to a corrupt system. Well, I say the publicans have still a great deal of political power, and whether they make a better use of it may be matter of opinion. It has never been my practice to in any way attack the Licensed Victuallers. I do not, however, exactly believe, as my hon. Friend seems to do, that they possess almost angelic virtues; nor do I believe with the Chancellor of the Exchequer that they are the great missionaries of temperance throughout the country. I have nothing at all to say against their character; but I may question their doctrines, or the principle they avowedly lay down. I understand that doctrine to be that they subordinate everything to the interest of their trade. Now that is a bad principle to be adopted by any class; and I do not think it is improved when adopted by those who are connected with a trade which, to say the least of it, is the most demoralizing and destructive of good of any carried on in the country. What the hon. Member for Carlisle wants is to put the interest of the public before that of the publicans, and I think the House of Commons ought to support my hon. Friend in his effort to do this. It is because I believe this is the principle of the Resolution, and that it is a just and liberal principle, that I give it my cordial support. What are the objections that are raised to the Resolu-

tion? Like my hon. Friend, I have been carefully looking over these Amendments; and I think I am not mistaken in saying that, with the exception of the first, no one directly attacks the principle of the Resolution. The hon. and learned Member for Leeds, however, does make that attack. He seems to think that things are quite perfect as they are, and that there is no necessity for a change. He gives us his reason, and that reason is rather a curious one. He says—

“Because any tribunal subject to periodical election by popular canvass and vote, might, and in all probability would, lead to repeated instances of turmoil, and thus be detrimental to the peace and quietude of every neighbourhood in England.”

Well, I think the hon. and learned Gentleman must have been seized with a fit of preternatural nervousness when he prepared this Amendment. The hon. Member for Carlisle does not propose any tribunal whatever; but I think, while his Amendment has reference to the Licensed Victuallers, the hon. and learned Gentleman must have had before his mind visions of another tribunal, a greater tribunal, which is also elected by popular canvass and vote, and in connection with which he, in common with many others, will shortly have to take a somewhat prominent part. When the hon. and learned Member for Leeds expresses his dread of “turmoil,” I can tell him how to avoid all that in connection with elections. Can he tell us how much of the turmoil is due to the use of intoxicating liquors? Then prevent the use of such on these occasions by entirely closing the public-houses. I have had a good deal to do with elections, directly and indirectly, in one way and another, and it has frequently fallen to my lot to meet large numbers of men under somewhat exciting circumstances; and I can testify that I never felt this great nervousness unless when the excitement of intoxicating drink has been added to that of Party zeal and political passion. No doubt, we shall hear before long that old cry against the tyranny that would rob a poor man of his beer. To hear this, one would suppose that these Licensed Victuallers were a sort of ministering angels, always ready to feed the working man with these liquid refreshments of theirs, and that a lot of wicked misanthropists, led on by my hon.

Friend, stood in the way to prevent them from carrying out their beneficent designs. But this does not altogether represent the facts of the case. I should be very sorry to deny that those who oppose us are actuated by motives as good and as honourable as those which animate us who support the Resolution; but I trust I am not exceeding the bounds of propriety, if I say I am suspicious of those who demand that the working man shall have his beer, when I find that those who are so anxious in this direction are unwilling to give the working man his political rights, the power to educate his children, and other things far better for him than his beer. I would like to ask those who cry out so loudly for the working man's beer, whether they really think this beer is a necessary of life, if it is something more than a luxury or convenience, an absolute necessity? And then, if they think so, I should like to know what they have to say to the great number of landlords up and down the country who refuse to have public-houses on their estates? The hon. Member for Carlisle has referred to a great number within the Province of Canterbury—upwards of 1,400 parishes—where no public-houses exist, and this is independent of the Province of York, of Scotland, and of Ireland. What do they say to landlords having this power? I have never seen that my hon. and learned Friend has brought in a measure to protest against this abuse of power on the part of the landlords. I approve of it entirely. I believe these landlords are actuated by the best of motives. I can scarcely conceive how they could have any bad motive. I approve of it entirely; but from my hon. and learned Friend's point of view, what does he think of it? I cannot understand the consistency of people who cry out against robbing the poor man of his beer—who never utter a whisper of condemnation against those arbitrary landlords who refuse to have beershops or public-houses on their estates—but, at the same time, refuse to the inhabitants a voice in saying if they will or will not have these houses in their midst. I think I have said enough, and I thank the House for the attention with which they have listened to me. I appeal to the House either to pass this Resolution, or give some power to the people for having an effective voice in

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saying whether or not they will have these houses among them. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Greenwich (Mr. Gladstone)—and I hope we are going to have his views on this subject—on one occasion said something like this—"The business of the Legislature should be, as far as possible, to make it easy for people to do right and difficult for them to do wrong." That principle I entirely accept, and I think it is eminently applicable to this question. The whole subject is beset with difficulties, I admit; and I allow that we cannot legislate advantageously if we run in advance of public opinion. To do this, if it were possible, would be not only abortive, but mischievous. But I think there is danger also in lagging behind public opinion on this subject. At present, I think the House is behind public opinion. I do not advocate this from an exaggerated notion that the people can do no wrong. It is an old saying that "the voice of the people is the voice of God;" but, democrat though I am, I do not believe that. I believe that the voice of the people is always an honest voice, though it is often mistaken. I believe it is often the voice of ignorance or of passion rather than that of reason and ripe wisdom; but this I will say—if ever the voice of the people deserves to be called the voice of God, it will be when it speaks the doom of that greatest of social curses—the traffic in intoxicating liquors.

Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "inasmuch as the ancient and avowed object of Licensing the Sale of Intoxicating Liquors is to supply a supposed public want, without detriment to the public welfare, this House is of opinion that a legal power of restraining the issue or renewal of licences should be placed in the hands of the persons most deeply interested and affected, namely, the inhabitants themselves, who are entitled to protection from the injurious consequence of the present system, by some efficient measure of local option,"—(*Sir Wilfrid Lawson*.)

—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

MR. GLADSTONE: I think, Sir, we shall all agree that this Resolution has derived all the advantage which it is possible it could have derived from the

speeches of its Mover and Seconder. We invariably listen to the hon. Baronet the Mover of the Resolution, not only with the respect due to his sincerity and zeal, but with gratitude for the entertainment that he never fails to afford us, and with respect to which, I am bound to say, not only that he never fails to afford it, but that he never suffers it to interfere in any manner or degree with the great object which he has in view. I regret extremely with him the absence of my hon. Friend the Member for Manchester (Sir Thomas Bazley); but if my hon. Friend the Member for Manchester was to be absent from us and from the duty he had undertaken to perform, his place could not have been better supplied than by the speech of my hon. Friend who has just sat down, and whose most touching conclusion, coming straight from the heart, and, at the same time, clearly framed, as it was, by his manly understanding, was well calculated to recommend this Resolution to our favourable notice. As far as feeling is concerned it is impossible, I think, for us not to go a very long way with the views of our two hon. Friends. But I am in this unfortunate position—that I am not able to follow their arguments to their conclusion. The conclusions they have arrived at are embodied in the Resolution before the House; but before I proceed to examine that Resolution I must say that I do not think, from the speech of the hon. Baronet who moved it, that there is the slightest rational ground for hoping that he ever would be contented with any of the Amendments which propose to apply a less extensive and less drastic remedy for the evil he seeks to remove than that which he has himself put forward on this and on other occasions. And I feel this the more, because the hon. Baronet, honest as he always is, rather went out of his way to comment in detail upon the alternative propositions which have been placed upon the Paper, and particularly upon that of the hon. Member for Scarborough (Sir Harcourt Johnstone), who distinctly admits and embodies in his proposal the principle of popular control over the sale of intoxicating liquors. My hon. Friend the Member for Carlisle said that this is all very well so far as it goes, but that he would object to see a Board so framed, and embodying that element of popular control, overriding

the will of the inhabitants at large. That, I think, as far as the speech of my hon. Friend goes, is undeniable; and I must say, in passing, that I think my hon. Friend went a little beyond the facts in one of the assumptions he made, when he touchingly called upon us, appealing to the comparative ease and lightness of our position—when he appealed to us not to be guilty of selfishness in refusing the demands of the people for power to put away from them this great national curse and scourge. I think we had, in the case of the Irish National Sunday Closing, a case where it is impossible to deny that that demand had been made, that the sentiment of Ireland had been sounded to the bottom, and that the answer made to that sounding process was perfectly unequivocal. The voice of Ireland called for many years in vain for the passing of such a measure. The answer of Ireland was virtually for the passing of the Irish Sunday Closing Bill. I must say I do not think we have the same positive evidence of the unanimity of the national sentiment in England for anything like the Permissive Bill of my hon. Friend. I will not affirm the contrary; but it is a very serious matter, as my hon. Friend the Member for Morpeth has just stated, to go greatly ahead of public opinion in questions of this kind; and I do not think that public opinion has afforded us those means of judging which, undoubtedly, if they had been afforded, would be one very great element indeed—in my mind, at least—in considering a question like that of an optional power for the total prohibition of places for the sale of intoxicating liquor. My hon. Friend is quite entitled to say that his speech does not bind the House. All that I have to say is, that I do not think his speech affords a very great prospect of concurrence between himself—after the supposed passing of this Resolution—and those other persons who might be inclined for some less stringent application of the principle of popular control, than that which he has formally submitted to you. When I look at the Resolution, what I find is this—that it is a Resolution on which I should hardly think it possible to give a vote. I do not find it possible for myself to give a vote without being subject to misconception, which I might not find it easy to remove. A vote against the Resolu-

tion, I am aware, Sir, might be justified on very sound Parliamentary grounds as a simple vote for the Previous Question. That, undoubtedly, is what it is. What such a vote means, in a Parliamentary sense, is that we will go into Committee of Supply instead of entertaining the proposal of my hon. Friend. But we are not considering Parliamentary forms. We are giving utterance to the people at large of a great principle on a subject in which great interests are involved, and in which many deep feelings are also involved. A vote against this Resolution, unless accompanied, especially on the part of Her Majesty's Government, with some very explicit declaration of positive intention—a vote against this Resolution is really taken and understood to be, and I think not unjustly, a vote in favour of things as they are; a vote in favour of the existing state of the law, not absolutely as being perfect, but yet as not being so imperfect as to require immediate alteration. I am not ready to give that vote. I find myself in the same position of impotence when I look at the Resolution of my hon. Friend, and upon the ground which I will now very briefly state. I think the Resolution of my hon. Friend will not only be construed, but will be justly construed, to go at least so far as this—that a man who votes for it either is a friend of the Permissive Bill, or, if he is not a friend of that Bill, that he has got some other plan of local option ready, which he is prepared to propose, or which he is ready to support. As to the principle of local option, I am not an objecting party; but I am bound to say that I have not as yet heard of any plan which fully gives effect to that principle, and which it would not be premature to submit to Parliament. If Gentlemen are in so happy a position as to say—"I am ready to pass a general law carrying through the country the principle of local option," they may consistently support the Resolution of my hon. Friend, although they might come to variance with my hon. Friend after the Resolution has been passed. I do not know any plan of the kind; consequently, I am not in a position to vote either for or against the Resolution. But, on the other hand, I do not think it right that we should stand where we are; and I would endeavour to appeal before I sit down to Her Majesty's Government upon

the subject of the present state of the law, and upon the duty which is incumbent upon them, I think, to propose an Amendment. I am bound to mention another point on which, though it does not embrace the whole case, I have some feeling. My hon. Friend the Member for Carlisle has said he is perfectly ready to entertain the question of compensation to Licensed Victuallers in the event of the introduction of the principles of local option. But I doubt very much whether the full exposition of his views which my hon. Friend gave on the subject of compensation, when taken as a whole, would be very re-assuring in the minds of hon. Members. I think we ought to go as far as this:—I am not prepared to say whether there is a case for compensation, or whether is not a case for compensation, because that must depend upon particulars that are not now before us. We ought not to allow our prejudices with regard to this particular trade, or our sense of the enormous mischiefs associated with its working, to cause us to deviate by one hair's breadth from the principle on which Parliament has always acted in analogous circumstances—namely, that where a vested interest has been allowed to grow up, the question of compensation should be considered when such vested interests were proposed to be interfered with by Act of Parliament. What I am prepared to say is neither more nor less than this—that the Licensed Victualler has the same right to fair consideration that is enjoyed by persons following every other trade or calling which is interfered with by Act of Parliament, and to whom compensation is awarded owing to such interference. We must not allow—I need not say that Gentlemen on this side of the House will not allow—any political feeling or prejudice to interfere with the rectitude of our judgment, or to prevent us from giving the same measure of justice or indulgence to Licensed Victuallers that we should give to any other class in the community. If that be so, I am inclined to think that this Resolution, which is to be regarded as a sort of charter laying down the lines of our future conduct, ought to contain at least an allusion to the question of compensation. When Parliament enacted *Negro Emancipation* it was preceded by a preliminary Resolution, in which the prin-

ciple of compensation was recognized. My hon. Friend says that we must wait till a claim for compensation is made. Parliament does not act on that principle. Where the facts presented the possibility of such a claim, the recognition of the possibility has, I think, taken place in the original proceedings of Parliament. In the face of these difficulties, I am not able to support the Resolution of my hon. Friend, while I certainly shall not place myself in the position of appearing to give a constructive sanction to the present law. I do not know that the question is one of which we have yet obtained a thorough mastery. On the contrary, it appears to me that while in some subjects we trace in the mind of the country, and in the mind also of Parliament, a regular progress from the first beginnings of a conviction, along clear and definite lines, to the period of their maturity, this is a subject on which the course taken by Parliament—and, possibly, the public opinion of the country—have been attended by a marked irregularity, and even by a singular reversal. It may not have passed out of recollection that the whole of this subject was under most serious consideration just 25 years ago, and that a Parliamentary Committee was appointed by this House, I think with its unanimous consent and approval, to consider this question. The best endeavours of the Government and of the House were applied in order to form that Committee from the impartial choice of its Members, and, by having on it men of the greatest weight on the subject, to give to the Committee all the influence and authority the House could impart. That Committee reported in 1854 in favour of the system of what is called “Free Trade.” I may say that I am now only referring to this matter to show how tolerant we ought to be of the various opinions which have been pronounced, and how cautious we ought to be before arriving at a belief that we have ourselves at length found out some specific solution for the difficulties which have troubled the legislative mind of the country for at least a quarter of a century. For the last 10 or 15 years the course of legislation on this question has been in direct contrariety to the Report of the Committee of 1854. And what do these things show? They seem to me to show that we have not yet got out of

the stage of experiment in this matter. I am not prepared to admit, as my hon. Friend states—and, indeed, I contest the statement—that the system of Free Trade, as it is called, has been tried and has egregiously failed. That system has not been tried. The partial trial it has had in the case of beerhouses cannot be said to have embraced the whole, or, indeed, more than a corner of the question. I must say—though here I may seem to pay a compliment to myself—that it was to me a matter of very deep regret when the people of Liverpool, endeavouring to exercise the principle of local option as an experiment, were refused by this House the opportunity they sought of applying that principle. It is a fact in the history of this subject which is well worth calling to the recollection of this House. In Liverpool the majority of the magistrates adopted a system of licences to be granted to all persons properly qualified and with properly qualified premises. They adopted a system, as they called it, of Free Trade, and contended that the system was a beneficial one; and the Committee of the House of Lords, which has just conferred so great a boon on the country by the extent and the comprehensiveness of its labours, has, to some extent, confirmed the proposition of the Liverpool magistrates. But we are in this happy position—that the publicans of Liverpool, taking, as I think, a very rational view of their position, and one, I think, entirely different from the political one on which, in the exercise of their discretion, they have lately thought it prudent to stake their fortunes—the publicans of Liverpool, justly vexed with a system of Free Trade uncertain in its duration, and affording no element on which a calculation of the future could be made, came to that House, and solicited it to pass a Bill for Liverpool under which this system might have been tried. The basis of the Bill was this. There was to be a preference for vested interests in the charge for licences. I think that was a very fair claim indeed. There was also to be a high taxation for new licences, and a strict and rigid system of police conduct and administration of the law. I thought then, and I think now, that the experiment—I will not call it anything more—would have been eminently worth trying; but a combination of con-

flicting elements, which entered in a sort of chemical union, brought about its defeat. The country was not satisfied to let the Liverpool publicans try their fortunes in this way, and a doctrine of uniformity was set up, which seemed to me not agreeable to common sense. The experiment was opposed by men of temperance and men of intemperance, and had not been permitted to be tried. Yet the facts, so far as they go in Liverpool, are these—that with the open grant of licences by the magistrates, which, of course, enabled them to exercise a much more rigid power of investigating character than could be exercised under a system of monopoly, and with the increase of licences which that discretion brought about, there was a great diminution in the number of apprehensions for drunkenness. We are now going through another course of experiment; and not professing to be in possession of any panacea for the solution of these difficulties, I do not presume to set up any other system in opposition to the present one. But I observe these two things. The enhancing of a monopoly means the enormous enhancing of the value of public-house property—it means that every man who has entered into the trade is obliged to risk a larger stake in the undertaking. The purchase or goodwill is far more extensive than it was, and the position of the publicans has become one of greater and greater danger. The withdrawal of the licence is the confiscation of his estate, and what is the effect of that? Inefficient administration of police. It is absolutely impossible to reconcile efficient and stringent administration of police laws in connection with liquor-houses to this system of monopoly. Then we have this curious fact—that while Parliament has been for so many years busy in diminishing the number of public-houses, you have not, in the slightest degree, diminished the number of apprehensions for drunkenness. Nay, more—when you come to make a more minute investigation of the case, you find that, so far from there being a correspondent or direct ratio between the apprehensions for drunkenness and the number of public-houses, you find the evidence rather points to the two being in an inverse ratio to each other. The portion of the Report of the House of Lords' Committee which bears on this

subject is well worthy of attention. It is at page 86, and it appears from it that Norwich is the town that has the greatest proportion of licensed houses to population—namely, one public-house to every 124 persons, yet, at the same time, it has the smallest proportion of apprehensions for drunkenness—namely, 1 to 137. Halifax, on the other hand, which, with the exception of Leeds, has the smallest number of public-houses in proportion to the population—namely, 1 to 252, yet has a larger proportion of apprehensions for drunkenness—1 in 74. There are only five towns which show a smaller number of licensed houses in proportion to population than Liverpool—namely, 1 to 209, yet Liverpool has the greatest number of apprehensions for drunkenness—namely, 1 in 24. I am sorry that the House lost an opportunity of trying a useful experiment by rejecting the Resolution of my hon. Friend the Member for Birmingham (Mr. Chamberlain), which was accompanied by a plan which he had, with sufficient care, drawn up to become the foundation for working it—I allude to the Gothenburg system, modified by my hon. Friend, allowing the sale of liquor, but separating it entirely from private property, and placing it in the hands of a public body. That was an experiment which it would have been most desirable to try in the condition of darkness and blindness in which we are endeavouring to grope our way. The House, however, thought otherwise, and rejected the Resolution. How do we stand at the present moment? The hon. Member for Carlisle says that last year 44 Liberals voted against him, probably because they were waiting for the Report of the Lords' Committee, and now that Report has appeared he expects to get their votes. Has my hon. Friend read that Report? If he has, I think he should see that the 44 Liberals are more likely to vote against him again than otherwise.

SIR WILFRID LAWSON: I said, or meant to say, I thought those 44 Liberals would now vote for the Resolution; because, since the Report of the Lords' Committee had been presented, it was clear nothing would be done.

MR. GLADSTONE: But is it clear nothing will be done? For my part, I have always been glad to avail myself of any opportunity—as in the case of the

Irish Sunday Closing Bill, where there appeared to be safe and solid ground for the formation of true views—for the promotion of moderate and liberal progress. We have now in our hands the Report of the Committee of the House of Lords, which embodies many propositions and many recommendations of great value; and my hon. Friend the Member for Carlisle is quite justified in looking upon it as in some sense a triumph for him—a triumph, that is to say, in favour of the tendencies of his general views and arguments, if not in favour of the extreme proposition which he advocates. I separate the Gothenburg system from the other recommendations of the Committee of the House of Lords, although I must own it appears to me, notwithstanding its executory difficulties, to be in its idea a very happy conception, as it is one which has worked perfectly harmoniously in the country of its origin. It has not been attended, I believe, with injury to those engaged in the trade which it superseded, and it was carried into practice with a just compensation of their interests. I will not speak further of that law; but I must express my hope that we shall hear from Her Majesty's Government to-night that they intend to propose some measure on the basis of the Report of the Committee of the House of Lords, not in the least as if they were bound by it—far from it—but on the basis of the Report, because they have themselves referred to the appearance of the Report as marking an epoch in the history of this question. They spoke of the Report, intimating that they must await its appearance before making up their minds as to the course they should adopt. It has now appeared, and is the product of very prolonged labour, and of the application to the subject of great patience and great intelligence in dealing with the difficulties of a most complicated question. Under these circumstances, I hope we shall hear from Her Majesty's Government that they intend to give us their responsible judgment upon the recommendations of that Report. There are not less, I believe, than 20 recommendations contained in it; and I can hardly conceive it possible for anyone to read the Report and not admit that many of those recommendations are of the most practicable and valuable character. The Government awaited

that Report, and the House is ready to lend no prejudiced or unfavourable ear to the plans which they may propose; for it would, I think, be very difficult for the Government to show any good reason why they should not now announce to us the result of their deliberations on the important proposals contained in the Report. For my own part, I cling to the hope that, even before this debate closes, Her Majesty's Government will announce to the House that they intend to submit for its consideration some practical amendment of the present law. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, in the words quoted by my hon. Friend, has given his adhesion—and so perfect was the harmony between them that I might almost say the Licensed Victuallers also gave their adhesion—to the assertion that the existing state of the law is disgraceful. It was stated just now that greater is the calamity and curse inflicted upon mankind by intemperance than by the three great curses—war, pestilence, and famine. I believe that that proposition is true—but for whom? Not for European civilized countries in general; certainly not for Italy, or Spain, or Portugal, or Greece. Of France or Germany it would be ludicrous to assert that the effects of intemperance are comparable with those of the three great historic curses. But it is true for us; and the fact that it is true for us is, I believe, the measure of our discredit and disgrace for the state of the law as it now exists.

MR. WHEELHOUSE, who had the following Amendment on the Paper:—

“That it would be undesirable and inopportune to change the arrangements now legislatively provided for the regulation of the trade now carried on by the licensed victuallers of this Country, because any tribunal subject to periodical election by popular canvas and vote, might, and in all probability would, lead to repeated instances of turmoil, and thus be detrimental to the peace and quietude of every neighbourhood in England,”

said, he would accept the text of the right hon. Gentleman who had just sat down, for the right hon. Member for Greenwich, like himself, appeared to be fully alive to the fact that there could be no one in this country who would not only in the first instance denounce, but would afterwards endeavour, as far as he possibly could, to put an end to excessive drinking; and he understood the right hon. Gentleman, like himself, believed

that with our present ideas, with our present knowledge on the subject, it would be most undesirable and inopportune to make the change which was suggested by the hon. Baronet the Member for Carlisle. That was practically the point to which his (Mr. Wheelhouse's) own alternative proposition extended. He had never been one of those who said *non possumus*. He was as anxious as anyone that there should be a limit to excessive drinking; but the result of the present Resolution, crude as it was, would be infinitely for the worse in every direction. What did the hon. Baronet, by this Motion, ask the House to do? He wanted to take the licensing power out of the hands of the gentlemen who had exercised it for between 200 and 300 years, and to place it—where? In the hands of the Town Council, the Local Board, the Vestry; or, at all events, in the hands of some body of gentlemen who were responsible to some other body—the electors—who had the power of replacing them at intervals, it might be of 12 months, or, at most, three years. With every respect for the integrity of the view expressed by the hon. Baronet, with every desire to follow as closely as he could the argument of the hon. Member for Morpeth (Mr. Burt), he could not understand upon what possible principle any tribunal which was subject to periodical elections, which was the subject of canvass and vote by almost all classes of the community, could exercise a discretion equally free and equally unfettered with that of the local magistracy in matters of this kind. If, for the purpose of argument, it could for a moment be conceded that magistrates were likely to be influenced by any local considerations whatever, would not every one of those considerations occur with ten-fold force in respect to any body which had to be elected? Was it reasonable to suppose that an elected body would be less liable to influence than the local magistrates—he thought he might say gentlemen—who had nothing whatever to do with the property beyond seeing, for the sake of their own households as well as for the sake of the neighbourhood, that public-houses were properly conducted. But could anyone who knew what popular elections were doubt that if the principle of this Resolution were applied every influence which could be brought

to bear on elections now would hereafter be intensified? Popular elections were, no doubt, very well under certain circumstances and with certain subjects; but if there was one question more than another that would be likely to add to the turmoil and disorder of an election, it was this matter. At all events, such a change in the law would be likely to do so, and the placing the power of granting licences to public-houses, as indicated in the Resolution, would become in every town and district a Party question. He thought that these considerations would fairly meet the arguments of those who had introduced and supported the Resolution. But by what means did the hon. Baronet propose to carry out local option? Was it to be conterminous with the Town Council? Well, unfortunately, in the North of England every Town Council was elected upon what were called political principles, and it was known that in the election of almost all local bodies *quasi*-political considerations had great influence, and, indeed, were allowed to dominate over nearly every other. Therefore, he contended it was not desirable to put a question of this kind—the granting of licences—in the hands of those whose political predilections had placed them in authority. But, in the absence of a Town Council, was the local option to be placed in the hands of the School Board, or of the Local Government Board, or in the hands of a Vestry, however select? How was the House to frame a measure on premises so vague as those laid down, or attempted to be shadowed forth, by the hon. Baronet the Member for Carlisle? This was, it was true, an abstract Resolution; but if it was adopted by the House, would it not be converted by the hon. Baronet into the Permissive Bill, or something stronger even than that? It was simply an attempt to get in the thin end of the wedge, so that it might afterwards be driven home. The right hon. Gentleman saw in a moment the weakness of the hon. Baronet's position; and demonstrated as clearly as could be shown that this abstract Resolution must, at least, lead to the re-proposition of the Permissive Bill, and that it was large enough, net-like enough, to include within its meshes a very much larger proposition even than that Bill. He had heard with satisfaction the right hon. Gentle-

man's observations with respect to vested interests. Personally, he was no advocate of monopolies; but where a monopoly had been allowed to grow up, and had been regulated by licences and restrictions, then it was only fair that the vested interests of those engaged in carrying on that monopoly should be equitably considered. Without, in the slightest degree, saying the hon. Baronet was not justly within his right in choosing to proceed by abstract Resolution, he thought it would be infinitely more to the purpose, and a saving of the time of the House, and a more statesmanlike proceeding, to bring the question forward in the shape of a Bill, so that the House might have the details of the proposal before it, and be enabled to proceed in a legislative and statutory manner. He was told that this was not a teetotal question; but it was brought forward by one total abstainer, seconded by another, and it would, no doubt, receive the support of almost every total abstainer in and out of the House, so that it looked more like a teetotal question than a question involving merely temperance. He trusted there were none who did not like temperance for itself, none who preferred insobriety and disorder to comfort and good order; but when he was told that drunkenness was on the increase, he begged leave, not merely to deny that statement, but to assert that it was on the decrease, although the extra vigilance displayed in arresting drunkards might seem to point to the contrary. We were daily becoming a more sober people; and if there was any exception to that rule—he was sorry to have to say it, and especially of the female population—it was not the fault of the Licensed Victuallers, but because of the facilities for drink that had been given by granting grocers' and other licences that were beyond the control of the magistrates. It had been said that this was a national question. He quite agreed with that view, and therefore thought that it would be infinitely better if it were left in the hands of a national body like the magistrates, rather than to little cliques of an irresponsible description. He admitted that there were anomalies in the present system of distribution; but contended that if they went back upon the Alehouse Act of *Geo. IV.* the charge against the Licensed Victuallers as a body of promoting

drunkenness, would fall into comparative nothingness. But it was said, and upon high authority, that it might be desirable to have Free Trade in drink, and that the Liverpool experiment had never been properly tried; but he did not believe it to be possible to obtain complete Free Trade in England in anything, and it would be undesirable to have it, most of all, in drink. The hon. Member for Carlisle had told them that the measures for the sale of cheap beer and cheap wine had been failures. He was very much inclined, for once, to agree with the hon. Baronet. They had been failures, and they were likely to be failures. Those who were old enough to remember the beerhouse legislation of Lord Brougham and his day would probably recollect that it was then foreseen that it was doubtful whether cheap beer, under the beerhouse system, would be the unmitigated good which its supporters claimed for it. But when it came to the Wine Licences Act, when it was thought advisable, under a so-called Treaty of Commerce, to bring in cheap clarets, he knew very well what the consequence would be, and foretold it, and every prediction which he made, a quarter of a century ago, had come to pass. Were the wage-earning class of this country any better for the importation of cheap clarets? No. From the period of their introduction females, and persons in rather a better class of life than those who habitually resorted to the public-house, had become more and more subject to intoxication. That was a fearful responsibility, and he was one of those who would hark back from the lines of that legislation, and the sooner the evil was arrested the better it would be for the country. He was as much astonished as amused when he heard scraps and extracts from the Report of the Lords' Committee on Intemperance quoted either in support of the Permissive Bill or local option. With one single exception, there was scarcely a paragraph or passage in the whole of that Report which fortified the position taken by the hon. Member for Carlisle. The Permissive Bill, in so many words, was actually denounced. They were told in that Report that whatever else they did they must not legislate on the lines of the Permissive Bill. If they were to take a Report they must take it as a whole,

and not take out scraps and little bits here and there which suited particular lines of argument or squared in with particular views. They were told that many important bodies were in favour of local option, and clergymen were said to be foremost in support of the measure. It was very odd, however, that they scarcely ever found amongst the clergymen signing either Petitions or Memorials, for local option, that any of them were Justices of the Peace. If they were they would probably tell a very different story. He was prepared to admit that the Church in all its branches was acting as a part of the great police system of the country; but those clergymen—and for the Profession he hoped he had his fair proportion of respect—who went to the extent of signing Memorials in favour of local option did not exactly take in the whole scope of the question, nor did they consider into whose hands the power now vested in the magistrates would be intrusted in their own parishes and their own ecclesiastical districts. When the clerical body told them that local option would be an advantage to the country, the statesmen in that House begged respectfully, and by a very large majority, to differ from that view. If they began to deal with matters of this kind upon the local option principle secret drinking would increase tenfold. Everybody would endeavour to evade the law, and there would be in every locality an increase of that most pernicious system of secret drinking and social inebriety. They were told that the licensing plan was the greatest failure that the world had ever seen. Statements of that kind might be made, but they meant nothing. He had been reminded, since he entered the House, that in Middlesex and Westminster, no fewer than 500 and 450 licences had been re-granted to applicants, against not one of whom was there a shadow of complaint. Did that say nothing in favour of the magisterial supervision that was exercised? He apprehended that under no other supervision could they have such an amount of good management, reflecting credit alike on the publicans as a body, and on the bench of magistrates. He was not going to talk of depriving the poor man of his beer; but so long as the Clubs and cellars of the rich were allowed to dis-

tribute drink to the upper classes of society, it was but right to leave to the humbler classes the only cellar which, practically, they possessed—namely, the public-houses. Hon. Members could not hide from themselves that if they legislated upon the lines of local option or total abstinence it would place the humbler class of the community in a far worse position than they were ever placed in before. With regard to the Gothenburg system, it was impossible to institute any fair comparison between this country and Sweden; the necessities and wants of the two people were so dissimilar. The hon. Baronet the Member for Carlisle described himself as one of the plagues of the House. Whatever might be said of his views, the hon. Baronet, personally, was deservedly a favourite with the House, and infused into its deliberations a good humour of which it was to be regretted they had not more. It was said that it was only reasonable to give power to the majority in each district to prevent drink shops being established where they were not wanted. The fact was, however, that drink shops would never be found where they were not wanted, because no body of men could exercise a more strict—not to say a more severe—control over the granting of new licences, than the present magistrates did. He contended that the magistrates were much fitter to exercise that control, and were less likely to be acted upon by extraneous influences, than any other local bodies. Believing that the Licensing Act was efficient for its purpose, and that the measure proposed by the hon. Baronet was unjust, uncalled for, and calculated, if adopted, to prove injurious to the community, he would vote most decidedly against the Resolution.

MR. LEATHAM congratulated his hon. Friend the Member for Carlisle on having made a change of front which enabled many hon. Gentlemen who had long desired to offer him a certain degree of support to do so without difficulty. The hon. and learned Gentleman who last spoke had argued as though the Motion before the House were substantially the same as the Permissive Bill. If he thought so he would frankly admit that he could not support the Motion of his hon. Friend. It always appeared to him to be one of the merits of his hon. Friend's Motion that it got rid of his

hon. Friend's Bill. Two objections to the Bill always seemed conclusive to his mind. One had been referred to by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Greenwich (Mr. Gladstone)—namely, that his hon. Friend proposed to extinguish a vast trade which had received the sanction of the State for centuries back, and in which an immense amount of capital was embarked, without any compensation whatever. The hon. Baronet used to say that he wished to leave the question of compensation untouched; but that was just what the robber said who picked his pocket. It was all very well to say that the licence was only granted for one year, and that the power which originally granted it could refuse to re-grant it; but that was a mistake, for the Justices could not refuse to do so without reason assigned, so that so long as the business was carried on without misconduct it could not be interfered with, and even if there was misconduct it would not be sufficient, unless persisted in after repeated warnings. Another equally fatal objection to his hon. Friend's Bill was very well put last year in a speech delivered by the hon. Baronet the Under Secretary of State (Sir Matthew White Ridley), when he said that "we ought not to subordinate the privileges of the sober man to the reformation of the drunkard." The rights of the individual were so completely sacrificed by that Bill that, had it become law, all facilities for procuring an essential article of diet would have disappeared over a very wide area. Possibly the Motion before the House had suffered somewhat from the advocacy of his hon. Friend, because no one would believe that he had not a Permissive Bill concealed about his person; yet the Resolution simply declared the new principle that the inhabitants of a district should be entitled to exercise some sort of control over the number of public-houses existing among them. If the House were dealing with a Bill, it would have been necessary, as the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Greenwich had said, to consider the whole question of compensation, and with the best means of preserving, to some extent, the rights of the minority. His own constituency contained many men in whose minds the question had never been allowed to slumber; but he had never

voted for the Bill, though, as far as the Resolution went, he thought his hon. Friend had proved his point. It was a monstrous thing, considering the powers already conferred upon localities, that they should be crowded and crammed with public-houses without being able to offer anything like an effective resistance. Few persons had better opportunities of gauging the strength of an agitation than the hon. Baronet the Member for Carlisle. He was apparently of opinion that there was no radical cure for intemperance but total prohibition, though much might be done by restrictive legislation. It was to be hoped, then, that his hon. Friend would not renounce the opportunity of making a real attack on the intemperance of the country. For his own part, he should vote for the Resolution; because he saw in the recognition of the principle of local option some chance of setting up an enlightened public opinion—some hope of escape from the great moral disease of the country.

MR. RODWELL wished to say a word or two with reference to a remark of the hon. Baronet the Member for Carlisle (Sir Wilfrid Lawson) that was, to a certain extent, personal to himself. It had been stated by the hon. Baronet that in the village of Ampton there was not a single beer-house or public-house. That was the case; but if he thought the inhabitants required a public-house, or that their wants justified the presence of one, and that he refused to give them that accommodation, he should consider himself as most selfish and unworthy of the position which he held. Whatever the rights of property might be, he repudiated the notion that a person ought tyrannically or arbitrarily to interfere with the wants of his poorer neighbours. With regard to the Resolution of the hon. Baronet, it professed to affirm the principle of local option; but, reading it by the light of the addresses delivered by the hon. Baronet and his followers, and by what was said of it in those public organs which advocated temperance, he firmly believed that the intention was, not to give local option only, but to suppress and close all public-houses. It was because he feared this tyrannical result that he could not give his vote in favour of the Resolution. The people to whom the right of exercising local option would be given were people who

were entirely independent of public-house accommodation, and who had all the means at their own firesides of enjoying every comfort and indulgence. The Motion would introduce class legislation of the very worst description, and a great deal of discontent throughout the country. He was willing to allow that the Licensing Laws required amendment; but not in the sense proposed by the hon. Baronet. That hon. Gentleman wished to make the granting of a licence the subject of a popular vote. Now, he (Mr. Rodwell) admitted that all classes of the community should have the same means of expressing their opinions and views; but he thought that could be done without altering the existing machinery if the magistrates, when a new licence was applied for, took care to ascertain the feelings of the people. He might be allowed, perhaps, to mention one matter to which the hon. Baronet had alluded with very good taste and in an amusing manner—namely, the local option meeting at Cambridge. Now, he would offer the hon. Baronet a little bit of advice, as he believed he had brought upon himself the indignation of the meeting by the intemperance of his language. If his language had been more moderate, if he had not levelled an attack upon himself, and refrained from sarcasms upon the rosy appearance of the Licensed Victuallers, he would have been heard with patience. However, he had not taken the chair at that meeting, as had been arranged; neither had he even attended it, for a good reason. At first, he supposed it would be a public meeting; but afterwards, when opposition was apprehended, admission was granted by tickets only, and the meeting became one-sided and exclusive. He thought it a great farce that he, acting as it was said as a “moderator,” should preside at a meeting where no discussion was to be allowed, and where he could not call upon anyone to move an amendment. He said, therefore, that the promoters of the meeting had better get somebody else, and then it was stated that he ran away. He should be quite ready to join Cardinal Manning, Canon Wilberforce, or the hon. Baronet at a meeting, so long as there was free discussion, people could ask questions, and inform themselves what local option really meant. He flattered himself that had the promoters allowed him to pre-

side at the meeting, and there had been free discussion, the people, knowing his views, would have been more orderly, and the hon. Baronet would have had a better reception and would not have had to run away, which he really did.

MR. MARK STEWART said, he would venture to intrude a very few words on the House in explanation of the course he proposed to take. Last year he made the statement that in voting for the Motion he most distinctly protested against being considered to be supporting the Permissive Bill. That protest he would emphasize in more distinct words. He was only sorry that when the hon. Baronet the Member for Carlisle (Sir Wilfrid Lawson) brought on his Motion he did not explain a little more fully its real meaning. Though the words of the Motion were the same as that of last year, he, like his hon. and learned Friend who had just sat down (Mr. Rodwell), felt very much perplexed; and he had hoped that they should have had more light thrown upon the matter with regard to what was really meant. He would, however, endeavour to state what meaning he attached to it himself, and it would only be in that sense that he should support the Resolution. A great deal of discussion had taken place, and they had heard of the difficulties which surrounded the question, and some speakers had asserted that Free Trade in drink had proved a failure; but the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Greenwich now asserted that it had never been fairly tried, and could not be considered, therefore, to have been played out. And another question had been brought forward—that of total prohibition, though it had been touched upon, comparatively, in a slight degree. His hon. Friend the Member for Leatham—[*Laughter*—he meant the hon. Member for Huddersfield (Mr. Leatham)—had made a speech which, contrary to his usual clearness, was perplexed; and, instead of grappling boldly with the question, he avoided touching the root of it at all. What they had to consider that evening was, whether it was desirable to place further restrictions on the liquor traffic. He should be glad to hear that the Government intended to bring in a comprehensive measure dealing with the question, as hon. Members had now had time to read and thoroughly understand

the Report of the House of Lords' Committee on Intemperance. If something was not now done in the way of legislation it would be impossible to avoid effecting a reform in the next Parliament. It seemed to him that it would be impossible to subordinate the privileges of the sober to those who imbibed too freely. Any measure which gave the whole power into the hands of a *plebiscite* or local majority would hit very far from the mark in doing good. Further than that, he did not himself think that the real remedy lay in that extreme. It lay rather between the two extremes. He did think that what that House ought to study was as far as possible to give liberty, and also to consult public convenience. It did not do for hon. Members, who had not the inclination to go into a public-house, or who did not imbibe wines or any drinks at all—it did not do for them to hold up their hands and inveigh—to them, with righteous indignation—against those who actually felt, from the necessities of their nature, that they ought to take some stimulants during the day. Everyone had his own particular nostrum, everyone had his own particular way of dealing with this important question as he thought best, and the consequence was that nothing at all was done. He gave all possible credit to the hon. Baronet the Member for Carlisle (Sir Wilfrid Lawson) for having so systematically brought this question year after year before the House, and for having, by his humour, made interesting that which in other hands would probably be most uninteresting. There was a great amount of feeling about disturbing the magistrates in the possession of the power which they now used with great intelligence and for the well-being of the community; and it was felt that those magistrates, who had had the power for 330 years, ought not to be rudely pushed aside and their power put into the hands of persons who had never felt such responsibility. There was another class of Members, and there were persons outside the House, who believed that education had something to do with the question, and felt that, by the statistics of education, it was proved that intemperance was diminishing among the better educated. There were other men's interests and the customs of the population, and there was the point which the

right hon. Member for Greenwich made on the question of vested interests—a point which appeared to him (Mr. Mark Stewart), without imputing any motive, to be one they were not so accustomed to hear from the Opposition side of the House, but which ought to be specially guarded and protected. Then, again, hon. Members felt that the fluctuation of public opinion, varying, as it did, and spreading about and over, was against the publican unless he was guarded by law. A magistrate did not feel himself in duty bound to renew a licence when there was nothing against the character of a publican; and if it were not for that, they would get a class of men in the trade without capital and without means, and very much the class of men whom they did not want to have. But he would pass on to some of the points involved in the Resolution before the House. He conceived that the true principle of all this licensing question was this—that it ought to be legislated upon for the good of the entire people, and it ought not to be a matter regulated here or regulated there, but what was the general good ought to be the general wish; and what the House desired to promote would be, that the matter should not be vested entirely in the hands of the people, but that there should be associated with the magistrates a certain number of assessors, who should know the individual wants of a particular district. If that were done, then he should say they were going in the direction which carried force and weight of conviction to the minds of the people. In Scotland the people, in the first instance, elected the Town Councils, and then the Town Councils selected from among their number the bailies, who were borough magistrates; and no new licence by the Act of 1876, brought in by the hon. Member for Glasgow (Mr. Anderson), could be granted, unless it was by the concurrence of the magistrates elected by the Town Council, and also with that of the magistrates of the county in which the borough was situated. In that case, there was a prohibition which might be brought into exercise, and it was a great boon on this question of new licences. If he understood the matter, that was not the case in England. Well, what should be the position and the duty of the magistrates? He took it there

ought to be assessors. Suppose there were one or two assessors elected by the people to assist in advising the magistrates. He thought it would work well. He might say that, acting upon this Resolution last year, he brought in a Bill, along with several other hon. Members, and the point of that measure was that the licensing authority should take into consideration the circumstances of the district, and that no new certificate should be granted unless required by the public, and the character and circumstances of the population of the district, the description of the premises to be licensed, and the number of rooms therein should be described, and that the application should be supported by signatures of persons in its favour. He took it that he had so far been persistent in support of local option in endeavouring to carry that Bill. The measure passed the second reading; but, under the half-past 12 Rule, he was unable to get it advanced further. Not only would the assessors sit and advise the magistrates, but they would be able to make inquiries, which the magistrates could not prosecute, as to the population, and in other respects they would be able to check abuses, and bring abuses to the knowledge of the magistrates, and they would be able to supervise transfers and enable the system of licensing to be thoroughly supervised. In reading between the lines of the Resolution—which, he thought, they would be justified in doing, seeing that it was an abstract Resolution—he would make it a strong point that, whilst there must be a minimum restriction, licences must not go beyond a maximum. Taking these views into consideration, that the question was not only of great importance under the circumstances to the whole country, and not alone to the particular constituencies, it would reflect credit on the Government if they would bring in, or give the House to understand they would bring in, some measure which really would deal with this question, and proclaim to the country their intention of grappling with the evil.

Mr. COLMAN said, he should not have risen to address the House but for the prominence which had been given to the case of Norwich by the remarks of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Greenwich, who quoted from the Report of the Lords' Committee on Intem-

perance, that Norwich, with the largest number of public-houses in proportion to the population, had yet the smallest amount of drunkenness. He wished to assure the House that there was no laxity on the part of the magistrates or police in dealing with the drunkenness of the city. He had himself observed with considerable satisfaction, while going through the city late at night, the extreme quietness of its streets, where there were a larger number of public-houses than he cared to see. However, he did not wish the House to infer that the magistrates in Norwich felt that the more public-houses there were the less drunkenness prevailed; but they had been, on the other hand, very careful of the number of new licences granted. He also felt, and it seemed to him to be the strongest argument that could be put forward on behalf of the Resolution of the hon. Member for Carlisle (Sir Wilfrid Lawson), that communities should have the same power as individuals. When they knew that individuals had power on their own estates to prevent public-houses being established he could not understand why the community should not have the same power. But he wished to dissociate himself from the doubtful views on compensation expressed by the hon. Baronet, and to say distinctly that if the community shut up the public-houses they were bound to compensate the owners of them, for that was simply doing what an individual would have to do. If an individual on his own property wished to close a public-house he would have to buy the licence at a considerably enhanced cost, and in that sense he believed communities were bound to do the same thing. Therefore, he thought if a measure were brought forward which had for its object the reduction of the number of public-houses some compensation should be given to vested interests. With that explanation, he should vote for the Resolution of the hon. Baronet.

MR. BULWER said, he was well acquainted with Norwich, and quite agreed with what had been stated in regard to it by the hon. Member who had just addressed the House (Mr. Colman); but what he could not understand was that, after the favourable experience of Norwich, the hon. Gentleman was still determined to vote for the Resolution. He was at a loss to understand what

was the meaning of local option. Did it mean that a community, say of 100 inhabitants, should be enabled to decide by their vote that the number of public-houses should be increased or diminished? If it meant anything it ought to mean that; but the public were of opinion that by local option the hon. Baronet the Member for Carlisle proposed to give communities an option in regulating the number of public-houses, but only in one direction. He (Mr. Bulwer), however, ventured to say, from his experience of a great number of localities, that in all probability, if local option, in its widest sense, were adopted it would cut two ways, and that, so far from the number of public-houses becoming fewer, there would be a great many more than were wanted. As to the meeting at Cambridge, to which so much reference had been made, he had received an account of it from an authority upon which he could rely, and the statement agreed with that of the hon. and learned Member for Cambridgeshire (Mr. Rodwell) that the confusion was entirely owing to the hon. Baronet himself. He (Mr. Bulwer) had been told that the University students would have consented to listen to Cardinal Manning or Canon Wilberforce; but they did not like to be addressed in the tone which was adopted by the hon. Baronet the Member for Carlisle. Although they liked a good joke, they did not, as they said, like to be addressed in the language of a clown in the circus. If the hon. Baronet and his friends would be more temperate in their language without being less jocular they would probably do more good, and would have more chance of promoting the cause they had at heart. He ventured to say that if, instead of asking Parliament to pass stringent measures on this subject, every man were personally to exert his influence to prevent drunkenness, the evil would be put a stop to to a great extent. There were other vices which they all deplored which produced greater evils than even drunkenness; and could anyone suppose that they could do away with these evils by shutting up the places where they were practised? The only mode to deal with this matter was to do what they could to promote education, to give people rational amusements, and more comfortable homes; but to ask Parliament to pass a Resolution or an Act

to make men sober was simply a waste of time. He fully admitted that considerable amendment might be effected in the Licensing Laws and in the mode in which licences were granted; and he approved the system in force in the City of Dublin, where absolute power to grant or refuse them was placed in the hands of the Recorder, who was an independent authority, and who would not be influenced by considerations which might affect large bodies of persons in determining whether to grant or withhold them. There was very great scope for improvement in the licensing authority, and appeals from that authority; but as to the question of local option, he did not understand what it meant, and, therefore, he should vote against it.

MR. MUNTZ observed, that all in that House were agreed as to the evils of drunkenness; but the question was, did the Resolution propose the best remedy for those evils? The Resolution asked the House to vote for some undefined and uncertain thing, and, in fact, to sign a blank cheque for the hon. Baronet the Member for Carlisle (Sir Wilfrid Lawson) to fill in at his leisure and according to his fancy. That was not what the House wanted. They wanted something tangible; they were not to be dashed on a quicksand by a Resolution like that. It began with an assertion altogether erroneous, and ended with a recommendation that nobody could understand. It began by stating—

“That inasmuch as the ancient and avowed object of Licensing the Sale of Intoxicating Liquors is to supply a supposed public want, without detriment to the public welfare.”

But did not the hon. Baronet know that wines and beer and spirits were sold in this country long before licences were known, and that licences were invented originally to fill the King's Exchequer. Then the Resolution went on to propose that the legal power of restraining the issue or renewal of licences should be placed in the hands of the inhabitants. But who, he (Mr. Muntz) should like to know, were the inhabitants? Taking his own borough, it must contain some 400,000 people; and how, he should like to know, could such a vast number of people as that express their opinion on the subject? Were they all to be placed on the register at the expense of many thousands of pounds, or were they to

vote indiscriminately, in which case the American principle of “voting early and voting often,” would be largely carried out? He did not admit that the licensing system of this country was a complete failure, or that there was any alarming increase of drunkenness, except among a class of women who ought to know better, and who certainly did not obtain their intoxicating liquors from the public-houses. It would be impossible to put a stop altogether to the traffic in drink, except on the condition that the publicans were compensated for the loss such a course would occasion to them; and he greatly doubted whether Parliament would be willing to vote £150,000,000 to carry out the plan. He denied that the permissive system had worked successfully in places where it had been tried. In Massachusetts it had been tried for 22 years, and eventually the old licensing system had to be resorted to, to put a stop to the evils which the permissive system had given rise to. The same thing had occurred in Canada. Friends of the hon. Baronet had been tolerably well bullied in order to induce them to support the Resolution; and, as regarded himself, he had never received so many threats since he had been a Representative in Parliament as he had in the event of his voting against it. He, however, should be ashamed to yield to coercion of that kind. He should vote for what he thought right and best for the interests of the country. If his constituency did not like such independence on the part of their Member they must get somebody else to represent them, because he would never consent to act the part of a mere delegate. If the hon. Baronet really wanted to try the question fairly, let him begin at the right end and move a Resolution to affirm that the Members of the Houses of Parliament should not be henceforth supplied within the Palace of Westminster with spirituous liquors, wines, or beer; and if a Motion of the kind was supported by 20 votes he (Mr. Muntz) would be almost persuaded to become a teetotaler. As far as his own experience enabled him to speak, however, the most ardent supporters of the Permissive Bill in Parliament were Members who drank more than any others at the refreshment places provided in different parts of the House. When they, the Representatives of the

people, had denied themselves the opportunity of taking refreshments, they could call upon the people to do the same; but while the Members of that House and others could enjoy the luxuries of life at their homes and their Clubs, he could not vote for putting down the poor man's public-house and beer-shop—the only club he had to go to. If the hon. Baronet would bring forward a measure which defined clearly what he really proposed to do, it should have his (Mr. Muntz's) candid consideration; but so long as he brought before them a Resolution which might mean something or mean nothing, he could not vote for it. This was a Resolution which he did not understand; and, therefore, he should vote against it.

MR. RITCHIE, in opposing the Motion, thought the House always had a great deal of sympathy with the cause of temperance; and if they did not agree altogether with the hon. Baronet (Sir Wilfrid Lawson) they admired his sincerity, and the consistency, persistency, and moderation with which he brought forward these questions. The hon. Baronet might be sure of one thing—that since he had commenced to work against intemperance the cause of temperance had increased in the country. He did not think that closing public-houses would lessen the amount of drunkenness amongst women, but that it would be apt to increase that evil, because it was not in such places that women usually gratified their craving after intoxicants. It would force people who now drank at public-houses to keep intoxicating liquors in their houses; and the effect of that, he was afraid, would be to increase the amount of drunkenness amongst women. A great deal of drunkenness was the effect of a life of hard toil without sufficient recreation, and to close the public-houses would be only to deal with the effect, and not with the cause. If they wished to lessen drunkenness, they must provide amusement and recreation for the great masses of the country, by means of music-halls, to which men could take their wives and families; by providing more open spaces, and by other means of that character. A great deal had been done in that direction by the sanitary legislation of the present Government. The Government had endeavoured to provide healthier homes for the working classes,

which was a step in the right direction. Although the hon. Baronet had endeavoured to mystify the House as to the meaning of his Resolution, there could be no doubt that its object was that it should be the basis of a Bill similar to that which the hon. Baronet had repeatedly failed to carry through the House. He (Mr. Ritchie) was surprised that the hon. Baronet, with his experience, should ask the House to agree to an ambiguous Resolution. The House did not, very properly and naturally, like abstract Resolutions, and all the ordinary objections to abstract Resolutions applied ten-fold to this Resolution. It was one on which it had already been proved a Bill of a practical character could not be founded. The hon. Baronet brought in his Bill, which was found to be unworkable, and then, having proved that the proposition was impracticable, he asked the House to assent to a Resolution which it was impossible to work out in a Bill. Was the proposition made by the hon. Baronet just, and was it practical? He proceeded on the principle that all who drank were drunken. ["No, no!"] Well, the hon. Baronet desired to prevent everyone from drinking, and he asked the House to give a majority of any locality the power to stop those who used, and did not abuse, alcoholic liquors from obtaining any drink at all. If the Resolution did not mean that it meant nothing. To pass a Resolution of that kind would be one of the worst instances of class legislation he (Mr. Ritchie) had ever heard of. The hon. Baronet did not attempt to apply his Resolution to the class to which Members of that House belonged. The artisan was not to be at liberty to procure a pint of beer for his supper; but Members of Parliament could procure whatever they required in the shape of intoxicating drink either in that House, in their Clubs, or in their homes. If they were to stop the consumption of intoxicating liquors on the ground that they were injurious, even when taken in moderation, they would have to go to the root of the evil, and stop their importation and manufacture. The Resolution did not give them any information. The hon. Baronet asked them to commit themselves to a principle without going into the details. How was the kind of election

proposed to be carried out? Suppose, also, that in one parish all the public-houses were closed, and that in an adjoining one the public-houses remained open, they would be—following out the hon. Baronet's reasoning—giving peace and quietness to the one at the expense of the other, because that part of the population who wished for public-houses and were overruled would simply resort to the locality where they existed. The hon. Baronet might say that the Resolution could only become operative at the will of a majority of the inhabitants of a locality. Well, they all knew the activity of the party to which the hon. Baronet belonged, and they could well conceive how his supporters would move heaven and earth to procure the votes nominally of a majority, which might actually be a minority, of those entitled to vote. The hon. Baronet had not absolutely said that there should be no compensation to Licensed Victuallers. They might gather his opinion, however, from his speeches, from which he seemed to think that if a magistrate, by a stroke of the pen, increased the value of a man's house, he ought not, if disturbed, to obtain compensation; but he (Mr. Ritchie) would remind him that large sums of money were spent by Licensed Victuallers who went into public-houses, the process being comparatively infrequent of taking a house and then applying for a licence. As to who was to pay the compensation, the hon. Baronet had left them unenlightened. If the principle of local option were adopted in this matter, where were they to stop? Tobacco was regarded as very injurious by many people; were they to leave the question of its use to the decision of a majority of residents in a particular district? Early marriages were held to be a great evil; were they to be similarly prevented? Indeed, there were numbers of other instances that could be quoted. He quite acknowledged that in some places the licensed houses constituted a nuisance, as they were far too numerous, and that licences were obtained occasionally with too great a facility. The previous night, however, he had been fortunate enough to carry through its last stage a Bill which would have the effect of preventing the granting of hundreds—he might say of thousands—of licences. As a matter of fact, magistrates all over the country

were extremely cautious about granting new licences, and it seemed to him that this power should still be vested in their hands, instead of in the hands of an elective body. In conclusion, for his part, he was ready to support any well-considered measure for the amendment of the Licensing Laws; but he could not vote for a measure which would prevent one man using intoxicating liquor in moderation because another man, by his excesses, abused it.

MR. JOHN BRIGHT said, that in listening to the debate, which he had done with great attention almost from its commencement, he could not help thinking that he did not overstate the case when he said that many speakers had done some injustice to his hon. Friend the Member for Carlisle (Sir Wilfrid Lawson). They had not treated him fairly, and the hon. Member who had just sat down (Mr. Ritchie) had been, perhaps, the worst of those to whom that observation applied, when he charged his hon. Friend with a wish to mystify the House. That was the very last charge that ought to be brought against his hon. Friend. Probably, if his hon. Friend had been a little more disposed to mystify the House, he might have more voters than he was likely to have that night in favour of his Resolution. Again, the hon. Member said—and it had been assumed generally by hon. Gentlemen—that the question before the House was the question of the Permissive Bill, and nearly all his speech had been directed against the clauses and propositions of that Bill. But the Permissive Bill had disappeared, and probably never would be seen again in the House. It had been assumed, and, in his opinion, in many cases most unjustly, that the Proposer of the Resolution asked the House to pledge itself to the Permissive Bill, or, at all events, that he had endeavoured to persuade them to enter into a trap which he had set and baited, and out of which they would find, if they passed the Resolution, there was no escape. Now, he (Mr. John Bright) had always, from the first time the Permissive Bill was before the House, been strongly opposed to it. He voted against it, at least on one occasion; and many years ago he spoke against it, and in favour of that which now would come under the Resolution of his hon. Friend as a measure of local

option. He might say, too, that if that Bill which he opposed before should appear again he would meet it with the same opposition, because the more he thought of it the more he believed that his arguments against it were sound and just. But he should vote for the present Resolution, and, having voted for it, would feel that he was just as free to deal with the drink question at any future time when it might come before the House as if he had never heard of the Permissive Bill, and as if the present Resolution had never been before them. He objected to the Permissive Bill because there was in it no element of representation. It was a great and powerful weapon that was to act by what they might call a mass vote. It was not intended to restrain, for in it there was no power to restrain, the granting of licences; its only power was to be used to suppress public-houses altogether. All that was to be done with no sufficient notice, and with no compensation to those who were disturbed under any circumstances. It occurred to him what must happen if it were proposed, in great cities like Manchester and Birmingham, to put in force the Permissive Bill. Perhaps 1,500 or 2,000 persons and families would be connected with the trade against which the Permissive Bill was directed. It was clear that no vote of the population in either of those cities would have been a sufficient plea to turn out of their business and homes, without notice and without compensation, 1,000, 1,500, or 2,000 persons engaged in the distribution of alcoholic drinks; and, therefore, he came to the conclusion long ago that the Bill was absolutely impossible in Parliament; and if it could possibly pass through the House it must be rejected in every city in which it was proposed to enforce it. It would have been absolutely impossible to persuade the population of our great cities, or even considerable towns, to adopt the Bill, and so deal with a considerable portion of the members engaged in that trade, even though they were determined that the trade, by some process or other, should be put an end to. The proposal of to-night showed that his hon. Friend the Member for Carlisle and his Friends had become wiser during the discussions that had taken place. They had found, as all had found, that there was no

growth of opinion in that House in favour of the Permissive Bill. He was not sure that he could count five Members—he thought he only knew two, perhaps three really—who were in favour of the Permissive Bill as it was proposed. The votes in favour of the measure were votes like many that would be given to-night. They were votes to express, on the only opportunity offered, a belief that the evil against which the Bill was directed was gigantic in its proportions, and that it was necessary for Parliament to take some step to endeavour to abate it. They all knew that the Bill had disappeared; and if the persons out-of-doors who promoted it, or his hon. Friend who introduced it, should again introduce a Bill, he had no doubt it would be free from many of the faults of the former Bill. But he did not anticipate that the hon. Member for Carlisle or his Friends would introduce any Bill; but when this Resolution, or some similar Resolution, should be carried, it would then become the duty of the Government—of this Government, or of the Government that would succeed them—to deal with this question. The hon. and learned Gentleman opposite (Mr. Wheelhouse) made objection to the Resolution that it was an abstract Resolution. That was an objection which he (Mr. John Bright) had often heard. His right hon. Friend the Member for Greenwich never liked abstract Resolutions; but abstract Resolutions were legitimate weapons which an advancing Party, proposing a new policy to Parliament, as a matter of course, must always use. An abstract Resolution was a legitimate weapon of progress. All Parties used it; and if this Resolution were carried, it would declare, in the main, that the present mode of licensing public-houses was productive of great evil, and that a new and better mode should succeed it. Then it would become the duty of the Government to consider the question fully, and propose some improvement upon the system which now existed. The hon. and learned Member said this Resolution mystified the House; the hon. and learned Gentleman must have great suspicions of the hon. Baronet the Member for Carlisle. The Resolution was one, however, which anybody of any Parliamentary experience could easily understand. It said—

"Inasmuch as the ancient and avowed object of Licensing the Sale of Intoxicating Liquors is to supply a supposed public want, without detriment to the public welfare, this House is of opinion that a legal power of restraining the issue or renewal of licences should be placed in the hands of the persons most deeply interested and affected, namely, the inhabitants themselves, who are entitled to protection from the injurious consequences of the present system, by some efficient measure of local option."

Now, the House had been told already, more than once, that that Resolution was one that his hon. Friend the Member for Carlisle had borrowed from a very—a Gentleman opposite called it not merely a respectable, but almost a—sacred source, the Lower House of Convocation of the Province of Canterbury. He (Mr. John Bright) did not know exactly what that was; but he presumed, as the principle embodied in the Resolution was endorsed by a Memorial of the Archbishops and Bishops, signed by 13,600 clergy, 15 Bishops, 22 Deans, 66 archdeacons—and here he was perfectly bewildered—65 canons, 178 prebendaries, and 205 honorary canons, it would meet with approval on the other side. Now, there were only three or four words at the end of the Resolution which had been added by his hon. Friend, and they did not add anything to the sense of the Resolution, because the wish that these great dignitaries declared and wished them to declare was—"That this House is of opinion that a legal power of restraining the issue or renewal of licences should be granted"—well, the end of the Resolution was merely this—"by some efficient measure of local option." Well, a legal power restraining the issue or renewal given to those most interested—that was, the inhabitants of a borough or a district could only be given by some mode of representation, and it was no use giving it at all, unless it were by some efficient measure of local option. Now, there was nothing mystifying about his hon. Friend's proposition. He (Mr. John Bright) was sure that hon. Gentlemen opposite did not think that the 13,000 clergymen and all the rest of it would wish to be parties to a mystification. Would anybody deny that the inhabitants had the right to complain of the way in which the licensing system was worked? Was it not known perfectly well that there was in the licensing of places for the sale of drink a great

injury to property? Was it not certain that offences against decency and morality were committed? Did anyone deny that, wherever one went, in all the poorer districts especially, there were complaints on this score? He recollected a gentleman in his neighbourhood, in the town of Rochdale, who had four or five or six daughters growing up, and he complained to him one day that opposite his house the magistrates had recently granted a licence, and there was a most odious and offensive nuisance planted exactly opposite his house; and his friend said, speaking of the magistrate who had been the principal person in the granting of the licence, and of whom there were three he thought—"Mr. So and So would take a great care that no house like that would be placed within 100 yards of his gates." And so it was that in hundreds of districts there were other complaints of this kind. The magistrates about whom the hon. and learned Member for Leeds spoke in language of great laudation were just as honest and honourable as other men would be in their place. But they were in this matter irresponsible. They were appointed by the Lord Lieutenant of the county, or in the Duchy of Lancaster by the Chancellor. ["No, no!"] He was speaking of the boroughs. The Crown knew nothing about them, the Home Secretary knew nothing about them, the Lord Chancellor knew nothing about them, and the population had no influence over them, except when some great excitement took place, and that acted merely as a spasm for a year or two, and the magistrates would be rather shy of granting licences; but the moment the nuisance had subsided, and the local newspaper did not write any more about it, the local magistrates fell into their old way, and the licences were granted the same as before. What was the change that was proposed by the Resolution? They had no right to insist that any particular change would follow. The opinion which the hon. Member for Carlisle might have still about the system would have no effect upon the opinion of the House. If the Resolution passed they would be as free as he was, and could make any proposition they liked in regard to the shape which future legislation should take; and if the Government proposed a measure which did not meet with his ap-

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proval, the hon. Member for Carlisle might take a division upon it, as any other hon. Member could. No doubt, the hon. and learned Member for Leeds would have some proposition of his own to propose by way of Amendment to the Government Bill, however feeble it might be. ["Oh, oh!"] He did not know why hon. Members opposite were offended with that observation. The hon. and learned Member for Leeds, with the view he held, quite entitled him (Mr. John Bright) to make that observation without saying anything offensive to him. Now, what form of change would it be possible to propose? The House of Commons, 45 years ago, voted in favour of transferring the licensing of public-houses from the magistrates to Corporations within boroughs. What was more reasonable? Surely, if they intrusted the Corporations of Birmingham, or of Manchester, or of Leeds, or of Liverpool, with the purchase, at an enormous cost, of gas works and the supply of gas, with the purchase, at an enormous cost, of water works and the supply of water, with the management of the police in the town, with the administration, to a large extent, of justice—for the mayor was the chief magistrate in a borough—if they trusted to an elected board the education of 10,000 or 20,000 children in one of those large towns—he thought his right hon. Friend the Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster) proposed originally—and he was sorry he did not succeed in carrying it—to give to Corporations the power afterwards given to School Boards—but if they did all this through their Corporations, and if it was admitted, he would undertake to say, by the very large majority of the Members of that House, that there was nothing connected with their social condition which was, on the whole, more satisfactory to the country than the municipal government of their large boroughs—if all this were so, where would be the harm of trusting to these great Corporations the control of the licences and the administration of this function of the Public Service? It would be open to them afterwards to discuss what might be done with reference to the subject. But, with regard to the Corporations, the more they gave them high and important duties, the more they would find them filled by men of the best character and

ability; the more they gave them dignified and important work to do, the more they would find the office of town councillor held by men of honourable and dignified character. The hon. Member for the Tower Hamlets (Mr. Ritchie) no doubt, believed—at least, he (Mr. John Bright) judged from his speech—that if the Resolution was carried, the House—a majority of the House—would be bound, in some shape or other, to accept with considerable favour the Permissive Bill, of which he spoke so much. He (Mr. John Bright) did not believe it in the least. They would be as free as if the Resolution had never passed. The only thing which would happen would be this—that the House would have expressed an opinion condemning the present system and suggesting a new one; and the Government would be called upon, as soon as other pressing Business permitted them to undertake it, to submit to the House a measure which should accept in some degree the question of local control, with regard to the curtailment, distribution, or granting of licences throughout the boroughs. He would admit that, in the counties, there was no authority at present, that he knew of, which would undertake that duty. Therefore, if he were called in to advise on a matter like this, he would propose a Bill which would have reference only to the boroughs and the Corporations. It would be a great measure. If it succeeded everybody would be glad. If it did not it need not be extended; but he would leave the distribution of licences, and the whole matter in that portion of the country which was outside the municipal boroughs, to the magistrates as the magistrates had it now. The Resolution appeared to him to be worthy of the attention of the House, especially on this ground, that he thought public opinion was every—he was going to say every day—but was every year advancing to the point at which it would compel the House to deal with the question. If the House expressed its disapproval of the present system the friends of the Resolution would attempt some reform; and its opponents, he presumed, would go before the country as men who were unwilling to move in the matter. He would like to ask any hon. Gentleman on the opposite side of the House, what would be the opinion to-morrow—he would not

say of the decision, but of the force—of hon. Members on one side or the other? Those who voted for the Resolution would be held to be in favour of a change which they believed to be good. They on the other side, and also some on that, who voted against it would be held to believe that the present system of magisterial management was as good as any that could be established. [“No, no!”] He was almost gratified, but he was much surprised, to hear that observation, because he thought the opinion of those who did not like the Resolution, and did not wish any Resolution to pass, was that local option was itself not a good thing, and that the possession of the power of granting licences by magistrates was a plan entirely, or nearly, satisfactory to all those who were opposed to the Resolution. Might he ask the House for a moment, before he sat down, who were the people that the Resolution represented? From whom did the hon. Member for Carlisle derive whatever authority he had on this question? On whose behalf did he speak in the House that night, as he had spoken in past Sessions? He had read the little paragraph about the Church—the 13,600 clergymen, the 15 Bishops, and all the other dignitaries, which he need not enumerate—but it said nothing of another great class of persons in the country. He spoke of the Nonconformists. If there were 13,600 clergymen of the Church of England who asked them to deal with the question, he would undertake to say there was a still larger number of ministers of the Nonconformist Sects who would join with the Church in asking them to take that course. If they went over England, Scotland, and Ireland, he had not the least doubt there were more than 20,000 ministers of one class or another of various religious Sects and Churches who would join with the ministers of the Church of England in asking them to take the question into their favourable consideration. More than that, he believed—and he thought his hon. Friend the Member for Morpeth (Mr. Burt) would not fail to support him in the view—that the great majority of the sober and industrious working men, as well as their wives and families, in every part of the United Kingdom, would ask them to support a Resolution like this. And still further, there were many working men who were

not always sober, but who, in their moments of soberness, would add their penitent voice to the claim that they should deal with this question. They were all sensible of the fact that the national intellect had been stimulated and enlightened on the subject, and that the national conscience had been awakened, and so awakened, he believed, that it would never sleep again until a great and substantial change had been effected. The facts of the case were overpowering; they were not contested. He did not know whether he ought to omit the hon. and learned Member for Leeds (Mr. Wheelhouse); but the hon. Gentleman who spoke last (Mr. Ritchie) told them in the strongest terms about the deplorable amount of drunkenness that was complained of in nearly all parts of the country. He said, then, the facts were overpowering; they were not contested; nobody called them in question; and, besides, they had, as they knew, science, education, morality, religion, and all the great forces which moved good and wise men to action were gathering to the conflict. They had, then, the prayers of their Churches. They had the cry from their workhouses. They had the moans from the sufferers in their prisons. These all joined in one voice, and asked them to deal with the question. They knew the gravity of the evil. They had some difficulty as to the remedy; but they had a proposition of a most moderate character that would lead them to only one step further; and after listening to that cry he thought nobody could say that the consciences of the Members of the House of Commons could not be touched by the consideration of that great and solemn question. He voted for the Resolution most cordially. He propounded no scheme of his own that should follow it. He thought he could propound a scheme very much better than that which was now at work; but he left it until there came a time when the House would give its consideration to some proposition that would be made. At present, at any rate, let them manifest their anxiety in the highest interests of their countrymen, by giving their vote for the moderate and the reasonable proposal offered to them by the hon. Member for Carlisle.

MR. E. CLARKE said, he must appeal to the House for the indulgence which it traditionally gave to a new Member

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when addressing it for the first time, and he appealed to both sides for indulgence in the special circumstances of the debate. He hoped hon. Gentlemen on the other side would acquit him of presumption in desiring to speak immediately after one of the great ornaments of the House; but, while hoping to be acquitted of presumption, he should be ashamed, desiring to express his opinion, to refrain from doing so because the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. John Bright) had just spoken. The right hon. Gentleman attempted to justify the passing of the Resolution, although an abstract Resolution, on grounds which one would not expect him to have urged. To call a Resolution an abstract Resolution was not to pass a conclusively hostile opinion upon it. Although the House had on many occasions accepted abstract Resolutions, he (Mr. E. Clarke) believed that it had usually done so, only either when the Government alone possessed the power of carrying them into effect in accordance with the declared will of the House, and required to be instructed so to do; or upon some great subject of public interest, on which it was desired to convey clearly to the constituencies and the world the meaning and purpose of Parliament. Neither of these circumstances could be found in the present case. This was a question on which the Government had no information and no means of action that were not equally open to both sides of the House; it was a matter on which all assistance could be got from the country by the strong and vigorous organization that was at the back of the hon. Baronet. There was nothing to hinder that great organization from making the fullest inquiry into the circumstances of the case, and from suggesting the best remedy for the evils complained of. No information, no power, was in possession of the Government which was not found in that organization. Yet the Permissive Bill was brought forward and discussed, year after year; and after the ignominious defeat it had sustained and it had been withdrawn by its author it suffered that night the final condemnation of the emphatic censure of the right hon. Member for Birmingham. These were not grounds for asking the House to accept an abstract Resolution; and still less said that it was asked to express its mind and purpose on a public

question. If the Permissive Bill did not express the mind and purpose of the House, still less did the Resolution. Mind and purpose! There were two minds and purposes. There was the mind and purpose of the hon. Member for Carlisle, and there was the mind and purpose of the hon. Member for Huddersfield (Mr. Leatham). They were absolutely distinct—nay, they were contradictory; for while one desired to suppress altogether, as a nuisance, a great trade in this country, the other wished only to take securities for the better regulation and carrying on of that trade. And when the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham objected to the Resolution being described as a mystification, he (Mr. Clarke) could not help regretting that his speech was not delivered in the presence of the right hon. Member for Greenwich, for nothing could show more clearly the mystification which had arisen on the subject than the way in which the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Gladstone), with balanced reason swaying here and there, had discussed it; and the fact that he had deserted the Council of the nation that night, and declined to record his vote either for or against the proposition under discussion. For himself, he hardly knew what local option meant; but, as had been stated by his hon. and learned Friend (Mr. Bulwer), the power proposed to be conferred by the Resolution was a power of restraining, not of dealing in any other sense with the licences of the country. He could understand what local option meant, if the people were to say how many or how few public-houses should be in a particular district. If so, he was quite satisfied that in many localities it would lead to a multiplication of public-houses. If the Resolution meant that the principle would be distinct and logical. But what was now proposed would be a local option which would have no choice but restraint; it was simply an attempt to revive that happily defunct measure, with regard to which the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Greenwich was not quite clear whether it was permissive or prohibitory, or which was the most important part, the prohibitory or the permissive. Although the Resolution had been, to a certain extent, a mystification, no doubt could be entertained as to the meaning of the hon.

Baronet the Member for Carlisle. There could not be the slightest doubt that the understood purpose and intention of the Resolution, which had brought such crowds to that House and exposed its Members to that pressure of which the hon. Member for Birmingham (Mr. Muntz) spoke so pathetically, was the Permissive Bill, and was meant to be the Permissive Bill. If it were not the Permissive Bill, if it were a mere question of regulating the mode of electing a local tribunal, would there have been all this excitement, agitation, and pressure on the subject? The most active agitators for the measure, in common with the hon. Baronet, knew very well that the question of the number of licences did not affect that which they had most tenderly at heart. He did not yield to the hon. Baronet the Member for Carlisle, or anyone else, in his anxiety to promote temperance; but the advancement of that object by legislation must be accompanied with care that that legislation should be founded on right principles, and that it should not bring about more mischief than it could cure. That was the great object present to the minds of hon. Members on both sides of the House. But the mere question of the regulation of licences had little necessarily to do with the promotion of temperance. The figures quoted by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Greenwich, the facts stated by the hon. Member for Norwich (Mr. Colman), the still more remarkable figures given by the hon. Member for Birmingham in a paper written in *The Nineteenth Century* in February, 1878, conclusively proved that there was no discernible relation between the number of public-houses and the temperance of the district. If that were once proved, then all the excitement and enthusiasm of that agitation could find no scope or object in the mere addition of a certain number of members to a local tribunal for the purpose of regulating the number of public-houses. It had been assumed—and, in his opinion, unnecessarily assumed—that there were serious defects in the present licensing authority. Now, it had been his lot for some years to be closely concerned in professional life with licensing matters. Since he became a Member of that House, however, he had abandoned that part of his professional occupation which had to do

with it, and had chosen to sacrifice that portion of his income rather than come under the suspicion that in dealing with these questions he was at all personally interested; and, having done that, he could testify in regard to one great county, at all events—the county of Surrey—that it would not be possible to invent an authority which would deal more fairly with the issue of licences than the authority which now existed. They were gentlemen who, as Justices of the Peace, had seen the sad effects which occurred from intemperance; they were interested in the prosperity of the country; they were interested in the peace and good order of the district; they were absolutely free from suspicion of improper influence; and he doubted whether the same could be said of any tribunal elected by the ratepayers. If that were the proper time to discuss the details of a measure for amending the licensing system, he thought it would not be difficult to satisfy the right hon. Member for Birmingham that the suggestions he had made with regard to the magistrates were without foundation, and that it would not be easy to introduce a better and more independent tribunal. What would be the result of local option? The conflict that was now raging about that House in regard to the matter would be transferred to each locality, and the result would be a tribunal which could exercise no discretion, and whose decisions could be absolutely predicated by counting the number of candidates which each association had returned. But it was not an amendment of the licensing system that was wanted. The real secret of all that was the Permissive Bill which was put forward frankly by the hon. Baronet. He told them there would be no mistake about his meaning. The hon. Baronet had instanced some landowners who had refused to have public-houses on their estates, and he wanted to give the same power of prohibition to local authorities. It was the Permissive Bill, and the Permissive Bill without a compensation clause. A compensation clause, it was now admitted, however, was absolutely necessary, if there was to be any legislative dealing with this matter. It had almost been admitted by the hon. Baronet the Member for Carlisle, although he (Mr. E. Clarke) should be sorry to intrust his interests to the hon. Baronet in the matter

of compensation. It was frankly and fully admitted by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Greenwich. Compensation, and full compensation, must be paid to persons whose trade was taken away. But if this plan was carried out there must be a popular vote by people in a district as to whether they would close all licensed houses in that district or not, and people who made no contribution to the rates would be allowed to exercise their vote and close public-houses. That vote would pledge the district to pay compensation for a very doubtful experiment; for, supposing public-houses were closed, that would not suppress or prohibit drinking. The evils of drinking might possibly be found in private houses, and it would certainly be found in those Clubs which the working-men would probably establish in every district in the country, and in which working-men who paid their 5s. would have just as much right to enjoy themselves as members of the Carlton or Reform who paid their 10 guineas a-year. Then those Clubs would not be subjected to the restrictions that were now placed upon licensed houses. It was, therefore, possible that in a district where public-houses had been abolished the experiment would break down, and the whole district might consent—as in some parts of Canada had been the case—to restore them, and in that case a large amount of compensation would have been paid for an unsuccessful experiment. Another point was that compensation would have to be paid by the people, who were, at the same time, protesting that they were being deprived of their material rights by the closing of public-houses. To open a licensed house near the house of a man who did not want to go to it was less a hardship than to shut a licensed house against the man who did want to go to it. The hon. Baronet the Member for Carlisle had said to-night that people did not want to have the drink traffic forced on them; but nobody compelled people to go into public-houses. The parallel would be complete if it were proposed to introduce a Bill under which the hon. Baronet the Member for Carlisle and his Seconder, the hon. Member for Morpeth (Mr. Burt), were compelled every day to drink a certain quantity of ardent spirits. In that case, no doubt, they would protest against a tyrannical

law, and they would have a right to do so. The hon. Member for Carlisle would say—"This is contrary to the habits of my life, and I believe it will be injurious to my health." Precisely the same words might be used, and used with perfect truth, by the man who used public-houses, which, under that local option Resolution, might possibly be taken away. He would say—"You are doing that which I believe will be injurious to my health;" and he could not see the difference between the tyranny which would force the hon. Baronet and his supporters to drink whisky-and-water of an evening and the tyranny which would prevent a moderate drinker from taking that which he had been in the habit of taking all his life. The House must remember the difference between the rich and the poor in that respect. The public-house was the place at which alone the poor could obtain that which the rich could keep in their houses. The words of the hon. Baronet the Member for Carlisle might be retorted in answer to himself. Why should a man be compelled to do that which was injurious to his health, or be compelled to abstain from what he believed to be good for him? He could not help thinking there was something unreal about the debate in that House, and for this reason. It was assumed that there was an enormous amount of drunkenness in this country; that there were great excesses on the part of the labouring classes, of whom hon. Members spoke as though they were of a different class and race from themselves. For his part, he did not believe that there did exist the amount of drunkenness which had been spoken of. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham said that the facts were indisputable. If he meant it was indisputable that drunkenness produced great mischief to the community, he (Mr. E. Clarke) agreed with the proposition; but if he meant it was indisputable that drunkenness was largely prevalent amongst the working classes of this country, he denied that proposition absolutely. He was well acquainted with a very large working-class population, and he ventured to say that amongst the working-classes of this country 19 out of 20 men would think it as degrading in them to give way to drunkenness as would any hon. Gentleman on the opposite side of the House. But they had

their opportunities of drinking and obtaining refreshments, and though they differed in character from those which were open to Members of that House they did not differ in principle. They must bear in mind that the club was the rich man's public-house, and the public-house was the poor man's Club. But there was this difference—that the rich man could get what he wanted at any hour of the day, and on any day of the week, at his Club, while the poor man's Club was fettered and regulated—and properly regulated—as to hours of opening and closing on particular days of the week. He protested against the Resolution in the name of the working classes of that country, for a very considerable number of whom he was proud to speak in that House. It was time to protest that they were not, as a class, the drunken creatures who had been spoken of in the course of that debate, and to protest that it was a monstrous thing to interfere with that moderate use of intoxicants which they enjoyed in common with nineteenth-twentieths of the Members of that House. It was monstrous to suggest that stimulants should be absolutely taken away from them, because one in 20 of their class occasionally drank to excess, or because the sight of an open public-house door was too severe a trial for the feeble virtues of the friends of the hon. Baronet opposite. The hon. Baronet had kindly referred to him personally, and had suggested that he owed his entrance to that House to the support of a particular trade. [Sir WILFRID LAWSON: Hear, hear!] He was glad to see that the interpretation he had put upon it was correct. During the last fortnight he had been reading with great impartiality the attempts, arithmetical and otherwise, which had been made by hon. Gentlemen, and even right hon. Gentlemen, on the other side of the House, to explain the grave misfortune of his having obtained an entry into that Assembly. He was bound to say that in that matter he was quite content with the distribution of the parts; and while he was entitled to speak in that House for a large constituency—and he was sent there by the special mandate of a larger portion of that constituency than ever before voted for a single candidate—while he enjoyed that position, it would be cruel to deprive hon. and right hon.

Gentlemen opposite of the satisfaction they might find in those explanations. But, with regard to the suggestion that he had found that particular trade a great assistance to him in his contest of the borough of Southwark, he answered at once that he did so find it, and he should be ashamed to speak otherwise of service which was freely and most generously rendered to him, a service to which, with that of other classes and trades, he owed his position in that House. But, in avowing that, he could say that that service was not purchased by any pledge on his part, but was obtained solely by the exposition of opinions which he ventured at the earliest time after his return to put before that House. He was sorry that the question should ever have become a political question. It was not the fault of that side of the House. When hon. Members opposite remembered the threats, menaces, and cajolements to which they had been subjected on the part of a small, but probably influential and certainly energetic, section of their constituents to support the hon. Member for Carlisle, he would ask whether the total abstainers only were to be allowed to subordinate every political consideration to one special question? It was hard to attack, as the Seconder of the Resolution had done, the publicans, who found their interests actually threatened with confiscation, because they banded themselves together in order to avert these threatened evils. He was very sensible of the indulgence which the House had given him, and thanked them for their kindness. He hoped they would, by a decisive majority, reject the proposition, which it had already been shown could not be carried into practical legislation, and which he believed in principle to be hostile to personal liberty.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: Sir, although I cannot support the Motion of my hon. Friend the Member for Carlisle (Sir Wilfrid Lawson), I have no complaint to make of the conduct of my hon. Friend for the course he has thought it necessary to pursue in this and previous Sessions in bringing this Resolution before the House. I have expressed before my opinion and regret that the Resolution to which my hon. Friend invited the House to assent was expressed in terms so vague as not to afford the House the best means of

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entering upon a calm and useful discussion of the question. I have also expressed my opinion that there is a very considerable objection to dealing with this very important subject by means of an abstract Resolution. I am ready and very willing to admit that the mode which my hon. Friend has taken may be the best, perhaps the only one by which he may compel the attention of the House and the country to this subject, and that he and those of his Friends who wish for some step as drastic as that which he himself recommends may be compelled to adopt the form of an abstract Resolution in order to obtain an effective discussion on the subject which has been brought before us to-night. Although I complain, and although I think the House has some reason to complain, of the extremely vague and general character of the Resolution of my hon. Friend, nevertheless I must acknowledge that there is, if the subject is to be dealt with by an abstract Resolution at all, very considerable difficulty in framing such a Resolution as shall accurately and specifically express the views which any section of the House may hold upon this subject. A very large number of Amendments to the Motion have been put down upon the Paper, and yet I cannot say that in all these attempts to define and amend the Resolution I have found anything to my mind of an entirely satisfactory nature. I must acknowledge that I myself have tried my hand in this matter, and have endeavoured to see whether there was any alteration which I could suggest in the Resolution of my hon. Friend which would accurately express my opinion upon this subject. But I have come to the conclusion that I know of no means by which a question involving so much detail can be dealt with by an abstract Resolution. I must say that the speeches of my hon. Friend the Member for Carlisle, and of the hon. Member for Morpeth (Mr. Burt), who seconded the Resolution, have not made it easier for any Member who, like myself, voted against the Resolution last year, to support it this year. I admit, with the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Greenwich, that the House is not bound by the speeches of the Mover and Seconder of the Resolution. Still, we cannot help being influenced to a great extent by the nature of the ar-

guments which are brought forward; and when I find that the speeches of the Mover and Seconder of the Resolution are devoted from beginning to end to an advocacy of the Permissive Bill, I cannot help thinking that the fact ought to be taken into consideration in connection with the vote we are about to give. In my opinion, this very difficult and important question, which has been brought forward by my hon. Friend this evening, is one of the very last to be dealt with by means of an abstract Resolution. It is essentially a question of detail, of management, and of administration. In the present position of this question, if we are to revert to any broad grounds of principle, there are only two upon which it is possible to take our stand. One is the principle of prohibition, and the other the principle of Free Trade. The first is advocated by my hon. Friend the Member for Carlisle and others on this ground—that the sale of intoxicating liquors is open to so much abuse, and creates so much mischief and misery, that interference, otherwise unjustifiable, with the members of a minority by a majority, is in this case justified. But, Sir, is it possible for anyone holding these views to be altogether consistent? Even the hon. Member for Carlisle himself is not consistent in this matter. If that principle be true; if, in the opinion of Parliament, the sale and consumption of intoxicants is accompanied by so much mischief that such an interference as I have referred to of a majority with a minority is justifiable, then it seems to me that Parliament, in its superior wisdom, ought to undertake to decide the question itself, and ought not to leave to a chance majority in any particular district to say whether this trade is to be interfered with or not. Although my hon. Friend dealt partially with the Report of the Lords' Committee; although he concluded his speech by reading a passage from that Report in support of his proposal, which was not in reality a passage in support of that proposal, but of a totally different one; although my hon. Friend paid considerable attention to the Report of the Lords' Committee, he altogether omitted to pay any attention to the arguments—in my opinion, the conclusive arguments—which that Committee advanced against the proposal which he virtually brings again be-

fore the House. I will not trouble the House with extracts; but the Committee, it seems to me, pointed out, conclusively, that there was an inconsistency in the principle of the Permissive Bill, inasmuch as it proposes to restrict and forbid the sale of that which is considered to have a mischievous effect, and which it yet permits to be manufactured and sold wholesale. The proposal of my hon. Friend seems to me to be open to that charge of inconsistency; and, therefore, I do not think that it is necessary that I should take up any further time in discussing this one of the two principles upon which we could take our stand—namely, the principle of prohibition. That one being thus done away with, the only other broad principle upon which we can rely is the principle of Free Trade, and which has been referred to by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Greenwich; and I am myself of opinion that there is very much to be said in favour of that principle, subject only to Excise and police regulations. I am, however, aware that it is a principle which has found no great amount of favour with either of the sections into which public opinion on this question is divided—namely, those of the supporters of the Licensed Victuallers' trade, and the advocates of temperance; and I do not, therefore, think it worth while to take up the time of the House in discussing it this evening. The position, therefore, in which we are is this—that of having discarded both the great principles on which it is possible to take our stand. We have, in short, agreed to a compromise, the main foundations of which it seems to me neither Party is desirous of disturbing. What is the nature of that compromise? We have established a monopoly in the sale of liquors, because it has been thought that by that means the trade will be brought more readily under control. Therefore, the only practical question before us at the present time is in what way that monopoly can be best controlled and regulated. That is a question which cannot be answered by any appeal to general principles, but rather by experience and a full consideration of the circumstances of the case. I am not now prepared to assert by my vote to-night that the regulation of a monopoly can be most satisfactorily intrusted to a popular vote, and if the

Resolution under our consideration does not mean the Permissive Bill, it seems to me that the only other principle which it contains is that the regulation of the existing monopoly should be intrusted to such a vote. But, in saying that, I am far from being satisfied with the present state of things. I should very much regret that the vote which I may give should be construed into the expression of an opinion that that state of things stands in need of no amendment. I very much doubt if the opinion which has been expressed by the hon. and learned Gentleman who has just addressed the House with so much ability (Mr. E. Clarke) is the correct one in regard to that point. I must join issue with him entirely, and say I do not think it has been satisfactorily proved that a large amount of intemperance does not exist at the present time. It appears to me that the figures in the Report of the Lords' Committee are conclusive on this subject, and more especially will they be so when we remember from our own experience how very small a proportion, indeed, the charges of drunkenness brought under the cognizance of the police bear to the whole. It is known to all of us that excessive drinking does prevail; but while I am not prepared to hand this question over to the popular vote, I am not prepared to say it is best that it should be regulated by a select and irresponsible body. Therefore, the experiment which we are now trying of a monopoly regulated by magistrates cannot be altogether satisfactory. That is a state of things which needs a practical remedy, and that I am prepared to consider, from whatever quarter it may come. I can only express my regret that no Member of the Government has risen to state their intentions on the subject. We heard a great deal last year about the consideration which this subject was receiving at the hands of the Lords' Committee, and we were led to expect that when that Committee had reported the Government would have same proposals to make. I am far from complaining that, in a Session in which so much work still remains to be done, and at the close of a Parliament so much in arrear on the score of legislation, that the Government have not brought in a Bill on the subject. I am, however, of opinion that we ought to have had an earlier statement of their views

with respect to it, consequent upon the Report of the Committee of the House of Lords; and I think we have a right to know from the Government whether they endorse some of the opinions which have been expressed on their own side of the House that the present state of things is as satisfactory as it can be. Believing the present state of things to be far from perfect, I am, as I said, prepared to consider any practical remedy which may be suggested. My right hon. Friend the Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster), who spoke last year on the subject, has, I think, in his mind some changes in the law, and my right hon. Friend the Member for Birmingham others, which he would be disposed to advocate. Although I am about to vote against the Resolution, I believe there is no practical or essential difference between my right hon. Friend the Member for Greenwich and myself upon the question, and that there is nothing in the vote I am about to give which will preclude my favourable consideration of any practical remedy which may be suggested from the existing state of things, except the Permissive Bill, which, under no circumstances, could I support. I am of opinion, as strongly as any hon. Member of this House, that it is most desirable that the force of public opinion should be brought to bear upon the question of sobriety as well as upon that of say, sanitary improvement. Within certain limits, I think the ratepayers or their representatives should have some control over the number and character of the licensed houses, and a certain supervision of their conduct. With regard to the question of compensation, I am fully of opinion, as has been stated by my right hon. Friend the Member for Greenwich—that this interest, like every other interest, ought to be protected in any change this House may think it necessary to make; but I will make this reservation, that I think those who enjoy the monopoly to which I have referred should enjoy it under certain conditions, and that those conditions should be enforced with much greater stringency than heretofore. When, without any imputation of misconduct, a licence is forfeited in the interests or the supposed interests of the community, I cannot conceive why there should be any doubt that the person so losing his licence should receive some sort of com-

pensation. Nor do I think there would, be any difficulty in providing compensation in such a case, when we consider the enormously increased value of the monopoly to those who still remain to enjoy it. We know that the value of property of this description has risen in consequence of the restrictions placed upon it, and further restrictions would, no doubt, have the same effect. But, while ready to consider any practical scheme of reform, I do not see that the attainment of that end will be facilitated by the passing of an abstract Resolution like this. There can be no doubt that the form in which it has been presented to the House, rendering it open to differences of construction, has also given rise to great differences of opinion, and is calculated to make the House look on it with suspicion. It is open to the traditional three courses, and I could find reasons for adopting any one of them. I might vote for the Resolution, because I find something in it which I can cordially support; or I could vote against it, because it covers a great deal too much of what I entirely disapprove; or I could, for these reasons combined, take the course of not voting at all. I think that would be, perhaps, the most prudent course. But, in my opinion, Resolutions of this description, so far from assisting in the settlement of the great complicated questions, are inconvenient, and tend rather to confuse than otherwise. That being my opinion, I have no alternative but to take the course I took last year, and vote against the Resolution.

MR. ASSHETON CROSS: I shall not detain the House at any length; but, after the appeal which has been very properly made by the noble Lord (the Marquess of Hartington), and by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Greenwich, it would not be respectful to the House to be silent, and I therefore desire to say a few words upon this question. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham (Mr. John Bright) asked a question which must first of all be answered. He said—“What is there in this Resolution which can possibly mystify any person who wishes to give a vote upon it?” I will answer him in words which have been put into my mouth by the noble Lord opposite. He can either vote for the Resolution, or against it, or not at

all, and any one of these courses will be satisfactory to himself. I think the observations of the noble Lord and of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Greenwich are quite sufficient to answer the question of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham—"What is there to mystify the House in this Resolution?" There is everything in it to mystify the House. The first point I would ask the hon. Baronet the Member for Carlisle and the House to consider is the history of his Resolution. Year after year he has brought forward the Permissive Prohibitory Bill, which he found so distasteful to the House that he was beaten by very large majorities. Finding himself in that position, he still knew that a considerable number of hon. Members had a yearning desire to do something in the matter. Now, that is exactly the most dangerous position a man can find himself in—to do something, and not to know what you are going to do. This is, however, precisely the position which the hon. Baronet took up after having been defeated over and over again in what he really thinks to be right. I give the hon. Baronet every credit for desiring to find a solution of the question; but, having found the one he offered was not acceptable, he said—"I pass that over, and now I present it under the form of what I call 'local option.'" That was received somewhat coolly by the House; but this year the hon. Baronet binds us somewhat further. [Sir WILFRID LAWSON: This is exactly the same Resolution as was proposed last year.] But, at all events, the debate has taken a somewhat different turn. The speeches of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Greenwich and of the noble Lord have so completely satisfied the House that we shall not know what we are voting for if we support the Resolution that I must ask the House to reject it. Its ruling characteristic is its extreme vagueness. In saying that I give every possible credit to the hon. Baronet the Member for Carlisle for the sincerity of his motives and the earnestness of his speech. I also sympathize entirely with the hon. Member for Morpeth (Mr. Burt). I believe he truly expressed the opinion of a large portion of the working men of this country when he spoke of their intense horror of drunkenness; but in doing so he is only doing that which I

claim for myself, and, as we have the same object in view, the only difference between us is as to the means of attaining the desired end. I trust it will not be supposed those who vote against the Resolution, believing it to be not a practical, but a mystifying Resolution, are not just as anxious to promote the cause of temperance as the hon. Baronet himself. There are two parts of this Resolution which it is necessary to discuss from a practical point of view. The hon. Baronet wants to restrain, first, the legal power of issue, and, secondly, the legal power of renewal of licences. These are two totally different things. With regard to the first, I expected to hear in the course of the debate an attack on the magistrates for the way in which they have issued licences during the last few years. But I have not heard a word to that effect. I heard a great deal of declamation from the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham as to magistrates' granting an enormous number of licences; but not a single fact was adduced. The facts are contrary to what has been stated, because anyone looking at the facts will find that for the last 10 years the magistrates have granted scarcely any new licences. I believe that the tendency of the action of the magistrates during the last 10 years has been entirely against granting new licences. This is just one of those ways in which public opinion has a practical result. No doubt, in a great many places years ago magistrates did grant licences when they ought not to have granted them; but public opinion has had a great effect on the magistrates, and the result is that they have for the last 10 years been most sparing in the issue of licences. I have not the statistics before me at the present moment; but I had them taken out about a week ago, and I believe I am correct in stating that the new licences during the last 10 years have been marvellously few. I agree, however, with the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Greenwich, that it does not always follow that an increase in the number of licences means an increase in the number of drunkards. It is not for 10 years, but I think for 30 years, that the magistrates of the City of Manchester have steadily refused to grant new any licences except on the most special occasions possible; this I speak of as from my own positive

knowledge. Therefore, I am bound to stand up for the action of the magistrates in regard to this question. I quite agree, however, that every possible fact ought to be brought before the magistrates. As I stated last year, I have no objection to the magistrates being allowed, as of right, to inquire into the opinion entertained in the neighbourhood where a public-house is proposed to be placed. Landowners and others in the immediate neighbourhood are perfectly entitled to say that they do not want a public-house near them. But what I want is, that there should be something like uniformity and something like a judicial decision in the matter. There ought not to be a tribunal appointed *ad hoc*, and it ought not to be appointed by a popular vote. If you are going to consider this question wisely, temperately, and carefully, I cannot conceive a worse tribunal than a popular vote. I venture to say this—that the object of all judicial or *quasi-judicial* decisions should be that they should be so impartial as to command the assent and respect of those whom they concern. But if the matter comes to a popular vote of the ratepayers, and the change is made by a small majority, the minority, I am confident, will not regard itself as justly bound by that vote. There will, in fact, be no satisfaction in the neighbourhood, and the decision will seem to be wrong. Then we come to the second question raised, which is quite of a different character—namely, the difficulty as to the renewal of licences. There you have at once a question of vested interests, and I am bound to say that I entirely agree with all that the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Gladstone) has said on that point—that, in that case, the question of property will have to be settled, and that if the Resolution is going to touch vested interests something should have been said on the subject of compensation. I believe that in the Bill brought forward some time ago the question of compensation was lost sight of; but, as far as a Resolution is concerned, it is absolutely impossible that we should ignore those who have real and proper claims. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham (Mr. John Bright) has made an appeal for sympathy, and asks how many hundreds and thousands does the hon. Baronet

the Member for Carlisle not represent? Well, he certainly does represent a great number of people, I might say millions, if the right hon. Gentleman means those who wish to do all in their power to do away with this vice of drunkenness; I am one of them, and their number includes all my right hon. Friends beside me. But if you ask whom he represents by this Motion, I must ask, in turn, who those are who understand the Motion? I believe that of all the thousands he is said to represent he will not find as many tens who understand it. Everyone puts upon it a different interpretation. I can only say that if the question is to be discussed, let us discuss it either in a Bill with all the details before us, or else let us have a Resolution about which no one can make a mistake. Now, the noble Lord has asked a question which I must endeavour to answer. He asks whether, in certain places, the ratepayers might not have some control, not only over the regulation of licences, but also over their granting? My answer is that they have that power of regulation already—they have their watch committees; and in the boroughs, where the great mass of drunkenness is found, it is the popular elements that has control of the Town Council and of the police. I wish to pay every possible tribute to the borough police; but I may remind the noble Lord that it is to the boroughs that the hon. Baronet has chiefly called our attention, and not to the action of the county magistrates. The noble Lord also observed that some time ago the matter was brought before the House of Lords, who appointed a Select Committee to make inquiries; and it would be well for us to say which of their recommendations we are going to act upon. I do not know what effect the Report of that Committee has had on the mind of the noble Lord; but it is clear that it has not made a deep impression on the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Greenwich. It appears that none of the recommendations of that Committee have commended themselves to his mind as being satisfactory; and I may candidly confess that I, too, have not found in any of them a clear indication of the best way of dealing with the difficulty. To increase further the doubts and difficulties of the case, the right hon. Gentleman has certainly opened up a very

large question in asking whether we and all the laws of late years are not altogether wrong in not resorting to absolute Free Trade as the only way to grapple with it? Moreover, the noble Lord, though he admitted that the Committee of the other House has made several important recommendations, has foreshadowed the idea that in his mind there are grave doubts whether the question of Free Trade is not still one that should be seriously entertained by the House. I am bound to say upon the point that the Report of the Lords' Committee, though I willingly bear testimony to the great ability and care with which they examined the question, has disappointed me. On the question of Free Trade I give no opinion at the present moment; all I can say is that, when the action of the Liverpool magistrates was reported to me as to throwing open all the public-houses as freely as possible, I took a strong part against that course, and I see no reason to depart from that view. As at present advised, I do not believe Free Trade will at all answer. I do not like the monopoly of the present system; but I do not believe if you put Free Trade in its place you would be any better. I quite agree with hon. Members who urge that the monopoly in the Metropolis might be broken down, and I do not like the system by which great brewers hold an enormous number of public-houses; but the whole question is very difficult, and Free Trade might complicate it still further. I am inclined to think that, after all the careful consideration given to the subject by the House of Lords, and after all our inquiries, we are still not perfectly informed on the question. Having a monopoly, we must regulate it, and subject to a very strict inspection the regulated houses. We must also trust, to a great extent, to that which has mainly improved our own class a generation ago—I mean the change in public opinion—to continue to improve the workmen and the artisans. I am confident that in that class in my own county there is a growing and positive dislike to drunkenness, a disposition to avoid and cast out the intemperate, that cannot fail in time to effect a great social and moral reformation. That, and the spread of education, and, above all, trying to make comfortable the homes of the people, and

doing all possible to provide innocent amusement and recreation, instead of a man having to go to a miserable hovel, with no air to breathe, no water to drink, no pleasures to resort to, except the public-house, are the better influences now at work, and they will speedily settle the question.

SIR HARCOURT JOHNSTONE said, he was anxious to say but a very few words in favour of a scheme which might, perhaps, recommend itself as a practical one to his noble Leader below him. He was prepared to accept the principle of local option by ratepayers; but, looking at the question from a partly Conservative point of view, he believed that the fairest way of settling the question was by amalgamating the ratepayers with the magistrates. This was no new principle; it was already in operation in the case of Boards of Guardians, highway boards, school boards, and sanitary boards, while the Home Secretary had already introduced it into his new scheme for the water supply of the Metropolis. It was, therefore, no new principle which could not be adopted by hon. Members on the opposite side of the House; only at that moment he could not expect them to accept it, because they were at present satisfied with the condition of the trade as it stood, and because they had the undivided support of that monopoly in the country. They never could imagine that any fresh good was likely to accrue from interference with the system of licensing under the magistrates. He could not believe hon. Members opposite were, therefore, likely to adopt his proposal; but he thought that on that side of the House it might be accepted as a sensible alternative scheme. It would, at all events, have this recommendation—that it acknowledged the existence of an authority already constituted, and it amalgamated with that the body of ratepayers who of all people in the world were most directly interested in the sobriety of the country. The ratepayers had to bear the expense of prisons partly, and, to a great extent, the expense of lunatic asylums, as well as that of maintaining the poor; and if it were true that the pauperism, crime, and lunacy of the country arose, as in all probability it did, from drink, he thought that the ratepayers should be consulted upon any change that was found to be neces-

sary in the licensing system. His hon. Friend the Member for Carlisle believed in nothing but the ratepayers; but, in his opinion, if it was desired to end this question, the House, before it went in for prohibition, would adopt this scheme. Free Trade, if they could start afresh, would no doubt be the best solution; but it had been proved so distasteful that he could see no chance of its being adopted. It was, no doubt, the true and honest answer to the question, and would, at all events, destroy that gigantic monopoly existing at the present time, and make this question infinitely more easy of settlement, because the whole trade would be thrown open. He agreed with the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Greenwich that at Liverpool the principle was never properly tried, and he believed that had it been drunkenness would not have increased. He believed, also, that in all matters relating to trade there should be no monopoly. It would be found that there existed in every constituency the strongest feeling that the people of the country should have some direct vote with regard to licences; and, in his opinion, they were fully and fairly entitled to it, and he hoped that at a future time the constituencies would be strong enough to express their view—that the people and the ratepayers of the country, who had to bear the burden which resulted from the present system, should have a voice in the issuing of licences.

Question put.

The House divided:—Ayes 248; Noes 134: Majority 114.

AYES.

Agnew, R. V.
Allcroft, J. D.
Allsopp, C.
Allsopp, H.
Arbuthnot, Lt.-Col. G.
Arkwright, F.
Ashbury, J. L.
Astley, Sir J. D.
Bailey, Sir J. R.
Balfour, A. J.
Baring, T. C.
Barrington, Viscount
Barttelot, Sir W. B.
Bass, A.
Bates, E.
Bateson, Sir T.
Beach, rt. hon. Sir M. H.
Beach, W. W. B.
Bective, Earl of

Bentinck, rt. hon. G. C.
Bentinck, G. W. P.
Beresford, Lord C.
Birkbeck, E.
Blackburne, Col. J. I.
Boord, T. W.
Bourke, hon. R.
Bourne, Colonel J.
Bousfield, Col. N. G. P.
Bowen, J. B.
Brassey, H. A.
Brise, Colonel R.
Broadley, W. H. H.
Brooke, Lord
Bulwer, J. R.
Burghley, Lord
Buxton, Sir R. J.
Callan, P.
Cartwright, F.

Cartwright, W. C.
Cecil, Lord E. H. B. G.
Chaplin, Colonel E.
Chaplin, H.
Charley, W. T.
Childers, rt. hon. H. C. E.
Christie, W. L.
Clarke, E.
Clive, Col. hon. G. W.
Cobbold, T. C.
Cole, Col. hon. H. A.
Collins, E.
Cordes, T.
Cotton, W. J. R.
Crichton, Viscount
Cross, rt. hon. R. A.
Cubitt, G.
Cust, H. C.
Davenport, W. B.
Denison, W. E.
Dickson, Major A. G.
Digby, Col. hon. E.
Dyott, Colonel R.
Eaton, H. W.
Edmonstone, Admiral
Sir W.
Egerton, hon. A. F.
Egerton, hon. W.
Elcho, Lord
Elphinstone, Sir J. D. H.
Emlyn, Viscount
Estcourt, G. S.
Evans, T. W.
Fawcett, H.
Fitzwilliam, hn. W. J.
Folkestone, Viscount
Forester, C. T. W.
Forster, Sir C.
Forsyth, W.
Foster, W. H.
Fothergill, R.
Fraser, Sir W. A.
Fremantle, hon. T. F.
Freshfield, C. K.
Gabbett, D. F.
Galway, Viscount
Gardner, J. T. Agg-
Garfit, T.
Gathorne-Hardy, hn. A.
Giffard, Sir H. S.
Giles, A.
Gilpin, Sir R. T.
Goldney, G.
Goldsmid, Sir J.
Gordon, W.
Gorst, J. E.
Grantham, W.
Gregory, G. B.
Grosvenor, Lord R.
Hall, A. W.
Halsey, T. F.
Hamilton, Lord C. J.
Hamilton, right hon.
Lord G.
Hamilton, hon. R. B.
Hamond, C. F.
Hankey, T.
Hardcastle, E.
Hartington, Marq. of
Harvey, Sir R. B.
Hay, rt. hon. Sir J. C. D.
Heath, R.
Helmsley, Viscount
Herbert, hon. S.
Hervey, Lord F.
Hicks, E.
Hildyard, T. B. T.
Hill, A. S.
Holker, Sir J.
Holland, Sir H. T.
Holmesdale, Viscount
Holt, J. M.
Hope, A. J. B. B.
Hubbard, E.
Isaac, S.
Jackson, Sir H. M.
Johnson, J. G.
Johnstone, H.
Johnstone, Sir F.
Kavanagh, A. MacM.
Kingscote, Colonel
Knatchbull-Hugessen,
rt. hon. E.
Knightley, Sir R.
Knowles, T.
Laurie, R. P.
Lawrence, Sir J. O.
Lawrence, Sir T.
Learnmonth, A.
Lee, Major V.
Legh, W. J.
Leighton, S.
Lewisham, Viscount
Lindsay, Colonel R. L.
Lindsay, Lord
Lloyd, S.
Lloyd, T. E.
Lopes, Sir M.
Lowe, rt. hon. R.
Lowther, hon. W.
Lowther, rt. hn. J.
M'Garel-Hogg, Sir J.
Makins, Colonel
Mandeville, Viscount
Manners, rt. hon. Lord J.
Marten, A. G.
Master, T. W. C.
Mellor, T. W.
Merewether, C. G.
Miles, Sir P. J. W.
Mills, A.
Mills, Sir C. H.
Monckton, F.
Monk, C. J.
Montgomery, Sir G. G.
Morgan, hon. F.
Muncaster, Lord
Muntz, P. H.
Naghten, Lt.-Col. A. R.
Newdegate, C. N.
Noel, rt. hon. G. J.
Northcote, rt. hon. Sir
S. H.
O'Donoghue, The
O'Gorman Mahon, Col.
The
Onslow, D.
O'Shaughnessy, R.
Paget, R. H.
Parker, Lt.-Col. W.
Peel, rt. hon. Sir R.
Pell, A.
Pemberton, E. L.
Pennant, hon. G.
Percy, Earl
Phipps, P.

Pim, Captain B.	Somerset, Lord H. R. C.	Howard, E. S.	Rashleigh, Sir C.
Polhill-Turner, Capt. F.	Spinks, Serjeant F. L.	Howard, G. J.	Redmond, W. A.
Powell, W.	Stanhope, hon. E.	Hughes, W. B.	Reed, E. J.
Praed, C. T.	Stanhope, W. T. W. S.	Hutchinson, J. D.	Richard, H.
Price, Captain G. E.	Stanley, rt. hn. Col. F.	Ingram, W. J.	Roberts, J.
Raikes, H. C.	Starkey, L. R.	James, W. H.	Russell, Lord A.
Rendlesham, Lord	Starkie, J. P. C.	Jenkins, D. J.	Rylands, P.
Repton, G. W.	Storer, G.	Jenkins, E.	St. Aubyn, Sir J.
Ridley, E.	Swanston, A.	Johnstone, Sir H.	Samuelson, B.
Ridley, Sir M. W.	Tennant, R.	Keenely, Dr.	Sinclair, Sir J. G. T.
Ritchie, C. T.	Thornhill, T.	Kensington, Lord	Smith, E.
Rodwell, B. B. H.	Thwaites, D.	Laing, S.	Stansfeld, rt. hon. J.
Rothschild, Sir N. M. de	Thynne, Lord H. F.	Laverton, A.	Stevenson, J. C.
Round, J.	Torrens, W. T. M'C.	Lea, T.	Stewart, J.
Russell, Sir C.	Tremayne, J.	Leatham, E. A.	Stewart, M. J.
Sackville, S. G. S.	Turnor, E.	Leith, J. F.	Stuart, Col. J. F. D. C.
Samuda, J. D'A.	Wait, W. K.	Leslie, Sir J.	Sullivan, A. M.
Sanderson, T. K.	Walker, O. O.	Lusk, Sir A.	Tavistock, Marq. of
Sandon, Viscount	Walker, T. E.	Mackintosh, C. F.	Temple, right hon. W.
Sclater - Booth, right	Walpole, rt. hon. S.	M'Arthur, A.	Cowper-
hon. G.	Walter, J.	M'Arthur, W.	Tennant, C.
Scott, M. D.	Watney, J.	M'Clure, Sir T.	Tracy, hon. F. S. A.
Seely, C.	Wells, E.	M'Laren, D.	Hanbury-
Selwin - Ibbetson, Sir	Wethered, T. O.	Maitland, W. F.	Trevelyan, G. O.
H. J.	Wheelhouse, W. S. J.	Milbank, F. A.	Vivian, A. P.
Shaw, W.	Williams, W.	Morgan, G. O.	Vivian, H. H.
Sheridan, H. B.	Wilmot, Sir H.	Morley, S.	Waddy, S. D.
Shirley, S. E.	Wilmot, Sir J. E.	Noel, E.	Wedderburn, Sir D.
Shute, General C. C.	Wolf, Sir H. D.	O'Clery, K.	Whitworth, B.
Sidebottom, T. H.	Woodd, B. T.	Palmer, C. M.	Williams, B. T.
Simon, Serjeant J.	Wynn, C. W. W.	Palmer, G.	Wilson, C.
Simonds, W. B.	Yarmouth, Earl of	Parker, C. S.	Wilson, I.
Smith, A.	Yorke, J. R.	Pease, J. W.	Wilson, Sir M.
Smith, F. C.		Peel, A. W.	Young, A. W.
Smith, S. G.		Pennington, F.	
Smith, rt. hn. W. H.	TELLERS.	Philips, R. N.	TELLERS.
Smithwick, J. F.	Dyke, Sir W. H.	Playfair, rt. hon. L.	Burt, T.
Smollett, P. B.	Winn, R.	Plimsoil, S.	Lawson, Sir W.
		Potter, T. B.	

NOES.

Acland, Sir T. D.	Cowen, J.
Allen, W. S.	Cowper, hon. H. F.
Anderson, G.	Dalrymple, C.
Ashley, hon. E. M.	Dalway, M. R.
Balfour, Sir G.	Davies, D.
Barran, J.	Davies, R.
Baxter, rt. hon. W. E.	Dickson, T. A.
Beaumont, Colonel F.	Dilke, Sir C. W.
Bell, I. L.	Dodds, J.
Biddulph, M.	Douglas, Sir G.
Biggar, J. G.	Duff, M. E. G.
Birley, H.	Dundas, hon. J. C.
Blake, T.	Edge, S. R.
Briggs, W. E.	Egerton, Adm. hon. F.
Bright, Jacob	Ferguson, R.
Bright, rt. hon. J.	Fletcher, W.
Brogden, A.	Forster, rt. hon. W. E.
Brown, A. H.	Fry, L.
Bruce, Lord C.	Gladstone, W. H.
Cameron, C.	Gordon, Sir A.
Campbell, Lord C.	Gourley, E. T.
Campbell, Sir G.	Gower, hon. E. F. L.
Campbell-Bannerman,	Grant, A.
H.	Hamilton, Marquess of
Chadwick, D.	Harrison, C.
Chamberlain, J.	Harrison, J. F.
Chambers, Sir T.	Havelock, Sir H.
Clifford, C. C.	Herschell, F.
Colman, J. J.	Hibbert, J. T.
Corbett, J.	Holms, J.
Corry, J. P.	Holms, W.
Cowan, J.	Home, Captain

Main Question, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair," put, and agreed to.

SUPPLY—(£3,410,000) EXCHEQUER

BONDS.—COMMITTEE.

SUPPLY—considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Resolved, That a sum, not exceeding £3,410,000, be granted to Her Majesty, to pay off and discharge Exchequer Bonds that will become due and payable during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1880.

Resolution to be reported upon *Monday* next;

Committee to sit again upon *Monday* next.

SUPPLY.—REPORT.

Resolutions [4th March] *reported*.

First Thirty-Two Resolutions read, and *agreed to*.

Thirty-Third Resolution read a first time.

SIR HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON said, that upon that Vote he had promised the Committee on the previous night that he would give some information. He had been asked to divide the sum of £650, charged for witnesses and travelling allowances for the Commissioners. He found that the witnesses were paid £450, including subsistence allowance, and that the travelling expenses of the Commissioners amounted to £200, making a total of £650 in all. The number of witnesses who had been examined was very large.

Resolution *agreed to*.

Thirty-Fourth Resolution read a first time.

SIR HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON said, that he had been asked to state the names of some of the distinguished persons for whose conveyance by special packet the sum of £2,120 had been paid. They included the Prince and Princess of Wales, the Grand Duchess of Mecklenburgh, the Crown Prince of Germany, the Duke of Cumberland, the Empress of Germany, the Duke and Duchess of Connaught, the King and Queen of Denmark, and others of a similar rank.

MR. RYLANDS said, that he had no objection to the Vote; but as the Vote was much larger than usual that year he thought it required explanation, and that the House should be told the names of the distinguished persons for whose conveyance the sum had been expended.

SIR HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON said, that he had also promised to explain the item for compensation paid to Mr. Ford and his wife. The fact was that a person of the name of Ford, a member of a firm of wholesale stationers in the City, committed acts amounting to fraudulent bankruptcy, and subsequently absconded. Warrants were obtained for his apprehension on the application of the Criminal Department. The ship by which he sailed touched at Barbadoes; and the authorities, having been telegraphed to, arrested Mr. Ford. There was no description of him in the warrant; but it seemed that there were two Mr. Fords on board the vessel, and the wrong one was arrested. The Governor kept him under arrest until it was discovered that, after all, the wrong person had been apprehended. He was then discharged, and returned to Eng-

land, and took proceedings against the authorities for his illegal arrest. As the liability for that arrest fell upon the Secretary of State for the Colonies, the Treasury was glad to compromise the matter for the sum which now appeared in the Estimates.

Resolution *agreed to*.

Remaining Resolutions read, and *agreed to*.

PROBATES OF WILLS, &c. [STAMP DUTIES.]—COMMITTEE.

Order for Committee read.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said, he had to move "that Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair," and he would briefly explain to the House the purposes of the Resolutions which would afterwards be embodied in a Bill. It would be in the recollection of the House that last year a discussion was raised upon a Motion of the hon. Member for Stockton (Mr. Dodds), and, subsequently, upon a Resolution and Amendment moved by the hon. Member for East Sussex (Mr. Gregory). That Resolution met with the almost unanimous approval of the House, and it affirmed that it was expedient to re-consider and revise the progressive rates for probate duty, and to afford greater facilities for the settlement of legacy and succession duty, and to make other provisions for the relief of executors and administrators. That Resolution was adopted by a very large majority of the House, and the Government was therefore called upon to act upon it. Accordingly, he had, in concert with the Inland Revenue, prepared an amended scheme with regard to probate and administration duties. There were two points in which the present scale seemed to require some alteration. The first was in regard to the jumps that were now made from one rate to another; and the second was the fact that the percentage of duty now fell considerably heavier upon small properties than upon large ones. Then, again, a distinction now existed between the duty payable upon testate and upon intestate estates. It would be convenient for the Committee and the House that he should reserve his observations until the scale was before them. He might, however, say that they had endeavoured to adjust the rates in such a way that all sums

above £600 paid 2½ per cent. They had abolished the distinction between testate and intestate estates, and they had made provisions by which estates under the value of £200 paid 1·33; under £350 1·60; under £500 1·70; between £500 and £600 2 per cent; and above £600 2½ per cent. There would also be found in the Bill that he should ask leave to introduce into the House provisions for enabling duty to be paid at once upon reversionary interests; the Commissioners were empowered, for a present payment, to give a discharge to executors and administrators from any future duty. There was also a clause which, he thought, would be found to be useful with regard to interest; and there was a further clause that would exempt from legacy duty estates under £100, in the same manner as small estates were now exempted from succession duty. He should move "that Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."—(*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.*)

Question put, and agreed to.

MATTER considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

STAMP DUTIES ON PROBATES, LETTERS OF ADMINISTRATION, AND INVENTORIES.

MR. DODDS said, that the right hon. Gentleman had deprecated a discussion of the proposed rates until they were fully before the House. He must confess that he was very glad that the right hon. Gentleman had done something to remedy the anomalies that at present existed; but he regretted very much that he had not gone a step further. It seemed to him that the steps that the right hon. Gentleman had referred to occurred just as much in his scheme as under the existing system. With regard to large estates, it would happen, in many cases, that very large sums would have to be paid for duty. He thought it would be much better if the right hon. Gentleman had adopted a uniform percentage scale, instead of the rates which he had mentioned. He was glad to find that the absurd distinction between testate and intestate estates, and between probate duty and succession duty, had been swept away. But those were very

small points in comparison with this very large subject; and he was afraid that, notwithstanding the provisions which it was proposed to introduce allowing payment of duty at once in certain cases, there would still remain a great deal to be done. He could not help thinking that the principle he advocated last year—namely, that there should be one duty both for probate and administration and for legacy duty, was the better plan; and he was sure that, until that was done, this question could never be considered satisfactorily settled. Still, however, he must express his thanks to the right hon. Gentleman for having done something in respect of this much-needed reform. When the House saw the scheme it would be better able to judge of the proposals, and whether much more remained to be done. He trusted that the right hon. Gentleman would see his way to make some further alterations. The proposals now before the Committee were a great step in advance upon the present system, and, he hoped, would lead the way to a thorough reform in this class of duty.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said, that he was unwilling to enter into a discussion of the subject that evening; but he might inform the hon. Gentleman that it had been found impossible to make a charge of uniform percentage upon all estates. The hon. Gentleman would find, from Papers presented to the House, that under the new rates the jumps to which he had alluded had been very much reduced. There was one point which he wished to mention, and that was that the financial effect of his proposals would be to make a considerable addition to the Revenue, perhaps to the extent of some £600,000 or £700,000. It was true that the rates were lower upon small properties; but they were raised upon properties of greater value.

(1.) *Resolved*, That, towards raising the Supply granted to Her Majesty, in lieu of the Stamp Duties now payable upon Probates of Wills and Letters of Administration in England and Ireland, and upon Inventories to be exhibited and recorded in any Commissary Court in Scotland, there shall be charged and paid the following Duties (that is to say):—

Where the Estate and Effects for or in respect of which a Probate or Letters of Administration shall be granted, or whereof an Inventory shall be exhibited and recorded, exclusive of what the deceased shall have been possessed of or entitled to as a

The Chancellor of the Exchequer

trustee for any other person, and not beneficially, shall be

Above the value of

Of the value of

£100 and under	£200 .	Duty. £2
200	300 .	4
300	400 .	6
400	500 .	9
500	600 .	13
600	800 .	17
800	1,000 .	22
1,000	1,500 .	31
1,500	2,000 .	44
2,000	3,000 .	62
3,000	4,000 .	88
4,000	5,000 .	113
5,000	6,000 .	140
6,000	7,000 .	165
7,000	8,000 .	190
8,000	9,000 .	215
9,000	10,000 .	240
10,000	12,000 .	275
12,000	14,000 .	325
14,000	16,000 .	375
16,000	18,000 .	425
18,000	20,000 .	475
20,000	25,000 .	565
25,000	30,000 .	690
30,000	35,000 .	815
35,000	40,000 .	940
40,000	45,000 .	1,065
45,000	50,000 .	1,190
50,000	60,000 .	1,375
60,000	70,000 .	1,625
70,000	80,000 .	1,875
80,000	90,000 .	2,125
90,000	100,000 .	2,375
100,000	120,000 .	2,750
120,000	140,000 .	3,250
140,000	160,000 .	3,750
160,000	180,000 .	4,250
180,000	200,000 .	4,750
200,000	250,000 .	5,625
250,000	300,000 .	6,875
300,000	350,000 .	8,125
350,000	400,000 .	9,375
400,000	500,000 .	11,250

500,000 and upwards; then,
in addition to the said Duty of £11,250,
for every full sum of £100,000 in excess
of £500,000, and also for any fractional
part of £100,000 so in excess. 2,500

For Amendment of Law.

(2.) *Resolved*, That it is expedient to amend the Laws relating to the Stamp Duties on Probates of Wills, Letters of Administration, and Inventories, and the Laws relating to the Duties on Legacies and Successions.

Resolutions to be reported upon *Monday* next.

MOTIONS.

MERCHANT SHIPS LADEN IN BULK.

NOMINATION OF SELECT COMMITTEE.

Motion made, and Question proposed,
“That the Select Committee do consist
of Twenty-three Members.”—(*Viscount Sandon*.)

MR. PLIMSOLL said, he wished to point out the difference which existed in the rates of premium on grain-laden vessels from Transatlantic, as compared with some other ports, the former being fixed at about 4 per cent, while in the latter case it stood at only 2 per cent, although the latter voyage was three times as long. That was the deliberate estimate of the risk by men who spent their lives in studying their relative values, and was much more valuable, in his opinion, than the Report of any Royal Commission which might be appointed to inquire into the subject. He should spare no pains to obtain the passing of the Bill which he had introduced. As to the question before the House, fixing the number of the Committee at 23 Members, he had seen at once that the Gentlemen charged with the formation of Committees had a difficult and invidious duty to perform; but he was obliged to point out that on the present Committee no less than six shipowners had been appointed, while, at the same time, it included not one single shipbuilder. For the purposes of arriving at a just conclusion in this matter, the opinion of a shipbuilder was, in his view, of far greater value than that of a shipowner. He thought that while they had the hon. Members for Pembroke (Mr. E. J. Reed) and North Durham (Mr. Palmer) sitting in that House, not to ask them to advise and assist upon that Committee was a great oversight. In his opinion, it would be extremely desirable that those hon. Members should be appointed, because in the course of the discussion which had taken place a great deal of nonsense had been talked with respect to the raising of the centre of gravity, which would have been exposed in a moment by the hon. Members to whom he had referred.

MR. E. JENKINS said, he should move that the debate be now adjourned, for the purpose of enabling the Government to re-consider the appointment which had been made to the Committee. The hon. Member for Derby (Mr. Plimsoll) had already pointed out that six shipowners had been nominated on this Committee to deliberate on a question concerning their own interests. It was perfectly true that a certain number of Members were added who were interested in the

general question; but he could not help thinking that it was very unfair that one-fourth of the whole Committee should be shipowners. But there were other points of difference to which he desired to call the attention of the House. He noticed, besides, that the Committee numbered among its Members some regular Committee hacks. There was a certain number of Members who seemed to have the monopoly of Committee nominations; and it was extraordinary that there should be so many Members able and willing to serve who were entirely overlooked, whilst a system of plurality was carried on to its fullest extent. That evening, on the nomination of two Committees, he found the hon. Member for the West Riding (Mr. W. S. Stanhope) nominated to the Committee of Public Loans and also on the Committee then under consideration. He asked whether it was calculated to give satisfaction that the hon. Member referred to should be so appointed, and whether it was likely he could give his attention to the duties required of him upon these two important Committees? He observed the name also of his hon. Friend the Member for Guildford (Mr. Onslow), who was an opponent to the second reading of the Bill. Why, he asked, was the hon. Member for Derby, the promoter of the Bill, not placed upon this Committee? The more one looked at the constitution of the Committee the more he was dissatisfied. It contained the name of only one Scotch Member—namely, that of the hon. Member for Greenock (Mr. Stewart), who had already been appointed on the Sugar Bounties Committee. He wished to know why the hon. Member for Greenock had been nominated, and the hon. Member for Leith (Mr. Grant) left out? In order, therefore, to give the Government time to re-consider the matter, he moved that the debate be adjourned.

MR. RYLANDS said, he would second the Motion in the hope that the noble Lord the President of the Board of Trade would allow the matter to be adjourned; because he was sure that, with some little further consideration, there would be no difficulty in appointing a Committee which would give satisfaction. It would be very unfair that the shipowning interest should not be adequately represented on this Committee;

Mr. E. Jenkins

but he was bound to say that there were Gentlemen who had been left off the Committee who were clearly entitled to be appointed. He had understood the hon. Member for Derby (Mr. Plim-soll) had shown some disinclination to serve. Now, that hon. Member had probably given himself more pains with regard to this question than any other Member in the House, and, were he appointed, he would come upon the Committee with that full information which would enable him to assist the other Members. He believed that the hon. Member's sense of public duty would induce him to yield to the wish of the House if his name were adopted. He knew the difficulty in which the hon. Gentlemen who performed the office of Whips were placed, and what pressure was often put upon them by certain Members of the House, and they were not expected to go up and down the House asking Members to sanction their names being placed on Committees. No doubt, names were often suggested by persons who had charge of the nomination of Committees; but there some hon. Members who pressed upon the Whips that their name should be put on Committees while other hon. Members were left out. There were many most able men who were never put upon Committees, while there appeared to be a number of pluralists whose names were constantly met with. This was a matter of such great importance that the Committee should be one which would command the public confidence; and he thought that in the nomination which had taken place there had not been due consideration of what was required in the public interest. He therefore pressed upon the noble Lord the desirability of deferring the nomination, and of consulting with the hon. Member for Derby, whose opinion upon one or two points, at all events, should be taken. If the noble Lord would allow the debate to be adjourned, he believed he would thereby promote the great object which he had in view.

Motion made, and Question proposed,
 "That the Debate be now adjourned."
 —(*Mr. E. Jenkins.*)

VISCOUNT SANDON said, he should be the last person in the world intentionally to appoint a weak and unsuitable Committee for the consideration of

this important question. On the contrary, the greatest care and trouble had been taken in selecting an impartial Committee to deal with it. One of the complaints raised against its constitution was that the list of Members contained the names of too many shipowners. But it must be borne in mind that a difference of opinion existed among shipowners as to the proper manner of stowing grain cargoes; and if a sufficient number of shipowners was not appointed the Committee would be placed in a difficult position. He appealed to the hon. Member for Derby (Mr. Plimsoll) as to whether he did not consider it was quite essential to have a certain number of shipowners upon the Committee who would know what questions to address to the witnesses from their own point of view, and he reminded the hon. Member that three out of the six had expressed themselves in favour of his views. The House of Commons was not rich in shipbuilding Members, and the only shipbuilders that the hon. Member referred to sat upon the opposite side of the House. He agreed that it would be desirable that they should have the assistance of the hon. Member for North Durham (Mr. Palmer), and he did not know that the Government would raise any opposition to his appointment. No one lamented more than himself that the hon. Member for Derby had declined the office. In asking the hon. Member to serve upon the Committee he had gone out of the proper course, inasmuch as he had no right to ask any hon. Member to serve. He had done so however, and had said to him—"Whatever happens, I hope you will serve on the Committee." But after that he heard to his dismay that he had refused to serve. He was not surprised at the hon. Member for Burnley remarking upon this point; but he (Viscount Sandon) had done everything in his power to secure the services of the hon. Member for Derby, and he should still be happy to consult with him farther upon that subject. He could not consent to call the Committee a weak one, and it appeared to him a strong expression to apply to the Members who had been nominated. He hoped the hon. Member for Derby would re-consider the view he had taken of the matter and consent to serve on the Committee; but, in the event of his not doing so, he

would, of course, offer himself very early as a witness. He suggested that they should put down for Monday the name of the hon. Member for North Durham (Mr. Palmer); and he would, on his part, move for the appointment of the hon. Member for Newcastle (Mr. Hamond), who, everybody would agree, would be a suitable Member. He hoped the House would now proceed with the question, and that, having looked over the names, they would admit that the Government had done everything that was possible to secure the most impartial Committee which could be obtained. He would on Monday put down the names of the hon. Members for North Durham and Newcastle; but beyond that they could not go in the direction of extending the Committee.

MR. PLIMSOLL said, that if another winter was to pass without legislation he must decline to serve. There was no difference of opinion as to the necessity of legislation with respect to grain cargoes laden in bulk.

VISCOUNT SANDON said, the hon. Member was not justified in saying that no difference of opinion existed. He (Viscount Sandon) had very carefully studied the subject, and wished to state that he differed entirely from the view expressed by the hon. Member; and there existed, moreover, a great difference of opinion amongst shipowners upon the subject in question.

MR. PLIMSOLL said, that underwriters, being engaged in insuring cargoes from all parts of the world, made it the business of their lives to estimate the risks attendant upon certain voyages; their opinion, therefore, was of greater value and was more conclusive on points of this kind than the Report of any Committee. It was found by them that they could not insure grain from Transatlantic ports at a less rate than 4 per cent, while the same cargo shipped from San Francisco could be covered at 2 per cent, although the latter voyage was three times as long as the former.

MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Member for Derby is now discussing the general question. I must remind him that the Question before the House is that the Committee do consist of 23 Members.

MR. W. S. STANHOPE said, that he should be most happy to withdraw from the Committee if, by so doing, he could in any way facilitate the settlement

of the question. He had not asked to be appointed.

LORD KENSINGTON said, that, in striking a Committee, they were placed in a very difficult position by trying to please everybody, which, unfortunately, they never could do. He could assure the hon. Member for Dundee (Mr. E. Jenkins) that he had done his best in the present case to get as fair and impartial a representation as could be obtained of all the interests concerned. He could only say that the hon. Member for Derby was the first person he had asked to serve; and when he found that he was out of town he sent him a telegram, to which he received the reply that "he did not want to serve on the Committee." If, however, the hon. Member would consent to serve, he ventured to think that his presence would add strength to the Committee, and very much contribute to the success of the cause which he had at heart.

SIR DAVID WEDDERBURN said, he observed that among the 23 Members nominated there was only one from Scotland; and he wished to suggest that as the number of persons interested in shipping in Scotland was very large the hon. Member for Leith (Mr. Grant) should be added to the Committee.

MR. CALLAN said, he would suggest that the matter should stand over until Monday, and that a smaller number—say 10 or 12 Members—should be nominated by the Committee of Selection.

SIR JULIAN GOLDSMID said, that to nominate Members of Committees upon important non-political questions simply because they sat on this or that side of the House was a most ludicrous system. He gathered from the discussion that there were two or three Members on that side of the House who ought to have been appointed, and that there were two or three others on the opposite side whose names ought not to have been placed on the Committee. The noble Lord, he thought, had made a mistake in making the suggestion to the House that upon a non-political question there must be a balance of hon. Members from the two sides. In his opinion, it would be better to adjourn until Monday to give the Government time to re-consider the matter.

SIR WILLIAM HART DYKE said, that the hon. Member for Rochester

(Sir Julian Goldsmid) had criticized severely the system by which Select Committees were now appointed. He would inform the hon. Baronet that last year the whole question with reference to the appointment of Committees was brought before the House, and an unanimous decision arrived at in favour of the present system. Having been engaged in the duty of selecting Members for Committees for some years, all he could say was, with reference to this particular Committee, that he had given more personal attention to its constitution than usual. He thought that if any hon. Member would read the names of those constituting the Committee, he could not but come to the conclusion that it would be admirably calculated to deal with the subject in a fair and impartial spirit. For instance, the hon. Member for one of the Ridings of Yorkshire, to whose name some exception had been taken, was, he considered, eminently calculated to do good service on the Committee. He thoroughly agreed with the observation of the hon. Baronet the Member for Rochester that it would be a great mistake to treat this question in a Party spirit. It was essential that the hon. Members constituting the Committee should be useful for legislative purposes generally, and should be specially qualified to deal with this measure. With regard to the appointment of the hon. Member for North Durham (Mr. Palmer) upon the Committee, he should be very glad that the name of the hon. Member should be added to the list of those to be appointed.

MR. E. J. REED said, he was at a loss to understand the desire of some hon. Members to serve often and to serve longer upon Select Committees of that House. If there was one thing for which he felt extremely grateful it was that he had so seldom had to sit upon a Select Committee. He was sure the House would not suppose that, in making these observations, he had any desire to speak of the inquiries of Select Committees with disrespect. He should like to say, however, that, in his opinion, it would be highly desirable that they should have upon this Committee one or two hon. Members who were familiar with the construction of ships. In justification of that view, he might say that he had read some letters which had

recently appeared in the public Press upon the question of grain stowage, and with not one of those letters could he entirely agree. To arrive at correct conclusions on such subjects it would be highly desirable that some of the Members of the Committee should be familiar with the construction and calculations of ships. In looking over the constitution of the Committee, he noticed the names of two or three Gentlemen upon the other side of the House who he should consider were eminently well qualified to deal with this question. The right hon. and gallant Admiral the Member for Stamford (Sir John Hay) had very considerable acquaintance with the subject, as also had the hon. Member for Downpatrick (Mr. Mulholland) whose names appeared in the Committee. But, at the same time, there was very great scope and even a necessity for some addition to the Committee. He rose for the purpose of suggesting that the names of the hon. Member for North Durham (Mr. Palmer) and the hon. Member for the Tower Hamlets (Mr. Samuda) should be added to the Committee. The inquiry was one that would require close scientific attention, and he felt that it would be a very great advantage to have those two hon. Members on the Committee. He should like to add further that, in his opinion, the idea of a Member's judgment upon such a matter being, in the slightest degree, influenced by the side of the House he sat upon appeared to him absurd.

MR. CHILDERS said, that he agreed very much with several of the observations which had fallen from the hon. Member for Pembroke (Mr. Reed) as to the importance of having upon the Committee one or two Gentlemen who were well informed upon the purely scientific side of this question. For instance, he was perfectly certain that the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Admiralty and the right hon. and gallant Admiral the Member for Stamford would bring much experience to bear upon the important questions that would come before the Committee. But he, for one, would extremely regret if the question of the appointment of Select Committees should ever come to be treated in accordance with the view suggested by the hon. Baronet the Member for Rochester. For many years past—certainly ever since he had been in the House, and, he

believed, ever since the Reform Bill—the basis of the selection of Select Committees had been that Members should be taken equally from both sides of the House. It would, he thought, be very unwise for the Opposition, who were at present in so large a minority in that House, to endeavour in any way to interfere with that practice. For if that system were once departed from, and it was not recognized that the Opposition was entitled to form half of the Committee, then the Government would naturally employ their majority to obtain the control of Committees, and all their decisions would be in the nature of Party victories. He, therefore, thought that it would be very much wiser to leave things as they were, than permit Select Committees to be chosen on a political basis. At the same time, he hoped that they would never appoint Committees consisting exclusively of experts. He remembered that in one Committee of which he once was Chairman everybody knew all about the subject, and the Report was a foregone conclusion; so that, with so many experts, he did not think a Committee could come to a good conclusion. In his opinion, they required upon a Committee a fair number of persons who had taken no part in the discussion of the question that had been referred to the Committee—in fact, persons who would act as common jurymen, and who would be able to form an unbiassed opinion upon the questions at issue after they had been well discussed by the experts. It was from a body of men so constituted that he believed the soundest conclusions could be derived. He noticed that there were 13 or 14 Members upon this Committee who had taken part in the debates, and eight or nine who had taken no part whatever in questions of this kind. They would thus have a body of experts; and, secondly, a number of independent Members, who would be able to judge between them. He might say that, in his opinion, the names of the hon. Member for North Durham (Mr. Palmer) and of the hon. Member for Derby (Mr. Plimsoll) might be very well added to the Committee.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said, he hoped that, after what had been said, and especially after the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Pontefract, the Motion

for the adjournment of the debate would not be persisted in. It would be a very great pity if the nomination of this important Committee were postponed. After the discussion that had taken place, it would be seen that there was very great difficulty in striking a Committee of this sort. It must be borne in mind that the House could not, as a whole, discharge the duty, and that they must delegate it to certain of their Members. It was always desirable to have as many Gentlemen as possible who were interested in the particular subject before the Committee; and there was always a disposition to facilitate the attendance of Gentlemen who were desirous of taking part in the business of any Committee. In the selection of the Members to form the Committee, it was necessary that there should be a good deal of care taken that all the various views that ought to be represented on the Committee were so represented. But the House was also bound to place upon the Committee certain Gentlemen, upon whose judgment and knowledge of business they could rely, to form an unprejudiced opinion upon the matter before the Committee. To select hon. Members with the qualifications he had mentioned was, he need scarcely say, no light task. Gentlemen had been selected to serve upon this Committee who represented the different opinions upon the subject; and his hon. Friend had stated that he would be perfectly ready to add, and, indeed, it was important that the Committee should include Gentlemen thoroughly acquainted with the construction of ships. With that view, he agreed in thinking it would be well for the names of the hon. Member for North Durham (Mr. Palmer) and the hon. Member for Newcastle-on-Tyne (Mr. Hamond) to be added to the Committee. This would be done on Monday, if the Motion for the adjournment were withdrawn.

MR. E. JENKINS said, he should like to state that, in his former observations, he had intended nothing personal, but merely an illustration of the system. He agreed with the proposal of the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and should, therefore, ask leave to withdraw his Motion.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn*.

Original Question put, and *agreed to*.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer

Select Committee to consist of Twenty-three Members:—Committee *nominated*:—MR. ARTHUR PEEL, MR. J. G. TALBOT, MR. BIDDULPH, MR. ALGERNON EGERTON, MR. THOMAS BRASSEY, SIR JOHN HAY, SIR HARCOURT JOHNSTONE, MR. BATES, MR. MUNDELLA, MR. JAMES CORRY, MR. GOURLEY, MR. GORST, MR. NORWOOD, MR. KAVANAGH, MR. O'SHAUGHNESSY, MR. BIRKBECK, MR. STEVENSON, MR. ONSLOW, MR. JAMES STEWART, MR. MULHOLLAND, MR. SPENCER STANHOPE, LORD ARTHUR RUSSELL, and MR. MAC IVER:—Power to send for persons, papers, and records; Five to be the quorum.

PUBLIC ACCOUNTS.

NOMINATION OF SELECT COMMITTEE.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That the following Members be nominated as the Select Committee of Public Accounts:—SIR WALTER BARTELOT, LORD FREDERICK CAVENDISH, MR. CUBITT, MR. GOLDNEY, MR. HANKEY, SIR HENRY HOLLAND, SIR JOHN LUBBOCK, SIR CHARLES MILLS, MR. SHAW, MR. SEELY, and SIR HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON."—*(Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson.)*

MR. RYLANDS said, that he did not intend to oppose the nomination of these Gentlemen; but he might tell the hon. Baronet the Secretary to the Treasury that very considerable dissatisfaction existed with regard to the Committee. It would be found that upon that Committee there were not the names of any of those Gentlemen who were in the habit of taking an active part in the discussion in Committee of Supply. In his opinion, it was very desirable that the Committee should be formed of Gentlemen who were acquainted with what had taken place in the discussion upon the Votes. He believed that there were Gentlemen willing to serve upon that Committee, who were well acquainted with the subject, and had paid attention to these matters. He merely rose for the purpose of expressing his regret that, notwithstanding representations made to the hon. Baronet the Secretary to the Treasury, no alteration had taken place in the constitution of the Committee.

SIR HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON said, he could assure his hon. Friend that it was to the noble Lord who was usually elected Chairman of this Committee that representations with regard to its formation should be addressed. He should also like to point out that it was especially necessary for the conduct of the business of a Committee of this kind that it should consist of a small

number of Members. It required, moreover, hon. Members who could give constant attendance to it. The hon. Member must admit that it was always invidious to single out the names of any particular Members to take off the Committee. With the exception of two hon. Members—one of them a Member from Ireland—who were placed on the Committee last year, he might say that the Committee had remained in its present position for a very considerable period. But while he could not consent to single out any hon. Member to take off the Committee, yet he would be very glad to add the name of the hon. Member to the Committee, but for the fact that any increase in the number of the Committee would impede its business. If the Committee were to be enlarged it would become almost impossible for it to get through its business.

Mr. MONK said, that he thought it was one of the Standing Orders of the House that this Committee should consist of only 11 Members and he should be glad if the hon. Baronet the Secretary to the Treasury could tell him whether or not that was the case. No doubt, it would be very invidious to object to the name of any hon. Member; but it was notorious that several hon. Gentlemen, forming that Committee, were by no means regular in their attendance upon it. Some of the Members attended regularly to investigate the accounts; but others did not. The hon. Member for Burnley (Mr. Rylands) had said, truly, that not one Member of the Committee, except the Financial Secretary to the Treasury, was a regular attendant in the House when it went into Committee of Supply. Thus it would be seen that not one of those Gentlemen was so well fitted to investigate those accounts as the hon. Member for Burnley; and he hoped that the Government would in future bear that in mind and place his hon. Friend upon the Committee.

Mr. GOLDNEY said, that the duties of the Committee were confined to ascertaining whether or not appropriation had been properly carried out. The Committee could not question any Vote, but were simply charged with the duty of seeing that it had been properly expended. The Vote itself did not come under their cognizance, nor, under the

Appropriation Act, had they any power to deal with it.

Question put, and *agreed to*.

Committee *nominated* accordingly.

WAYS AND MEANS.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

(1.) *Resolved*, That, towards making good the Supply granted to Her Majesty for the service of the year ending on the 31st day of March 1880, the sum of £3,982,902 3s. 3d. be granted out of the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom.

(2.) *Resolved*, That, towards making good the Supply granted to Her Majesty for the service of the year ending on the 31st day of March 1881, the sum of £16,641,300 be granted out of the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom.

Resolutions to be reported upon *Monday* next;

Committee to sit again upon *Monday* next.

House adjourned at Two o'clock
till *Monday* next.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Monday, 8th March, 1880.

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILLS.—*First Reading*—
Road Debts on Entailed Estates (Scotland) *
(29).

Second Reading—Solicitors Remuneration * (16);
Limitation of Actions * (17); Indian Salaries
and Allowances * (22).

Third Reading—Relief of Distress (Ireland)
(26), and *passed*.

REPORTING.

The Evidence taken before the Select Committee from time to time to be *printed* for the use of the Members of this House; but no copies thereof to be delivered, except to Members of the Committee, until further order. (No. 28.)

THE EASTERN QUESTION.

OBSERVATIONS.

LORD CAMPBELL said, that with reference to the Resolution which stood in his name, to call attention to the policy of Her Majesty's Government on the Eastern Question since the autumn of 1874, he had received an intimation from the First Lord of the Treasury

that it would conduce to the public advantage if he would postpone bringing it before the House until the return of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. In deference, therefore, to the noble Earl's wish, he would postpone his Resolution, although he did so not without reluctance.

THE DISSOLUTION OF PARLIAMENT. STATEMENT.

THE EARL OF BEACONSFIELD: My Lords, it is my duty to announce to your Lordships that as soon as the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Leader of the other House of Parliament, has made his Financial Statement for the year—which he hopes to do almost immediately—and has perfected the arrangements befitting the occasion, Her Majesty, with the advice of Her Ministers, will dissolve the present Parliament.

BEER DEALERS RETAIL LICENSES BILL.—(No. 27.)

(The Earl Stanhope.)

SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading, read.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2^a."
—(The Earl Stanhope.)

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY said, that the Bill was not yet in their Lordship's hands, and, indeed, they had never seen it. It might be a harmless Bill; but he thought that they should have time to look into it.

EARL STANHOPE said, that he would then postpone the second reading until Thursday.

Second Reading *put off to Thursday* next.

RELIEF OF DISTRESS (IRELAND) BILL. (The Lord President.)

(No. 26.) THIRD READING.

Order of the Day for the Third Reading, read.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 3^a."
—(The Lord President.)

LORD ORANMORE AND BROWNE wished to make a few observations before the Bill was read a third time, as he, unfortunately, had not been able to

Lord Campbell

be present when the discussion took place on the last occasion on which the measure was before their Lordships. He thought Boards of Guardians would be acting very foolishly if they acted as the noble Lord (Lord Emly) had described on Friday; and he also thought it was right in the Government to supplement relief given under the Poor Law system. He knew that the distress was very severe in some places, and that large sums had been spent by charitable persons in alleviating the distress. At the same time, he thought it was of the utmost importance that charitable relief should be so arranged that it should act *pari passu* with the relief given by the Poor Law; because he believed that it was highly important that too much relief should not be given. He found it had been mentioned by the noble Lord (Lord Emly) that in Donegal there were a great many families receiving relief, and that the distress was far more serious than had been anticipated. But there was also another matter to which he wished to allude. With respect to the state of Ireland, it had been said the other night that crime was much less prevalent in the 10 years ending 1868 than it was in the 10 years ending 1878. That was so, and it was a fact to which he had called their Lordships' attention very often, and the reason was that in the former period there were two Peace Preservation Acts in force of a very stringent character. Since those Acts had not been in force crime had steadily increased. He did not think any noble Lord, no matter on what side of the House he sat, would venture to say that the present state of Ireland was satisfactory. During the last five or six months there had been immense monster meetings called together for the purpose of urging the tenants, by force or fraud, to evade paying their just rents. He had no doubt that the Government were well aware of the fact that these meetings were not decreasing. Only yesterday, in the neighbourhood in which he lived, there was a meeting, which was called for the purpose of convincing the tillers of the land that the soil belonged to them, and there were printed threatening notices served on the whole of the population—he might say the whole of the householders, extending to some of his own personal servants. He considered that to be a

most unfortunate state of things. In the neighbourhood he spoke of, he and many other proprietors had borrowed money and were employing it. The landlords had, independently of the Poor Law, got seed for the people, and reductions of rent had been general, whilst, in many cases, large portions of rent had not been paid at all. It was remarked the other day by the noble Lord (Lord Emly) that it should be shown to the people of Ireland that property had its duties as well as its rights; but he would ask Her Majesty's Government to show that property had its rights as well as its duties. The Government had passed a measure for the feeding and employment of the people, and he asked the Government to show the people of Ireland that they must keep the law. Only lately process-servers had been stopped and turned away by gangs of women and children, who took their processes away, and it had become necessary to send an escort of armed men with the process-servers. This was bringing the law into contempt, and he hoped the Government would take care to see that the law was carried out and respected.

Motion agreed to; Bill read 3^a accordingly, with the Amendments, and passed, and sent to the Commons.

House adjourned at half past Five o'clock, till To-morrow, half past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Monday, 8th March, 1880.

MINUTES.]—SUPPLY—considered in Committee—NAVY ESTIMATES, 1880-81; CIVIL SERVICE AND REVENUE DEPARTMENTS, £5,662,400, on account; CIVIL SERVICES, Classes I. to VII.; REVENUE DEPARTMENTS.

Resolution [March 5] reported.

WAYS AND MEANS—considered in Committee—Resolutions [March 5] reported.

PUBLIC BILLS—Resolution in Committee—Ordered—First Reading—Burial Laws Amendment* [103].

Resolutions [March 5] reported—Ordered—First Reading—Probates of Wills, &c. [Stamp Duties]* [104].

Ordered—First Reading—Consolidated Fund (No. 1)*.

Second Reading—India Stock (Powers of Attorney)* [93]; Valuation (Metropolis) Act (1869) Amendment* [98]; East India Loan (East Indian Railway Debentures)* [99].

Committee—Report—Hypothec Abolition (Scotland)* [34]; Blind and Deaf-Mute Children [41].

Withdrawn—Parliamentary Elections and Corrupt Practices* [102].

SITTINGS OF THE HOUSE.

Resolved, That whenever the House shall meet at Two of the clock the Sitting of the House shall be held subject to the Resolutions of the House of the 30th day of April 1869.—(Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.)

QUESTIONS.

SUMMARY JURISDICTION ACT—NON-PAYMENT OF RATES.

MR. THOMSON HANKEY asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether he has yet sent any definite reply to various applications made respecting the construction of the Summary Jurisdiction Act as affecting summonses granted by magistrates for non-payment of parochial rates?

MR. ASSHETON CROSS, in reply, said, some doubts were entertained on this point. The matter was important, and he thought the best course would be to put one case in train for the consideration of a Court of Law. He hoped a decision would soon be given.

LAW AND JUSTICE—THE COLONIAL BAR.

MR. ERRINGTON asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether the Chief Justice of Trinidad lately refused to admit to practise at the local bar an English barrister, unless he would give a written undertaking that he would reside permanently in the Colony; and, whether the Chief Justice was justified in imposing such a condition; or whether it is not the case that any member of the English, Irish, or Scotch bars has a right to practise at any Colonial bar on payment of the entrance fee?

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: Sir, I have heard nothing about any refusal to admit an English barrister to practice at the Trinidad Bar; but the admission of barristers to practice in Colonial Courts is regulated by the laws of

the different Colonies, and by rules of the Courts made under these laws; and there is at least one Australasian Colony in which it is the rule that barristers before admission must satisfy the Court that they intend to reside and practice in the Colony.

EAST INDIA (ECCLESIASTICAL DEPARTMENT).

MR. BAXTER asked the Under Secretary of State for India, If his attention has been called to Return, No. 37, of the present Session "East India (Ecclesiastical Department)," which shows that many Chaplains or Ministers of the Church of England have salaries out of the public funds, although their congregations do not consist of "Civil and Military servants of the Queen," and the letter from the Government of India covering which expresses a hope of effecting reductions in the ecclesiastical expenditure; and, whether it is intended to withdraw all payments from the Indian Exchequer to clergymen whose ministrations are confined mainly to private persons?

MR. E. STANHOPE: Sir, the Return to which the right hon. Gentleman refers shows, as he says, that some chaplains and ministers of the Church of England receive salaries out of public funds, although their congregations consist of few civil and military servants of the Queen; but, as pointed out by the Bishop of Calcutta, the duties and responsibilities of Government chaplains cannot be measured merely by the number of Government servants attending their ministrations. The Returns, for instance, exclude the families of civil and military servants, pensioners, and others. Since 1876 this expenditure has been reduced; and as the Government of India state that they are considering the whole subject, and hope to make further reductions during the coming financial year, no further step is at present contemplated.

EDUCATION—ENDOWED SCHOOLS—TUNBRIDGE GRAMMAR SCHOOL.

MR. THOMSON HANKEY asked the Vice President of the Committee of Council on Education, When the Scheme No. 252, for the Tunbridge Grammar School, will be laid before Parliament; and, if the Scheme No. 253, respecting

the Endowment of the Skinners' Company Charities, will be laid before Parliament at the same time?

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON: Sir, the Schemes 252 and 253 in connection with Tunbridge are still under the consideration of the Department; but a decision will be announced within the next few days. It is impossible to say whether it will be necessary to lay the schemes before Parliament. This depends upon whether any Petition is presented requiring the Education Department to do so.

INDIA—THE ATTOCK BRIDGE.

MR. ONSLOW asked the Under Secretary of State for India, If he can state to the House the conclusions arrived at by the Secretary of State regarding the early completion of a bridge across the River Attock?

MR. E. STANHOPE: Sir, I am glad to be able to inform my hon. Friend that the work of constructing a bridge over the Attock is in progress. Contracts have been entered into for some of the spans, and tenders have been invited for the remainder.

CONTAGIOUS DISEASES (ANIMALS) ACT—IMPORTATION OF CHINESE HIDES.

MR. MARK STEWART asked the Vice President of the Committee of Council on Education, Whether his attention has been called to an article in the "Times" of the 4th instant from their Special Correspondent at Shanghai, which narrates:

"Among the prominent exports from China to England and America, after the great staples of tea and silk, has been that of hides. At the present time there is a violent cattle plague raging among the foreign dairies of Shanghai, and public opinion is much exercised as to whether there is or not a general murrain among cattle;"

and, whether the Government have received any account of the same; and, if so, what precautionary steps they are taking to prevent the importation of Chinese hides to this country either direct or by way of America?

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON: Sir, the attention of the Government was called to the trade in bones and hides from ports where cattle plague exists some time before the appearance of the article

in the *The Times* of March 4. The Lord President had in the preceding month ordered an inquiry to be made in this matter by the Chief Inspector of the Veterinary Department, who, accordingly, communicated with the Customs on the subject. It appears that, in 1879, 3,328 tons of bones were imported from Turkey, and 24,272 cwt. of hides from China, in both which countries cattle plague exists. The bones always arrive in a dry state; and the hides from China are dried, curried, tanned, or otherwise dressed and cured. We do not prohibit the importation of hides from Russia, where cattle plague has a constant existence; and, considering the distance of China and the condition in which the hides arrive, it has not been thought necessary to impose upon hides from China and America a restriction which seriously affects many branches of trade, and which ought not to be resorted to except in case of actual or imminent danger.

ARMY (IRELAND)—THE AUXILIARY FORCES—THE LIEUTENANT COLONEL OF THE ANTRIM MILITIA.

MR. BIGGAR asked the Secretary of State for War, Is it a fact that on the 29th day of July 1879 the following serious charges were brought against the Lieutenant Colonel of the Antrim Artillery Militia, viz. of having, during the training in June 1879, been frequently intoxicated and disorderly; if so, were the charges investigated, and, if not, for what reason, as the person who brought the charges declared he was prepared to substantiate them, and, if withdrawn, whether any pressure or influence was brought to bear to induce the person to do so?

COLONEL STANLEY: Sir, in my reply to the hon. Member for Cavan on Thursday, I stated that we had at the War Office no trace of the matter to which his Question referred, but that I would cause inquiries relative to it to be made. That I have done. On that day a letter was addressed to the General Commanding in Ireland, calling his attention to the Notice given by the hon. Gentleman, forwarding him a copy of it, and asking for a Report on the statement. A reply has been received from Sir John Michel, Commanding the Forces in Ireland. Sir John Michel

corroborates the statement that such a charge was made on the 27th August last. It was made by a gentleman whose name I need not mention, as the hon. Gentleman has not done so. On September 11th, the officer commanding the Antrim Militia Artillery was called upon to state what course he proposed to take in order to refute the charges so made. He replied that on the 19th of the month he would be in Dublin, and requested that the matter might be allowed to stand over till then. He came to Dublin, and had one or more interviews with the Assistant Adjutant General. Whilst the matter was still pending and the pleadings were going on, a letter was received from the gentleman who made the charge, in which he said—"With your permission, I beg to withdraw the charge I have made." The General Officer Commanding in Ireland thereupon let the matter drop, as he had no prosecutor. As to any pressure brought to bear to induce the withdrawal of the charge, Sir John Michel has no information. That is all I know.

SEED POTATO ACT—CASTLETOWN-BEREHAVEN UNION.

COLONEL COLTHURST asked the Chief Secretary for Ireland, Whether any representation has been made to the Local Government Board relative to the refusal of the board of guardians of Castletown-Berehaven to put the Seed Potato Act in force; and, if so, what steps will be taken by the Local Government Board to carry out the provisions of the said Act?

MR. J. LOWTHER: Sir, the Guardians of Castletown-Berehaven and of a few other Unions having signified their intention of not putting the provisions of the Seeds Act in force, the Local Government Board has issued an Order requesting them to carry out the Act, and I am happy to say that they have complied with that Order.

RELIEF OF DISTRESS (IRELAND)—THE IRISH CHURCH TEMPORALITIES COMMISSIONERS.

MR. GABBETT asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether the Irish Church Temporalities Commissioners have replied to the Letter from the Treasury of the 12th of January 1880, referred to in the Papers laid upon the

Table, containing inquiries as to the mode of providing certain funds for the relief of distress from the Church surplus; if such a reply has been given, whether he will state generally its nature; whether he will lay the documents constituting it upon the Table; and, whether he will bring in and explain in detail the proposed Bill on the subject of the application of funds from the Church surplus to the relief of distress at an early day, so as to give ample time for the consideration and discussion of so important a measure?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: Sir, there is an answer from the Church Temporalities Commissioners relating to the details for providing the money; but as the Chairman of the Commissioners was in London at the time, the greater portion of the arrangements were made by them in personal communication with him. The whole of the arrangements have been covered by the clause or clauses of the Relief of Distress (Ireland) Bill, which has passed this House, and which empowers the Church Temporalities Commissioners to advance £750,000 for the purposes of the Act, and also to borrow an equal amount from the National Debt Commissioners. I hope soon to be able to lay on the Table a Bill dealing with the Church Surplus Funds generally, and I shall then make a statement on the subject.

MERCHANT SHIPPING ACTS (GRAIN CARGOES).

SIR CHARLES RUSSELL asked the Secretary to the Board of Trade, Whether he will arrange that the Committee on Cargoes in Bulk shall report to the House as to the desirability of legislation in accordance with the proposals of the honourable Member for Derby, for compelling the carriage of all grain in bags, as soon as they have come to a conclusion on that point, so as to enable legislation, if necessary, to take place this year before the return of the bad season; and, whether he can indicate the special points on which the Government desire the advice of the Committee before they will sanction dealing with the honourable Member for Derby's Bill?

MR. A. F. EGERTON: Sir, I beg to inform my hon. and gallant Friend that the Secretary to the Board of Trade

is confined to his house through illness; and as I am the only other Member of the Government who is on the Committee, perhaps I may be allowed to answer the Question. I understand that my noble Friend the President of the Board of Trade suggested some days ago to the hon. Member for Warwick (Mr. A. Peel), who will probably be the Chairman of this Committee, that the Committee should report on the grain question as soon as they were able to come to a decision upon the subject, without waiting to decide and report upon the whole matter referred to them, and the hon. Member for Warwick approved his proposal. The leading points respecting grain cargoes upon which the Government specially desire the opinion of the Committee are these:—1. Whether insisting upon the carriage in bags of all grain on shipboard would, as some very competent judges have asserted, increase instead of diminish the danger to human life on account of the faulty construction of the ships which during the last three or four years have been engaged in the grain trade. 2. If these opinions are incorrect, and if the restrictions proposed upon carrying grain in bulk appear in themselves desirable, what effect they would have in enhancing the price of grain, &c., as bearing upon the food supply of our population from abroad; and, 3, whether such restrictions would transfer the grain trade from British ships to the hands of foreign shipowners who have no such restrictions. These are the leading points on which we desire information on the grain cargo question before we think that either the Government or the House could properly entertain legislation on the subject; and I see no reason why the Committee should not report on these points after a sitting of a month or six weeks, so that legislation could without difficulty take place on this one point before the end of the summer, if it should prove to be desirable.

BOILER EXPLOSION, GARNGAD IRONWORKS, GLASGOW.

MR. ANDERSON asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether, seeing that there are in Scotland no coroners' inquests, he has arranged or would arrange for an inquiry into the causes of the very disastrous boiler ex-

plosion in Glasgow last Friday night; and particularly as to whether the boiler in question was insured, and, therefore, subject to regular inspection?

MR. ASSHETON CROSS, in reply, said, that if the accident had happened in England, he should have sent someone down to attend the inquest and report on the case to the Home Office; but as it was in Scotland, he would put himself in communication with the Lord Advocate on the subject.

CENSUS (SCOTLAND) BILL.

MR. M'LAREN asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, What course Her Majesty's Government intends to pursue with regard to the Census Bill for Scotland?

MR. ASSHETON CROSS, in reply, said, the Census Bills for England and Scotland would already have been on the Table but for a desire on the part of the Government to make the Census uniform for the whole of the United Kingdom. In a week or so he would probably be able to give further information on the subject.

THE DISSOLUTION OF PARLIAMENT.

EXPLANATION.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: Sir, perhaps I may be allowed a few moments before the House proceeds to Business. It would, under any circumstances, be convenient that, as Easter is approaching, some statement should be made with reference to the arrangements for the Business of the House. But there is a larger and more important question behind, which is of interest not only to the House but to the country at large. I apprehend that if hon. Gentlemen were to go down into the country at Easter in ignorance of the views of Her Majesty's Government with regard to the Dissolution of Parliament they would pass a somewhat agitated holiday, and, what is more important, a certain amount of uncertainty and consequent anxiety would prevail in the country which might prove injurious to trade and inconvenient in public affairs generally. Therefore I am desirous, on the part of the Government, to state what the views of the Government are with regard to the Dissolution of Parliament. First, however, I wish

to point out that it has not been in our power to come to a decision upon this subject earlier than the present time. In the course of last autumn the state of Ireland caused no inconsiderable amount of anxiety. We perceived at an early period the probability, as time went on, of our being called upon to take measures on our responsibility as a Government to prevent or to alleviate distress in that country. These measures we took without the authority or sanction of Parliament, and it was necessary that Parliament should be called together in order to consider and give its sanction to what we had done, and also to deliberate upon the further measures which might require to be taken. That has been the Business with which Parliament has been occupied since its assembling in February. The measures which we proposed have been in the main adopted. They have almost reached their last stage in passing through Parliament; and we may, therefore, consider that that difficulty and embarrassment in our way is at an end. The question now arises, what is the most convenient time for Parliament to be dissolved? There are obviously three periods in every Session at which a Dissolution may be made—from the opening of the Session till Easter, from Easter till Whitsuntide, and from Whitsuntide till the close of the Session at the end of July or the beginning of August. Well, it is unnecessary that I should delay the House by pointing out how very much more convenient a spring Dissolution is than an autumn one, especially if the autumn Dissolution in any way interferes with harvest operations. Well, then, looking at the periods to which I have referred, as between Easter and Whitsuntide we observe this. There is a great deal of Business which it is absolutely necessary to get through within the first two or three months of the Session of Parliament, and before the close of the financial year. That generally occupies the pre-Easter Session, and with that Business we have made very considerable progress; and there will not be any difficulty in completing it, if the House so pleases, before the usual time of rising for the Easter Holidays. Besides that Business, however, there is a good deal of matter of interest and importance. There are measures which have been introduced, and which it is

desirable that Parliament should proceed with, which it could not expect to finish by Whitsuntide, and which, on the other hand, if we were to dissolve at Whitsuntide, there would not be time to take up after Parliament had re-assembled. In these circumstances, and after very full consideration of the question in all its aspects, we have come to the conclusion that the most convenient course open to us is to advise Her Majesty to dissolve Parliament at Easter. The effect of that will be that Parliament can meet again by the beginning of May, and probably the new House would be in working order in the course of the first week in May, so that there will be three months available before the usual period of prorogation for Parliament to consider what measures it may be desired to pass. But, before we come to the time at which we dissolve, of course there are certain things that must be got through, and they can only be got through if there is co-operation on the part of the House with Her Majesty's Government. We are now in this position—if we are able to-night to pass the first Vote in the Navy Estimates, we shall be able to-morrow to bring in the Continuance Mutiny Act Bill, and there will be time to get that through before Easter arrives. We can also, I hope, obtain the Vote on Account which is asked for for the Civil Services; and we shall then be able to take the necessary measures for putting the Exchequer in funds to carry us over the time of the Dissolution of Parliament. A Vote has already been taken to meet the Exchequer Bonds falling due in March; and other financial Votes will, of course, be proceeded with. But there is one important subject which I must mention, and that is the Budget. Now, usually we desire—it is most convenient—to bring in the Budget after the close of the financial year; but Easter falls so early that, as it is, of course, important before we think of going to the country, before we dissolve Parliament, that the financial proposals of the Government should be before the House and the country. I propose to introduce the Budget in the usual way on Thursday next. There will be, of course, several stages in our financial measures which will follow; and in one of these, no doubt, an opportunity will be given for the redemption of a pledge which I gave at the beginning

of the Session to the hon. Member for Hackney (Mr. Fawcett), whom I am sorry not to see in his place, with regard to a discussion upon the Indian question which he referred to. I believe there is little doubt that there will be plenty of time to get through that amount of Business before Easter. Then, there are two measures—I need not refer particularly to those measures which are of so large a character that they must be laid aside at present, though we hope they may be taken up in another Parliament—but there are two measures upon which I ought to say a word. One relates to the question of the disposal of the vacant seats. It is now perfectly obvious that it would be impossible to pass that Bill, and that, therefore, it would only be a waste of time to introduce it. With regard, however, to another Bill—the Parliamentary Elections and Corrupt Practices Bill—I do not think it would be at all impossible for the House to deal with that Bill, and also with the particular question to which the hon. Baronet the Member for Chelsea (Sir Charles W. Dilke) called attention the other night; I mean the question of the conveyance of voters in boroughs. That is a question which we feel ought not to be left in the uncertain state in which it is at present. My hon. and learned Friend the Attorney General will, in the course of this evening, move to discharge the Order for the second reading of that Bill, which has been fixed for a day too late to enable us to proceed with it, and he will move for leave to bring in another Bill to-morrow, and to put it on the Paper so that it can be discussed in the course of this week. I have stated to the House, at the earliest possible moment, what the views of Her Majesty's Government are, and I hope we shall obtain that assistance without which it will be impossible to carry through our Business. I do not wish to make any unreasonable requests; but I hope we shall be allowed to take a considerable share of the time that remains for Government Business. To-morrow I will submit a Motion on the subject; but I do not, at the present moment, do more than indicate that intention. I am much obliged to the House for the way in which it has listened to my statement.

MR. W. E. FORSTER: With regard to the announcement which has just been made by the Chancellor of the

Exchequer, I can only say that I heard it with great satisfaction—a satisfaction which, I believe, will be felt generally by Members on this side of the House. I have only to ask just one Question, and that is, Whether the Government can inform us for what period they intend to take Votes on Account? I think I may state that there will be a general feeling on this side of the House, and doubtless on the other, to co-operate with the Government in getting through the necessary Business.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: Three months.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: The right hon. Gentleman did not remember one very important measure which has been introduced by the Government—I mean the Water Bill. Some people seemed to think that that Bill was the subject on which the Government were likely to dissolve; and, therefore, it would be desirable to know what is to be done with it?

MR. ASSHETON CROSS: The hon. Baronet must know perfectly well that I stated the other night that as, far as any bargain with the Water Companies was concerned, it never was the intention of the Government, in any form or shape, to force any bargain upon the public. The only proposition which the Government has ever made in regard to the matter is this—that a measure should be introduced into the House and go before a Committee; and if the Committee or the House thought the bargain would not be a beneficial one there would then, of course, be an end to it. There was no intention on the part of the Government to force any proposition on Parliament. The new Parliament will not meet until the beginning of May, and there will be plenty of time to consider the matter fully in the meantime.

SIR JULIAN GOLDSMID: I suppose the Chancellor of the Exchequer has considered the question with regard to Private Bills which have been introduced? Some of the parties to those Bills will have been put to considerable trouble and expense.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: It is a common practice, whenever there is a spring Dissolution, to pass a Standing Order which puts Private Bills at the beginning of a new Parliament in the same position which they occupied in the old one.

MR. DILLWYN: I do not know that it would be asking too much, if I were to ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer whether he can inform us on what day the Dissolution is likely to take place?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: I mentioned the other day Tuesday, the 23rd instant, as the day on which I hoped the House would be able to rise; and I see, at present, no reason for altering that expectation.

SIR HENRY JAMES asked whether, after the announcement which had just been made by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Committees on the Bankruptcy Bill and the Criminal Code Bill would continue their sittings?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (SIR JOHN HOLKER): With regard to the Bankruptcy Bill, I hope the Committee will be able to finish their labours before Easter, and I see no reason why they should not do so. As to the Criminal Code Bill, I think it would be quite useless for the Committee to go on any longer with it.

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

SUPPLY—COMMITTEE.

Order for Committee read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."

NAVY—THE STATE OF THE NAVY.

RESOLUTION.

CAPTAIN PIM: Mr. Speaker, I rise to call attention to the state of the Navy, and I ask the attention of hon. Members, as the subject is one of the deepest importance; indeed, this House has placed on record how thoroughly it understands the value of the Navy to the nation, in the Preamble to the Naval Discipline Act, 29 & 30 *Vict.* c. 109, where it is clearly laid down that upon the Navy depends the wealth, the safety, and the strength of the Kingdom.

If that be so, surely the time has arrived when a thorough exposure of the real state of the Service upon which the safety, nay, the very life, of the British Empire depends should be made.

I suppose hon. Members will agree that the Navy of England should be strong enough to overcome any probable combination of Fleets which might be

brought against her, and to clear the ocean, and keep it clear, of the armed vessels of any enemy in the world, besides defending our Colonies and coal depôts, which means, at the very least, some 20 strategical points. I suppose hon. Members will also agree that this can only be done by real men-of-war, by which I mean vessels capable of at least performing like services to those carried out by our forefathers, who, with a Navy Estimate of £5,000,000, and a population of 13,000,000, did that which we now cannot do with a population of 33,000,000, and a Navy Estimate of £10,000,000.

I have no hesitation in saying that neither in number nor in character does the so-called Navy of this country fulfil the wants of the Empire. But hon. Members may say—"Prove this." I will do so, and show the evils which beset the Service and prevent that efficiency without which any Navy is practically useless. For the sake of convenience, I propose to treat the subject under the following heads:—1, Administration; 2, *Personnel*; 3, *Matériel*; 4, Reserves.

1. First and foremost, I hold the Admiralty administration to be in fault; but I do not propose to travel over the old ground, and repeat the censure and satire which has been justly levelled at the Admiralty in this House and outside for, say, the last 25 years.

What I shall endeavour to show is that the Admiralty is quite unable to manage even itself; and, therefore, it is hopeless to expect it to control and make efficient such a Service as the Royal Navy, and hence its present degraded position.

During the last 15 years, Admiralty re-organization has been a favourite amusement with First Lords of the Admiralty. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Pontefract tried his hand, then the junior Member for the City of London, and now my right hon. Friend the Member for Westminster is taking his turn. The result of all this may be stated in a very few words, and will show, I think, the mal-administration of the Admiralty very clearly.

I find in the Navy Estimates for 1855-6, before the present rage for re-organization began, that the Vote for Civil Pensions and Allowances amounted to £149,558; but in the Navy Estimates for this year—1880-1—I find that this

sum is more than doubled, and reaches the enormous total of £322,428.

These are the figures for the interval—1855-6, £149,558; 1865-6, £208,033—increase of £73,669; 1875-6, £284,529—increase of £76,496; 1880-1, £322,428—say, five years only—increase, £37,899.

Hon. Members may suppose that this enormous increase has caused a corresponding reduction in Vote 3 for the Admiralty Office; but this is not the case, for I find that Vote in 1855-6, £140,469; in 1865-6, £175,605; in 1875-6, £183,915; and in 1880-1, £179,485.

This is not to be wondered at, considering that the clerical staff has increased from some 70 before re-organization in 1835, to 432 in 1869, and is, I believe, now not far off 600. In a Return presented March, 1879, I find the increase in the Admiralty Staff no less than 65 in one year.

These facts alone ought to open the eyes of hon. Members to the value of Admiralty re-organization; but it is right that the House should have some particulars of how re-organization is carried on at the Admiralty. I promised Mr. Speaker that I would not travel over old ground. I will, therefore, only describe the *modus operandi* in cases which will be in the recollection of the House.

Take the present Accountant General of the Navy as an example of Admiralty administration. It will be in the recollection of the House that, during the Session of 1878, I had the following Notice of Motion on the Paper:—

"To call attention to the appointment of Mr. R. G. Hamilton as Accountant General of the Navy; and to move, That, in the opinion of this House, the appointment of a gentleman as the head of a Department with which he has not previously been connected, and without any experience of its working, and over the heads of tried and competent servants of the Crown, is unjust, and has a tendency to seriously weaken the Public Service."

Now, what are the facts about Mr. R. G. Hamilton's appointment? Does the House suppose that this gentleman had any special qualifications for the post. I will give hon. Members some ideas on that point.

Mr. Hamilton was one of three—himself, Mr. Lingen, and Mr. Swainson, presided over by my hon. Friend the Junior Lord of the Admiralty (Sir Massey Lopes), appointed as a Committee to re-

organize the Admiralty Department. Mr. R. G. Hamilton was brought from the Education Department to fill the post of Financial Secretary of the Board of Trade, on the ground that there was no person in the Board of Trade capable of carrying out the duties. At the time of Mr. Hamilton's appointment to the Board of Trade a Mr. Stoneham was Chief Clerk in the Finance Department, and in order to satisfy the latter for being passed over he was made Registrar General of Seamen.

Mr. Stoneham, who, as Registrar General of Seamen, had been employed for some years in work quite foreign to that of accounts, has now been brought back to fill Mr. Hamilton's place at the Board of Trade as Financial Secretary, although, at the time of the latter's appointment, he was not thought worthy of the post.

During the time Mr. Hamilton was at the Board of Trade he was engaged on different Committees a greater part of the time, the work of his Department being carried out by his subordinates, and such seems to be the case even now in his new appointment; for I find that, at the present moment, he is on a Committee instead of attending to the duties of his Department.

Take another case, that of Mr. Rowsell. He was taken from the position of a third class clerk, and, notwithstanding his long and repeated absences from ill-health, and in spite of the regulations of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Pontefract, was made Director of Contracts by the right hon. Member for Montrose; but, in the Navy Estimates now before the House, I find this gentleman retired on a pension of £600 a-year, although at this moment he is employed in Egypt at a salary of £3,000.

Here is another case, that of the Private Secretary—a very good man indeed—of the hon. Member for Lincoln, who has done so much, as the House knows, to expose Admiralty mismanagement. This gentleman was pitchforked into the Admiralty over the heads of men certainly as good as himself, and is now, after a very few years' service, say as long as Mr. Rowsell's, about to be retired on a similar pension.

But, perhaps, the most curious instance of Admiralty re-organization is that of another member of the Re-organization Committee—Mr. Swainson.

I see, by comparing the Navy List with the Navy Estimates for the year, that the Chief Clerk and all the principal clerks senior to Mr. Swainson have had to retire, and that Mr. Swainson has advised, in point of fact, the placing of himself at the head of the Civil Department of the Admiralty, and, accordingly, he figures under the new, and I venture to think useless, title of Assistant Secretary; for we have a First Secretary, a Naval Secretary, a Private Secretary, and now an Assistant Secretary.

I hope I have said quite enough to prove to the House the wretched system into which the Admiralty has fallen; and I ask how is it possible, while such a state of affairs is allowed to exist, to expect an efficient Navy?

The House will see that, what with the £322,000 Civil pensions under the Admiralty, and £645,000 Retired and Reserved Pay for officers obliged to leave the Service, whether they liked it or not, the Navy Estimates are saddled with a sum of £967,000, or nearly £1,000,000 of dead money, one-tenth of the entire Estimates thrown away upon what the authors are pleased to call "re-organization."

The provoking part of the matter is this—that nothing is easier than to re-organize the Admiralty, and that without any additional cost. The United States Navy is administered, I venture to think, at least as well as that of England; and yet the Staff, consisting of clerks, draughtsman, and messengers, only amounts to 72; but then let me only take one instance of the manner in which their business is transacted. The Secretary of the American Navy lays before Congress an exhaustive Report—which I hold in my hand—of the condition and movements of the Service over which he presides. I informed my right hon. Friend directly the House met of this fact, and, in the form of a Question, begged him to lay a similar document before this House, instead of a ponderous mass of figures, which only tend to mislead, and which have misled this House for years.

I could say a great deal more on the point of Admiralty administration; but it must already be clear to hon. Members, from even the brief statement of facts I have made, that the nation does not possess competent Admiralty officials.

Let me just recall to the memory of the House the facts I have stated—namely, that since re-organization has been the fashion the Civil Service pensions have more than doubled—namely, from £149,558 to £322,428; and Vote 3 for Admiralty Offices has increased in 20 years from £140,469 to £179,485; and that the Staff of the Admiralty has grown from 70 to 600. To reconcile such a state of affairs with efficiency is impossible; and for my right hon. Friend the First Lord of the Admiralty to claim a saving is absurd, in face of the fact that Admiralty Office Expenditure has risen from £290,027 to £501,913 at the present moment.

2. I now come to the *personnel* of the Navy, and I hold that the officers and men are in quite as unsatisfactory a condition as the Admiralty itself.

Let us take, for example, the Naval Cadets. They are educated on board the *Britannia* (as the House knows by a Return I obtained on the matter), at a cost of about £300 per annum for each young gentleman. But have the officers educated at this enormous outlay proved as efficient and useful as those who came from the Royal Naval School at no expense whatever to the country? Some of the brightest ornaments in the Navy were educated at that school; and those who remain, whether on the active list, or the retired list, are men who would be a credit to any country. I am sorry to say that since the *Britannia* has been the training school for the officers of the Navy the courts-martial have been more in number than was ever heard of before. Drunkenness has been seriously on the increase; and the number of young gentlemen who have been unable to pass the examination, who have left the Service, or who have been turned out with disgrace, has assumed alarming proportions.

It is needless for me to say how the other ranks of the Service suffer in consequence. Not a single class in the Navy, as I pointed out to the House some years ago—and this is still the case—is contented, and, consequently, really efficient.

I will not weary the House by quoting from the printed “causes of discontent” which I possess in support of my assertion; but I can assure the House that there is no difficulty in proving my words.

With regard to the seamen, the case is even worse. The system of short service is a delusion. It is very difficult indeed, in consequence of “short service,” to find petty officers of sufficient age and experience to command the men, and without such petty officers it is not difficult to foresee the results in the day of trial. How can it be expected of a parcel of young men, mere boys as the seamen of the present day are, that they should look up to and follow with pride and confidence men of very nearly their own age who have had but little more experience than they themselves have had. A seaman after 10 years’ service is only 28; and, of course, if he can see his way to better himself, he will not stay a day longer in the Navy. But although this evil is very great the want of discipline in the Service is even worse; for I find by the last Return to this honourable House, No. 114, 24th March, 1879, that the amount of summary punishments in one year—1877—reaches the enormous total of upwards of 60,900.

In fact, it would be very difficult indeed to exaggerate the gravity of the situation so far as the *personnel* is concerned.

Why continue the heavy and most unsatisfactory expense of the *Britannia*, when by a mere scratch of the pen it would be so easy to obtain any required number of Naval Cadets through the portals of the Royal Naval School, without the cost of a shilling to the State?

The very best officers in the Service are on the Retired List. It will hardly be credited; but these officers actually number no less than 2,400, requiring a sum of £644,628 in the present Estimates, leaving, with the Civil pensions, nearly £1,000,000 of dead money to provide annually, for no earthly reason that I can discover, while a deadly blow has been struck at the efficiency, the zeal, and the discipline of the Service.

3. Now, in respect to the *matériel* of the Navy. Our war ships, it is quite clear, should be thoroughly efficient, and in every respect competent and sufficient in number to perform the duty of meeting and defeating any probable combination of Fleets which could be brought against us; of blockading an enemy’s coast; of clearing the ocean of enemies’ cruisers, and keeping it clear of them; of convoying our merchant ships; and of defend-

ing our Colonies and coaling stations, which means, at the very least, some 20 strategical points, as I said at the commencement of my speech.

With regard to the number of our vessels of war, I am sorry to say that our ships, so far as number is concerned, are quite unable to meet and defeat any probable combination against us, and for this very simple reason—that the French alone, for war purposes, possess a Navy superior to ours, not only in the nature and strength of their ships, but in the better quality and discipline of their seamen, to say nothing of their enormous Reserve of real seamen ready to fill up the gaps on the shortest notice.

Then, with respect to blockading an enemy's coast. Our iron-clads, which could be detailed for that service, are utterly and totally unfit for any such work. I do not say this on my own authority alone, but on that of the most distinguished Admirals in the Service, who have practically experienced the worthlessness of these so-called men-of-war. To make this perfectly clear, I will, with the permission of the House, quote the recorded statement of a late senior Sea Lord of the Admiralty, Sir Sidney Dacres, who also had command of the Channel Fleet—"That he did not think they—the iron-clads—could cruise in company with safety." Also that of Admiral Sir Thomas Symonds, one of our most distinguished and experienced officers, lately in command of an iron-clad Fleet—"That they—the iron-clads—are unable to save themselves under the commonest circumstances." And that of Admiral of the Fleet, Sir George Sartorius—

"That our iron-clad ships of war are equally unfit for the exigencies of coast or distant warfare, and for the blockading of an enemy's ports impracticable."

While Lord Clarence Paget, who a few years ago commanded the Mediterranean Fleet, was equally uncomplimentary. Besides these distinguished authorities, there is a general consensus of opinion amongst naval officers as to these vessels; indeed, it is impossible to speak with too much contempt of the whole of them. It will be in the recollection of the House that I repeatedly endeavoured to call its attention to the true nature of these vessels. This is a Motion which I was most anxious to discuss

as early in the present Parliament as 1875—

Navy (Construction of Vessels), Select Committee to inquire into the particulars of the design, construction, cost, seaworthy, and other qualities, as well as the present state and condition of the following ships and vessels designed by the late Chief Constructor of the Navy, Mr. E. J. Reed, C.B., M.P.:—Unarmoured Vessels—*Amazon* (foundered); *Niobe*, *Vestal*, *Blanche*, *Nymph*, *Daphne*, *Dryad*, *Minstrel*, *Cherub*, *Helicon* (P.W.), *Osborne* (P.W.), *Inconstant*, *Thetis*, *Blazer*, *Comet*, *Scourge*, *Snake*, *Vigilant* (P.W.), *Lively* (P.W.), *Shah*, *Plucky*, *Woodlark*, *Vulture*, *Bittern*, *Druid*, *Briton*, *Tenedos*, *Dido*, *Thalia*, *Active*, *Volage*, *Raleigh*. Armoured Vessels:—*Pallas*, *Favourite*, *Research*, *Enterprise*, *Waterwitch*, *Vizen*, *Viper*, *Audacious*, *Invincible*, *Vanguard* (foundered), *Iron Duke*, *Triumph*, *Swiftsure*, *Repulse*, *Sultan*, *Monarch*, *Hercules*, *Bellerophon*, *Penelope*, *Lord Clyde*, *Lord Warden*, *Glatton*, *Hotspur*, *Rupert*, *Cyclops*, *Hecate*, *Hydra*, *Gorgon*, *Thunderer*, *Fury*, *Devastation*. Transports:—*Euphrates*, *Serapis*, *Junna*, *Malabar*, *Crocodile*.

A total of no less than 68 of Her Majesty's ships. One fact alone is sufficient to condemn the majority of these ships, and that is that they are heavily ballasted. Fancy ballasting an iron-clad steamship! Why, the veriest tyro in naval architecture would be ashamed of such a proceeding; but I am bound to say that the ballast was only put on board when it was found that the ships alluded to would not stand upon their legs without it—that is to say, not until after they were designed, built, launched, and on their trial trip, and the fear arose that without ballast they would capsize on the smallest provocation, or even without any provocation at all.

I will not weary the House with further details respecting the disgraceful nature of our armoured ships; but it is perfectly clear that they are quite unfit for blockading purposes.

With respect to clearing the ocean of enemies' ships, and keeping it clear, I must confess with shame and sorrow that I know of none of Her Majesty's ships capable of performing this duty. The very first vessel on the Motion to which I have just alluded with the ominous word foundered after her name—the *Amazon*—was designed and built, as announced by Lord Clarence Paget, when Secretary to the Admiralty, as an "improved *Aibama*." Mr. Speaker, what was her fate? She came in collision with an Irish pig boat in the chops of the Channel, her stem, or rather ram, fell off—actually fell off—and she foundered,

barely giving her crew time to save themselves in their boats.

Then, again, take the case of the *Thetis*, about which I questioned the late First Lord of the Admiralty, who told this House, with so much truth, in his first speech in 1874, that we had only a "paper Fleet." Her Majesty's ship *Thetis*, supposed to be one of the finest corvettes in the Service—her name will be found on the list I have just called attention to—had the misfortune to break down her machinery a few hundred miles to leeward of Malta; the crew were at once placed upon short provisions, and the vessel gallantly attempted to beat up for Malta; but, happily for the men, the *Devastation* picked her up, and towed her into that port. What our forefathers would have thought of this, Mr. Speaker, I leave this House to guess. But it is quite clear the *Thetis* class of vessel, of which there are a good many, I grieve to say, could not clear the ocean of enemy's cruisers, much less keep it clear.

To take one more instance, and I have done—the *Volage*. Perhaps the House will permit me to quote from the Report of the captain of that ship to the Admiralty, as follows:—

"At the Cape we had taken on board four bullocks and 100 sheep. Owing to the immense quantities of water shipped over the lee nettings, on the 5th and 6th, three bullocks and 30 sheep were drowned or died from the cold and injuries received. All the poop cabins were deeply flooded, and on several occasions the depth of water on the lee side of the quarter deck was such as to cover the guns, and two men were carried off their legs, washed over the guns, and nearly over the netting. The freeing ports under the gun ports relieved the ship very soon of the water; without them such an immense weight of water accumulating each roll, and rushing from side to side, would have been most serious. As neither I nor any officer in this ship had seen a vessel ship water in this way, perhaps you may think fit to draw their Lordships' attention to it."

Why, Sir, the little merchant vessel *Supply*, which was with her on that occasion, could with ease have sunk her with an old 32-pounder.

In respect to convoying our merchant ships, I confess my utter ignorance as to what ships on the Navy List the Admiralty would employ for this purpose. Two ships, the *Nelson* and the *Northampton*, have been ostentatiously put forward as capable of performing this work. But, Sir, I am sadly misinformed, if either of those ships, at full speed, carries more

than three days' coal. Under sail—for they are fitted with full sail power—I venture to think that both ships would be simply useless, and for this reason—they have been fitted with twin screws, which, I need hardly say, would act as such a drag in the water that it would take half a gale of wind even to move these vessels; when, if they were attacked by a properly armed gunboat, and they happened to be rolling in a seaway, as these ships know how to roll, their capture or destruction would be inevitable. I can only say that I would give a very great deal for the chance of attacking either of these vessels, with even such a gunboat, say, of the *Algerine* class, as we had, 25 years ago, in the China War.

In respect to defending our Colonies and coaling stations, I suppose no one will deny the absolute importance of doing this efficiently and well; our Colonies must be defended, and we must have coal. I will not trouble the House with a long list of our Colonies and coaling stations, but simply say that there are at least 20 strategical points of vital importance to the nation which must be defended. Each of these ought at least to have one iron-clad there, until placed in a proper state of defence. My right hon. Friend is, I see, commencing this work, by ordering the *Wyvern* to Hong Kong. I have no fear that this ship will arrive safely at her destination, because she was not designed at the Admiralty; although my right hon. Friend has done his best to insure her going to the bottom by entertaining the proposal, for one moment, of taking out torpedo boats on her upper deck. I should like to know who was the sapient gentleman who made this proposition? I hope I have made it clear to hon. Members that the state of the Navy is simply disgraceful. We were told in 1874 that we only possessed a Fleet on paper. I tell this House now, most solemnly, that the state and condition of Her Majesty's Navy is not a bit better at this moment. There is not a single vessel in the Service really fit for the purpose for which she was designed. They are wonderfully and fearfully made by narrow-minded, incompetent officials, unequal to their work, and without any sense of the gravity of the situation. This is the more provoking, when it is considered how easy it would be to make our country once more the "Mistress of the Seas"

Captain Pim

by the addition of real gun-vessels such as I have described, and drawings of which I have had suspended in the Tea Room for a whole Session, 100 of which could be built in a few months, and that at a cost of much less than that we shall have to pay for the mastless, useless, iron-clads now in course of construction. I can only say that other nations are stealing a march upon us in this matter, and that it will go hard with us in the day of trial. I must warn hon. Members and the Press generally not to be guided by *The Navy List* in forming their estimate of the strength of our Navy. For instance, in *The Standard* of the 21st January, 1876, there is an article headed "Our Power by Sea," of which, with the permission of the House, I will read the opening sentence:—

"As an introductory remark, it may be stated that the total number of vessels of every class and description entitled to be termed 'Her Majesty's ships' amounts to no less than 560, with an armament of 3,600 guns; and of this number 240, mounting nearly 1,700 guns, are in commission, the remainder (that is, 320) being in reserve or employed on harbour service."

Now, Mr. Speaker, let me tell the House the real number on *The Navy List* at that date. These are the figures—

Navy List	..	..	546
Numbers overlooked	..	..	256
			290
Add gunboats, numbered from 572 to 736, both inclusive, 166, but actually only ..	..	..	64
			354
Deduct yachts, drill ships, and other non-combatant vessels ..	..	..	126
			228

Thus, instead of 546 ships and 166 gunboats—a gross total of 712 on paper—the force of fighting ships is reduced to 228; but of these there were building 22, leaving 206, out of which 50 were unseaworthy, or not designed to keep the sea; therefore, the nation only possessed 150 vessels more or less inefficient.

The state of the guns is also most discreditable, not to say dangerous; and instead of boldly facing the difficulty, Her Majesty's Government resort to the usual expedient of weakness, and try to put a piece of new cloth into a worn-out garment by means of a Departmental Committee. If only this House could

have a thorough sifting of the Ordnance Department, hon. Members would, indeed, be startled.

4. With regard to the Reserves, the importance of having a powerful and efficient reserve of seamen ready for service on the shortest notice has been over and over again fully acknowledged in this House. I brought the matter myself before this House on the 8th August, 1878, but found it quite impossible to penetrate the armour plating of the Admiralty. To show that I have some experience of this subject, I may mention that I was sent to the Northern ports in command of Her Majesty's ship *Gorgon*, in 1859, to raise the seamen for the Royal Naval Reserve then authorized; so that I may fairly say that I know personally the great importance which has always been attached to a Royal Naval Reserve.

I will not weary the House by going into details about this force; it will be sufficient to point out that the number even then, 20 years ago, was set down at 30,000 men. That this number was never reached, and, indeed, does not now much exceed, 12,000 men, as reported by Admiral Tarleton in 1878, and repeated by Admiral Phillimore, in his Report laid before the House at the commencement of this Session.

Mr. Speaker, I have no hesitation in saying that for all practical purposes the Royal Naval Reserves are a sham and a snare, because, when wanted for the Navy, none of these 12,000 men would be forthcoming; not a man of them could be spared from our merchant vessels, and, in a few words, I will give the House reason for this.

The Mercantile Marine of this country employs upwards of 200,000 men; but since our one-sided, so-called Free Trade has been the fashion, the British seamen in our Mercantile Marine have been supplanted by the cheap foreigners who are not even seamen, but the off-scourings of the ports of all nations, cut-throats and thieves of the worst description—a fact proved over and over again. Take, for example, the case of the *Lennie* and the *Caswell*, and many others which I could mention, where the crew were nearly all foreign outcasts, the very scum of the earth.

In fact, Sir, after careful inquiries and some practical acquaintance with the subject, I have no hesitation in say-

ing that some 80 per cent of the seamen in our merchant ships are foreigners. I know of some 8,000 to 10,000 Russian Finns alone, and I can assure the House that hundreds of our ships flying British colours leave this country without a single Englishman on board, not even the master. In fact, I believe it is within the mark to say that 80 per cent of the crews of British merchant ships are foreigners. It is true that, by the Board of Trade Returns, the foreign element is calculated at only 10 per cent of the gross number of men employed in the Mercantile Marine; although even such a number as this would be, in my opinion, a gross scandal and a danger to this country. But this Return of the Board of Trade is either a wilful mis-statement, or proves the ignorance of the Board of Trade officials. I have seen myself crews shipped at the shipping office under English names and with good certificates, which the crimps had bought for them, who could only speak the few words of English taught them by those crimps for the occasion. I have seen numbers of certificates marked very good conduct and very good ability as a seaman offered for sale for a few shillings; and this fact came out very clearly in the evidence at the inquest on the *Princess Alice* disaster, on which I was engaged from first to last. Of course, in the event of war, we should be on the horns of a dilemma with the foreigners manning our Mercantile Marine. Either they would leave us, or, if they remained, we must run the fearful risk of these men saving the enemy the trouble of capturing our ships, for such crews would be more than human if they did not take our vessels into the enemies' ports themselves. If these foreigners left us, or we, of necessity, discharged them, what becomes of the 12,000 men now enrolled in the Royal Naval Reserve? Can any hon. Member for one moment think that a single man of this number could be spared from the Mercantile Marine? Why, to say nothing of the food supply which must be brought here to prevent our people from starving, we have to lay out coals, transport troops, and keep open communication with all parts of the world. I repeat, not a man could be spared from the Mercantile Marine; in fact, the 12,000 men would not even be half enough for any of the purposes I have mentioned. I re-

Captain Pim

peat, Sir, that it is not so much the danger, as the stupidity, of allowing such a state of affairs to exist which disgusts me. Why, at this moment there is a "re-organization"—Heaven save the mark!—Committee sitting on the Marines, with a view to extinguish a portion of them at least—I mean the Royal Marine Artillery—but, instead of committing suicide in this way, if the Admiralty would only increase this magnificent Corps—I venture to say the finest in the world—to 50,000 men, our large merchant steamers could then be each supplied with the nucleus of a crew of highly-trained men simply invaluable in the moment of fire or any other danger, and who would, I feel sure, be eagerly sought for by our shipowners, and who, being better paid than when in barracks, would gladly serve on board such steamers. So that, without the extra cost of a shilling, we might have a splendid Army, a real Naval Reserve, and the backbone of ships' companies for our Mercantile Marine. But, Sir, I do not expect it will suit the Re-organization Committee to even consider this easy and simple expedient.

The condition of our Mercantile Marine, which I have earnestly endeavoured to improve by introducing the "Training School and Ships" Bill, the "Mercantile Marine Hospital Service" Bill, the "Shipowners Liability" Bill, and the "Measurement of Tonnage" Bill, is quite as discreditable as that of the Royal Navy; and this, when there are hundreds of thousands of British boys who would gladly devote themselves to a sea life, and who would become useful, very useful citizens, instead of, as is only too often the case, adding to the criminal and pauper class, as I have pointed out over and over again when speaking to my Training Schools and Ships Bill, introduced no less than four times to this House. Mr. Speaker, I said just now that I had been sent by the Admiralty, 20 years ago, to start the Royal Naval Reserve. I have no hesitation in saying that I could, with ease and certainty, and within the space of one year, raise a body of Volunteer Seamen round our coasts numbering at last 50,000 men, unequalled in the world, at a less cost than the Volunteer Rifles of this country—men, moreover, who would be ready for service on the shortest possible notice. We ought, in fact, to have

at least 100 gunboats capable of keeping the sea in all weather, always ready for service, in our harbours, and then we should possess a Volunteer Fleet which could defy the whole world. Mr. Speaker, I have endeavoured to make my remarks on this all-important subject as brief as possible. I have on many occasions called the attention of this House to the bad state of the Navy; and I think I have proved to the House on this occasion that the state and condition of the Navy is really a disgrace to the nation. I beg to move—

“That the Navy, whereon, under the good providence of God, the wealth, safety, and strength of the Kingdom chiefly depend, 29 & 30 Vic. c. 109, should be administered by competent officials; should be manned by crews permanently attached to the Service; should consist of ships capable of keeping the sea in all weathers, of blockading an enemy's coast, and of conveying every class of merchant vessel; and should possess a powerful and efficient Reserve ready for service on the shortest notice.”

SIR JOHN HAY, in seconding the Motion, said, he hoped his hon. and gallant Friend (Captain Pim) would excuse him from referring to more than three points to which he had referred, as it would be difficult to induce the present Parliament to take an interest in the larger questions to which he had referred. As to the question of retirement of officers, it appeared that the full benefits of the scheme adopted by his right hon. Friend the Member for Pontefract, then the First Lord of the Admiralty, would not accrue until 1895, and would not in reality deal for 15 years to come with the evil to which he wished to draw attention. He had given Notice last Session of his intention to move early this Session for a Committee on Retirement and Promotion in the Navy; but, conferring with his right hon. Friend the First Lord of the Admiralty (Mr. W. H. Smith), who, doubtless, had the interesting announcement of the Dissolution made an hour ago in his mind, he was advised that, in so short a Session as this was likely to be, the appointment of a Committee would not be advisable. However, if his right hon. Friend should be elected in the new Parliament, and if the result should be as he wished, he hoped his right hon. Friend would appoint a Committee to inquire into the subject. In speaking upon the subject, he wished to point out at starting that

the basis of all promotions was the Lieutenants' List. There must be four or five lieutenants to every captain. They must introduce young gentlemen into the Navy to be lieutenants, and they must have lieutenants who could do active and useful service. He found that in 1870 the average age at which lieutenants were promoted to commanders was 31, whereas at present it was 35. The average in 1870 was taken from a very much larger number of officers, of whom a large number attained the rank at a younger age than at present, and many were retained upon the list to more advanced years. In 1870 the average age for promotion from commander to captain was younger, being then 35, and now 39. That state of things proved that lieutenants had now a very bad chance of getting on, and prevented the Navy from having the use of such young and efficient officers as should be the case. He could not propose, without further inquiry, a remedy for that condition of things, but wished to state the nature of the evil, which certainly demanded the serious attention of the House. With regard to the *personnel* of the Navy, his hon. and gallant Friend referred to the condition of the Navy with regard to the operations in Zululand. It had been falsely asserted, no doubt, that some of the troops had not done their duty, although that was completely contradicted by the Secretary of State for War; but no such charge was made against the Navy. On the contrary, the Naval Brigade, under the command of its gallant captain, Fletcher Campbell, who he was delighted to know had been promoted, had done remarkably good service, and had been in every point all that could be desired. With respect to the Naval Reserves, he did not come to quite the same conclusion as his hon. and gallant Friend (Captain Pim), but he did recognize the disadvantage of the great and increasing number of foreigners at present in the Merchant Navy. The Board of Trade Returns showed that there were 207,436 men employed in the Merchant Navy last year. Of these, 121,000 were not seamen; and, exclusive of 3,972 masters and apprentices, of the 82,474 seamen no fewer than 16,070 were foreigners, leaving only 66,404 British able-bodied and ordinary seamen. That he con-

sidered a great misfortune, considering the number of boys in this country who might be trained to be seamen. It was much to be regretted that a country like England should be so dependent upon foreigners for the manning of its Mercantile Marine. There were 66,404 English seamen in the Merchant Navy; but of these, 38,000 were so constantly deserting or getting into scrapes that their services could not be relied upon. Over 27,000 seamen, however, were available for the Reserve, and he regretted that only 12,000 had been as yet enlisted, leaving over 15,000 unenrolled. There were, no doubt, 4,000 men in the second class, but he thought some step should be taken to induce the 15,000 to enrol themselves also. He had recently heard an address delivered on this subject by Mr. Donald Currie, who pointed out what he thought would be a great service to the Merchant Navy. He stated that many ships of the Merchant Navy were capable of being fitted as men-of-war; and he believed his right hon. Friend the First Lord of the Admiralty had a list of the vessels which could be readily made available in certain circumstances, the owners being willing to employ retired commanders or lieutenants of the Royal Navy to command their ships, and undertake that they would be manned only by men of the Naval Reserve. If some arrangement—which would be economical—could be made to carry out that view, it would be very beneficial to the Merchant Navy. He trusted that his right hon. Friend would not lose sight of that important subject, and if he made inquiries he would ascertain that many owners entertained views similar to those which were expressed by Mr. Donald Currie. The only other subject on which he desired to touch related to our ironclad Navy. Although he did not come to exactly the same conclusion as some of the gentlemen who recently addressed the country on the subject through the public Press, yet, looking at a Return which was laid on the Table at his instance last autumn, he did not regard our ironclad Navy as being in a satisfactory position, when it was compared with the number possessed by other Powers. It would be remembered that we had not been building and adding to our Navy during the last 10 years as rapidly as the French had been, and it

was also a fact that the rest of the world had been increasing their Navies with great rapidity. Russia had 9 first and second-class sea-going ironclads, and of third-class ironclads, such as gunboats, she had 20; Sweden had 14, third-class; Norway 4, and Denmark 6, whilst Germany had 7 first and second-class ironclads, and 10 third-class, and Holland 2 of the second and 22 of the third-class. In the Baltic and North Sea there were altogether 18 first and second-class sea-going ironclads, and 76 of the third-class. In the Mediterranean, along which so much of our commerce passed to India, France had 22 first and second-class sea-going ironclads, and 37 of third-class; Spain had 5 first and second-class, and 3 third-class; Portugal 1 third-class, Italy 6 and 9, Austria 5 and 7, and Turkey 6 and 15 remaining, after those she had sold to us; whilst even Greece had 2 third-class ironclads. The South American Powers had 3 first and second-class, and 24 third-class ironclads. The United States 24 first-class monitors, China 4 third-class, and Japan 1 of first and 2 third-class ironclads. Taking the whole world, the various Powers possessed altogether 270 sea-going ironclads of the first and second-class, besides the 69 which belonged to England. He wished the House to consider what was represented by those 69 ironclads of England. There were 3 ironclads for the defence of the Colonies, but they were not sea-going vessels. In the Return which was in the hands of hon. Members it would be seen that there were 10 ships which were put down as inefficient. He wished that they were written off altogether by his right hon. Friend. They were not ironclads, but rotten wooden vessels having some iron on them; but they were useless, although they might be used, perhaps, as training vessels, for which purpose, however, they were not very well suited. They had only 26 sea-going ironclads ready for service. It was held recently, in a most careful analysis, that it was necessary, to maintain England's naval supremacy, to have 62 sea-going ironclads. It was clear, if this were so, that they wanted a large addition. If there were 11 building, that would make 37; but one of them was not, he believed, to be considered in the character of an ironclad. But there was nothing like 11 ironclads to be added to the Navy this year. Notwithstanding

Sir John Hay

their distress, the French had gone on steadily adding two ironclads every year to their fleet; but England had done nothing like this during the last 10 years. This country required to build 30 ironclads, and it would not be extravagant in the Government to call upon the country to support them in making this addition to the Navy; £15,000,000 would be required, but what was that sum distributed over three years? It would only raise the Estimates from £10,000,000 to £15,000,000. He was sure that if the country was alive to the fact that England had 35 ironclads and the rest of the world 135, it would at once ask that the Navy should at least be put on a footing of superiority to the number of ships which could be mustered by Europe in a short time in the Mediterranean. With regard to the necessity for repairs, he would refer hon. Members to the speeches of the hon. Member for Pembroke (Mr. E. J. Reed) and the hon. Member for the Elgin Burghs (Mr. Grant Duff) who had stated his belief in the necessity of a strong Navy. No doubt he had mistakenly assumed that the Navy in 1874 was strong, but he might claim his support to obtain the increase he asked for. These opinions were also fully borne out by statistics. In the year 1870, the right hon. Member for Pontefract (Mr. Childers) stated on various occasions, and on the 1st August, 1870, on the outbreak of the Franco-German War, that we had 40 ironclads ready for service, and 8 nearly ready. The obvious reason of the decay of the Fleet between 1870 and 1874 was the determination not to spend money on repairs. The proportion of men employed on repairs as compared with those employed on building had been reversed; and instead of being as 9 repairing for every 4 or 5 building, it was altered to 4 repairing to every 5 building. The result was that when the present Government came into power, in consequence of the deficiency of repairs, there were only 16 ironclads fit for service, and 6 in fair condition, or 22 in all; whilst of 16 requiring repair, only 2 were taken in hand, leaving 14 inefficient ships as a legacy to their Successors. At present, the Return showed 36 ships fit for service, but of these 2 were described as indifferent. The sooner we got rid of the two vessels that were described as “in-

different” the better; they might be useful for harbour defence, but otherwise they were an illusory addition to our strength. It was sad to think that in spite of all the exertions of the Government during the last five years, and their exertions in repairing ships was most praiseworthy, they had only now 34 efficient ironclads ready, as against 40 in 1870; though, of course, the principal share of blame was due to those who, from 1870 to 1874, allowed the Navy to dwindle to 22 ironclads ready for sea. The proportion of vessels that were under repair, or required repair, seemed to him to be reasonable. There were now only 3 not yet taken in hand. Vessels ought to be repaired as soon as they came back, and a sufficient number of men ought to be employed to prevent delay in the execution of the repairs, so that vessels might be ready as soon as possible for further service. One of our great mistakes had been that when our ironclads were first built we thought they were going to last for ever. That was not so, and the boilers alone had cost, in 1870-4, £138,875; and from 1874-9, £475,800, an average of 15 ships a-year requiring new boilers, or 149 in the 10 years. The sum of about £12,000,000 had been spent in building and repairing ships during the last six years—or a little over £2,000,000 a-year; but that was by no means sufficient. It was perfectly evident that we were not in the condition we ought to be in, or that we had anything like the supremacy we ought to have. With 10,000,000 of armed soldiers on the Continent, we ought to be superior, not only to France, but to the whole Mediterranean in armour-clads; but, at this time, the Mediterranean fleets altogether were double the strength of our own. He should vote for the First Lord as a candidate for Westminster, for he and this Government succeeded one which had sadly neglected the Navy, and had done much to repair their shortcomings; but trusted to hear him say in an election speech that he was about to increase the force of the Navy and give us the supremacy which the hon. Member for Elgin thought we ought to have, but which he hoped to have convinced the hon. Member we did not now possess.

Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word “That” to the end of the Question, in order to add the words

"the Navy, whereon, under the good providence of God, the wealth, safety, and strength of the Kingdom chiefly depend, 29 and 30 Vict. c. 109, should be administered by competent officials; should be manned by crews permanently attached to the Service; should consist of ships capable of keeping the sea in all weathers, of blockading an enemy's coast, and of conveying every class of merchant vessel; and should possess a powerful and efficient Reserve ready for service on the shortest notice,"—(*Captain Pim*,)—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

MR. CHILDERS appealed to hon. Members on both sides of the House not to protract the present debate, which could be continued with more advantage on one of the Votes, after the First Lord of the Admiralty had made the usual Statement. He would not himself discuss any of the points that had been raised, and he would speak only of the personal appointments which the hon. and gallant Member for Gravesend (*Captain Pim*) had criticized. The appointment of Mr. Rowsell was made by himself, and not, as stated, by the right hon. Member for Montrose (*Mr. Baxter*) in violation of his (*Mr. Childers's*) regulations; and its wisdom had been distinctly conformed by a Select Committee which inquired into the whole subject during two Sessions. Mr. Rowsell's health had broken down, and he was distinctly entitled to the pension he had received from the present Government. Mr. Fellowes had been appointed for a specific purpose in which he had showed great ability; and great economies had admittedly resulted from his work. His appointment was the outcome of the Committee of 1868, which showed the unsatisfactory state of the Dockyard and other accounts. Mr. Hamilton and Mr. Swainson had received their appointments from the present Admiralty, and he had only to say that he thought they had acted wisely in making them. The hon. and gallant Member's statement about Mr. Hamilton was entirely inaccurate.

MR. BENTINCK said, he could not accede to the appeal just made by the right hon. Member for Pontefract (*Mr. Childers*). He had never known a First Lord of the Admiralty, or an ex-First Lord, who did not deprecate discussion on going into Committee of Supply on

the Navy Estimates; and after the announcement which had been made this afternoon as to a Dissolution, it was possible the right hon. Gentleman might think that when the House met again he might occupy the official position now held by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Westminster, and that he was therefore speaking quite as much on his own behalf as on behalf of his right hon. Friend (*Mr. W. H. Smith*). He entirely agreed with the remarks made by the right hon. and gallant Member for Stamford (*Sir John Hay*) as to the present unsatisfactory condition of the British Navy. It was a melancholy fact that the discipline of our Navy had largely deteriorated, owing, he believed, to the dissemination of so-called Liberal principles. The whole object of hon. Members opposite in their dealings with both the Navy and the Mercantile Marine was to uproot and to destroy discipline. Nothing could be more deplorable than the fact that 80 per cent of our Mercantile Marine consisted of foreigners, upon whom we could not depend for manning the Navy on an emergency. This was the result of the repeal of the Navigation Laws, a course of legislation which had lost us our supremacy at sea. In his opinion, this was the most suicidal act ever perpetrated by any Government. It was impossible to account for the indifference which the Government, the House of Commons, and the country itself showed on the subject of the efficiency of our Navy. It was upon the efficiency of our Navy that our very existence depended. It was unfair to compare the cost of the Navy in former times with its present cost, at a time when the price of every necessary of life was far higher than it was some years ago. In his opinion, the amount appropriated for the service of the Navy was wholly inadequate for its requirements. It was also a mistake to compare the strength of our Navy with that of foreign nations, who maintained a Naval force simply for purposes of aggression to be directed against this country; whereas our Navy was essential to our very existence as a nation. It was our weapon for repelling aggression, and our food supplies depended on our supremacy at sea. The protection of the Colonies also depended on our Navy. If we allowed our Navy to fall behind in its efficiency, we should lose

our Colonies to-morrow. To make our food supply safe we must have a class of ships which did not exist, large ships which could carry a considerable supply of coal and could be handled under canvas. Again, he would ask, could an ironclad fleet keep under canvas in all weathers and yet have a large supply of coal on board? At present they were obliged to coal once a fortnight, and that in a protracted war, conducted in any quarter of the globe, might be a cause of serious misfortune. Then the fragility of our ironclads was such that the slightest touch sent them to the bottom, while you might riddle one of the old wooden liners through and through, and yet she could be made as serviceable as ever. Sir Spencer Robinson, a distinguished Admiral, and for many years Surveyor of the Navy, in a recent article had said what we imperatively wanted was superior ships in greater numbers. The House should remember that war was of sudden growth, and might arise from disturbances in another country, and yet the *Inflexible*, which was laid down six years ago, was not ready for sea. He contended that, practically, the Navy was not equal to the requirements of the country. There was no reserve of ships, and there was no attempt to create one. There were some men, called "the peace-at-any-price party," who thought that the best way to avert war was to reduce the Navy to the lowest point; but for himself, he would cordially endorse the Resolution of his hon. and gallant Friend. It had been said that he and his Friends told tales out of school, and had allowed foreign countries to know too much; but there was not a foreign Government that did not know to a man and a gun the strength of every ship in the British Navy, and those only who did not know these facts were the Parliament and people of this country. If asked for by the Government, he believed that Parliament would grant any sum which might be required for making the Navy thoroughly efficient, and that the people would endorse any Vote which was granted for that purpose. He hoped that the eyes of the country would be opened to the present condition of things, and that it would be said throughout the length and breadth of the country it should not continue in existence.

MR. GOURLEY said, it was his intention to confine himself to the Resolution which stood in his name on the Paper, but first he must state that he disagreed from the melancholy statement which the hon. and gallant Member for Gravesend (Captain Pim) had placed before the House upon the present condition of the Mercantile Marine. They were a fine body of men, and he did not like to hear them cried down by those who seldom come in contact with them. The hon. and gallant Gentleman had stated, that of our Mercantile Marine 80 per cent were foreigners. This was very erroneous. According to the Returns of the Board of Trade for 1877 there were 207,446 sailors in British ships. Of these, only 21,023, or 10 per cent, were foreigners.

CAPTAIN PIM: I expressly said that the Board of Trade Returns were fallacious from beginning to end. I have myself seen the certificates handed in by foreigners, and found these men were shipped with British certificates who could hardly speak a word of English and were not British at all.

MR. GOURLEY observed, that in so serious a matter facts and figures ought to be stated for the guidance of Parliament and of the country. In the North of England there were only 5 per cent of foreigners among the seamen. The Notice he had placed on the Paper had reference to Vice Admiral Phillimore's Report on Naval Reserves. It was the most important document relating to Naval affairs that had appeared since the Report of the Commission on the Manning of the Navy. Admiral Phillimore led us to infer that the draught of water of the district ships was much too great, and he quite concurred with him on this point. That circumstance prevented these vessels from being of use in the protection of many of our harbours and of our coasts. He wished to know how these ships would be distributed and employed in case of emergency? The calibre of their guns was unsatisfactory, their decks required to be made shell-proof, their officers and men to be afforded greater facilities for being educated in their special duties, especially as regarded the navigation of the coasts of some of our neighbours, and their fuel-carrying capacity was dangerously small. The whole of our Naval Reserves was a conglomeration

without system or organization. It was desirable, in his opinion, to reduce the number of Revenue cutters and to build steam-brigs with modern armour, on board of which sailors could be properly trained in every branch of duty appertaining to men-of-war's men. Admiral Phillimore in his Report referred to the Coastguard Service, and advised an increase in the number of Coastguard cruisers. He (Mr. Gourley), however, would sooner see a supply of steam-vessels constructed for that purpose. If there was much smuggling in the islands of Scotland and Ireland, a few swift, well-armed steam vessels would be much more efficient in looking after smuggling than would a much large number of Revenue cutters. The Coastguard Service was all very well 50 years ago; but since then, circumstances had very much changed, and we had now not only an efficient police, but an equally efficient body of Custom officers, through whom nearly all cases of smuggling were detected. The Coastguard system cost about £500,000 a-year, and ought to be utilized for a wiser purpose than that of looking for a "Will o' the Wisp"—the smuggler who had ceased to exist. It should be trained in connection with coast defence, and the men might be employed in building batteries, in lieu of the obsolete constructions which were now in existence. Unless things of this kind were done, the men would not receive that education that they should receive. He thought, also, that there should be a reserve of stokers and firemen created from among the men who served in these capacities on board our merchantmen. With regard to the building of 34 new Coastguard stations, as suggested by Admiral Phillimore, he thought it would be a total waste of money.

CAPTAIN PIM, in reply to the appeal of the right hon. Member for Pontefract (Mr. Childers), was willing to withdraw his Amendment to allow the House to go into Committee of Supply. He had made many efforts to arouse the attention of the House to the disgraceful state of the Navy. He hoped that at last he had been able to do so, and he had no hesitation in saying that the Royal Navy of this country was rotten from keel to truck.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn*.

Mr. Gourley

Main Question, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair," put, and *agreed to*.

SUPPLY—NAVY ESTIMATES, 1880-81.

SUPPLY—*considered in Committee.*

(In the Committee.)

DEPARTMENTAL STATEMENT.

MR. W. H. SMITH: Mr. Raikes, I hope that hon. Gentlemen who have been occupying the time of the House until now will not think that I am wanting in respect to them because I did not rise before the Speaker left the Chair to answer the speeches which they made. In the course of the statement which I shall have to make to the Committee there will be opportunities afforded—and I think, on the whole, it will be more for the convenience of the Committee that I should proceed now with the course I had laid down for myself, availing myself of the opportunities which, I have no doubt, will be afforded to me of answering, to some extent, the observations which have been made by my hon. Friends. The Estimates, Mr. Raikes, which I have now to submit to the Committee will, no doubt, be objected to by some on the ground of their insufficiency. I consider that, on the whole, they are sufficient and adequate to the necessities of the case, and to the duty which calls on me to provide for the service of the year. They show a slight decrease, and only a slight decrease, on the amount provided during the last financial year; and, in speaking of them, it may, perhaps, be as well that I should refer to the actual expenditure of the past year. During the past year, or the year which has now nearly passed, we shall probably have spent a sum of nearly £10,550,000, or something within the Votes which Parliament has given us. I am speaking now of the ordinary expenditure of the Navy, irrespective of the Votes of Credit for the South African Transport Service, which was undertaken in the course of last year 1879. The amount corresponds very nearly indeed with that of 1873-4, and is somewhat less than that of the year 1874-5. It will be satisfactory, to the Committee at all events, to find that we have no deficiency to provide for in the coming year, and that we have kept well within our Votes. The first Vote to which I shall ask the attention of the Committee

is that which has already been read by the Chairman, and which provides 58,000 men and boys for the service of the Navy, and which includes among that number 19,833 blue jackets, 2,800 artificers, 4,800 stokers, 4,500 domestics, including kroomen, 2,700 boys for service, 2,200 boys for training, and 3,672 coastguardmen on shore. The numbers actually borne on the 1st of March were—blue jackets, 19,824; artificers, 2,342; stokers, 4,679; domestics, including kroomen, 4,455; boys for service, 2,618; boys for training, 2,345; and coastguardmen on shore 3,641. In addition to these Forces, there are 12,733 Royal Marines, and 1,244 seamen pensioners in reserve. The Royal Naval Reserve of the 1st class numbers 12,061; of the 2nd class, 5,339; and of the 3rd class, 80 boys; making a total of 1st, 2nd, and 3rd class, of 17,480; while the Artillery Volunteers number 1,100. The numbers of blue jackets, artificers, stokers, domestics and kroomen, provided for in the Estimates of 1880-81, is 31,433. With regard to the number of boys who are provided, I have observed, in certain criticisms in respect to them, that there seems to be some alarm at the desire for economy which I have undoubtedly professed. I honestly confess that I desire to economise wherever it is possible to do so without injuring, in any degree, the efficiency of the Service. I admit that, however small the economy may be, if it is a real economy accompanied by efficiency, it is my desire to effect it. But in the remarks to which I have adverted, concern has been expressed lest 2,200 boys are insufficient for training in order to maintain the number of blue jackets at a proper and efficient point. The fact is, and it is a most gratifying fact, that the waste in the Service has become a great deal less than it used to be. The waste in training boys is a great deal less, and desertions are very rare. And here I should like to refer to a remark which fell from the hon. and gallant Member for Gravesend (Captain Pim)—namely, that the discipline and efficiency of the Navy are very unsatisfactory, or very disgraceful, I think that was the term. Now, I have not heard any opinion approaching that from any gallant officer I have come in contact with for years. Since I have had the honour of serving the country and the Queen I have seen a great many

gallant officers, and the condition of the Service has been a very natural and proper subject of remark. But I believe that only one opinion has been expressed, and that is that gradually and surely there has been a vast improvement in the respectability, in the character, and in the position of the British sailor. There are not, I believe, a finer set of fellows in existence, or who more completely deserve the confidence of the country than the British seamen; and to speak of them as being in a disreputable condition, guilty of constant breaches of discipline, is to cast aspersions on them which they do not deserve, and which other hon. and gallant Officers in this House will not, I imagine, endorse. With regard to the number of boys, I have had a very careful calculation made on that point. I find that the number of blue jackets provided in the Estimates—19,833—is really somewhat in excess of the normal number of blue jackets required. We should prefer to have rather a smaller number of blue jackets, and a larger number of some other classes. But, as the Committee is very well aware, the continuous service system makes it undesirable, and even impossible, to discharge men after they have once been taken until their period of service has been completed. We do, in fact, enter a large number of boys and they must continue to remain in the Navy as men, until their period of service expires. Some years ago an estimate was formed that 18,000 blue jackets would be sufficient, provided that we had also reserves and a coastguard of something like 4,500 men. At present, we have an excess of something like 600 or 700 over that estimate of 18,000, including 4,500 as the number of coastguard. The coastguard are somewhat below their number, and the seamen are very much above their number. The waste among the blue jackets is about 8 per cent; and, at that rate, 1,700 entering annually would keep up the Force to more than 20,000 men. Taking into account the waste of boys in training, 1,788 blue-jackets entering annually would keep up the Force to 21,035 men. At present, the least number of boys who go into training is 2,200, and they, taking the waste into account, would produce the 1,788 blue jackets and keep up the Force to the number I have mentioned. Therefore, it is clear that, having regard to the

number at present over-borne, the 2,200 boys in training are really in excess of the number that would be required for 1880-81. But the Committee will agree that it is better to have an excess of the number that would be required than to fall below it. While I am on this point, I should wish to refer to a remark which fell from my right hon. Friend opposite (Mr. Childers) last year with regard to the re-engagement of petty officers and the question of pensions. I stated then to the Committee that the Admiralty had under their consideration proposals for the re-engagement of petty officers after their 20 years' service, with a view principally to the country availing itself of the advantage of the experience and knowledge which men possess at 38 years of age who have not lost their full vigour and capacity for active service. We offered a re-engagement upon terms which have not proved sufficiently attractive, but I am now, with my Colleagues, considering other proposals which I hope will have the desired effect of inducing some of that class to be re-engaged. If that be so, I believe that we shall see that our efforts have not only been advantageous to the country and to the Service, but to the men themselves. Then, again, it would lessen the number of men that it would be necessary to enter at the same time. If we could get men to serve for 25 years instead of 20, the number to be supplied would not be so great for 25 years as it would be for 20 years. I refrain from stating the conditions, because I have not yet obtained the sanction of a very important Department of the Government, and, therefore, I can only venture generally to hope that I may be successful in a scheme which would be satisfactory to the Committee and advantageous to the country. There is one other remark I have to make with regard to the men of the Reserves. Of the seamen class, including stokers, we have 5,890 pensioners under 50 years of age, and 5,772 above that age. A large proportion of these men, at all events of the 5,890 under 50 would be available, and we could rely upon them in case of emergency. One question incidentally referred to by my right hon. and gallant Friend behind me (Sir John Hay), and referred to also by the hon. and gallant Member for Gravesend, had reference to the case of the lieutenants. In endeavouring to

deal with the case of the lieutenants, I felt it to be my duty to ask for an Order in Council. The Order in Council, passed in 1870 by the right hon Gentleman the Member for Pontefract, provided that the list of lieutenants should be reduced to 600, and until the list of sub-lieutenants was reduced to 250 the Admiralty had the power to promote whom they thought fit. The result was that the list gradually grew till it amounted to something like 847 lieutenants and 240 odd sub-lieutenants, and it was found that we had no longer the power to promote sub-lieutenants. We had a very large number of officers whom it was practically impossible to promote. They were of an average age of 24 years, a period at which they ought to have gained their promotion to the lieutenants' list and could no longer be kept in a subordinate position. It appeared to me that 23 was the age at which an officer ought to leave the rank of sub-lieutenant. It was not wise on the part of the Admiralty, having due regard to the interests of the Service, to refuse promotion to the rank of lieutenant to officers fairly entitled to it. The circumstances of 1879 and 1870 were very different, and there is now a great deal more employment for lieutenants than there was before. At present there are 630 lieutenants employed, and there are also 172 navigating lieutenants, making the total 801 for the two ranks. The House knows very well that the navigating list is being gradually extinguished as a separate list, and in the course of a few years the whole duties of navigation will fall upon commanders on the executive list. Although I know that many excellent officers greatly deplore the disappearance of the master from Her Majesty's ships, yet I think that we must accept the present condition of things. The master has gone, and it is useless to attempt to bring him back. The House of Commons has decided that the duties of navigating the Fleet shall in future be performed by officers well qualified for the discharge of those duties. Taking that into consideration, it appears to me to be necessary to increase the number of officers upon the lieutenants' list to a maximum of 1,000, having regard to the fact of the gradually increasing duties that will fall upon them as the list of the navigating lieutenants and

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navigating commanders ceases to exist. Perhaps it may be said that I ought to take power to raise the commanders' list at the same time; but, in my opinion, the time has not arrived for that step to be taken. The additions that have been made to the lieutenants' executive list, in recent years, have not affected the period of promotion of executive officers who are senior to them in the slightest degree, and when lieutenants for navigating duties arrive at the top of the list, it will be necessary then to make provision for the promotion from the commanders' list. But I confess I have not done so now; because, if I had done so, promotion must have been given at once to officers who were on the executive list. I also had to consider what was the amount of employment that could be given to the officers of the several classes. The number of lieutenants now employed upon the executive list is 630, being 74 per cent of the whole. On the commanders' list there are 208 in all, and the number employed is 149, being 71 per cent on the whole. There is no prospect, at present, of greater employment, and the result, therefore, of increasing the commanders' list would be simply to increase the percentage of men unemployed. Hon. Gentlemen, with very great knowledge of the Service, will admit that to allow a longer period to elapse than at present between the time at which an officer goes on the commanders' list and obtain active employment, would be a very great misfortune. At the present time, a sufficient interval—quite a sufficient interval—elapses before it is possible to employ an officer, and it will be seen that if the list were unduly swelled or increased, then the delay would be still greater. The addition of 50 names to the commanders' list would postpone the employment of officers now on the list for upwards of another year, and that would very seriously affect the efficiency of those officers. My hon. and gallant Friend, in the course of his remarks, has referred to the question of promotion. I fully admit that it would be exceedingly desirable that we should, if we could, in any way accelerate promotion. It is painful to see officers of youth and vigour expending the greater part of their lives on the lower list, and unable to find that employment in

the Service which they desire. But my hon. and gallant Friend, practically, answered himself, for he admitted that there must be four or five lieutenants to one captain, and, under those circumstances, would it be possible to promote anything like a sufficient number of the higher ranks so as to afford rapid promotion to officers in the lower ranks? That is the difficulty. I have had calculations made lately as to what the cost would be of the earlier compulsory retirement of lieutenants. The amount was so alarming, that it would be perfectly impossible for the House to treat the matter seriously. By granting a retiring allowance at the age of 35, the cost of compulsory retirement, on the basis that each officer so retiring should receive a sum of £180 a-year, would be £277,000, or an increase, as compared with retirement at the age of 45, of £146,000 a-year. Well, Mr. Raikes, I am not bold enough to enter upon a proposal of this character, and I only state it to the Committee, not because I ever seriously entertained it, but to show the difficulties there are in the way of any scheme of compulsory retirement. It must be remembered that it would be necessary to provide not only for the officer who was retired, but also for the officer who would come in to take his place. The greater the promotion the greater would be the number that must be on the list, either active or retired. Much, therefore, as I should like to see a more rapid flow of promotion and to find employment on the active list for a greater number of officers, yet I do not see how that can be possible at the present time. I admit that my hon. and gallant Friend has mentioned one or two points which require attention. The list will be blocked either in this or next year, and it is a matter for our consideration whether some steps should not be taken to prevent that block. I own I do not see at present, how it will be possible to reduce it in respect of the officers now standing for promotion. I wish only to remark this, that having regard to the fact that at the present time the navigating list is in excess of the number I estimated to be sufficient for the service of the country—namely, 1,000 lieutenants. I wish still to be allowed to reduce the list of cadets. It was estimated, some time ago, that 73 cadets annually were necessary to main-

tain a list of 1,000 lieutenants. Some time ago I proposed that there should be annually an entry of 55 cadets, so that there could be a gradual reduction of the lieutenants' list by the stoppage of the supply. The Accountant General reports that an annual entry of 55 cadets will supply three-fourths of the waste upon the list of lieutenants. It is proposed, therefore, only to enter that number. For that purpose it will be necessary to withdraw some nominations from officers below the rank of flag officers. A flag officer will only receive one nomination, and a captain will receive none. In bestowing the nominations that remain in the hands of the First Lord, it will be his duty most carefully to consider the position of the Service. The application of a new rule as to the examination will take place in June next. I may observe that there are so many desirous of entering the Service, that I think it my duty to order that those going up for examination shall not be allowed to try again, if they do not succeed the first time. Nothing is more painful to me than to have to deal with this question, and it is the most disagreeable of my duties, for the applications for the cadetships, are infinitely more numerous than I have vacancies at my disposal. I have, however adopted the rule I have stated, because I thought it would be an advantage to the Service. If any other system could be devised, I should be very glad. I have now disposed of Vote 1. I do not think that Vote 2 calls for any special comment; but upon Vote 3 I will say a few words with respect to the observations which fell from my hon. and gallant Friend the Member for Gravesend. I think the hon. and gallant Gentleman used rather strong language with regard to one or two members of the Civil Service, whose merits were exceedingly well vindicated by my right hon. Friend the Member for Pontefract. It is unnecessary for me to refer, at any length, to the services of Mr. Rowsell—his services were of the highest possible value to the country, and he deserved all he could possibly get from it. I parted from him with the greatest regret, simply because it was necessary for his health that he should go to another climate. With regard to Mr. Hamilton, who is well known to the House, I was exceedingly glad when he undertook duties of

the highest importance at the Admiralty. The re-organization of the Admiralty Department has now been carried out, and it is satisfactory to know that almost all who have been retired have left by their own wish, and under circumstances which will, at all events, secure them a sufficient provision for life. What we have now to deal with is the effect of this re-organization. In point of money it is a great economy; but the result is something more—it is great efficiency. If you have too many men, the work is not so well done as if you have just sufficient for what you require. The fact was, that at the Admiralty there were a great deal too many men. I think that the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Pontefract will admit that this was so. We have carried all these changes through with an absolute saving of £3,000 a-year at present, including the charges for pensions. Ultimately, the saving to the country in the difference between the two rates of salaries for the Departments in London and at the Ports, under the old and present systems, will be £52,795 per annum. That is, I think, very satisfactory; but when I am able to state that efficiency, as well as economy, have been promoted, I do not think the importance of the step can be overrated. The Report of the Royal Naval College will shortly be laid upon the Table, when it will be seen that the lieutenants who are now training there have been examined by University examiners, and that the result was fair. With regard to the observations of the hon. and gallant Member for Gravesend on this point, I do not think his views are in accordance with the general feeling of Naval officers. Coming now to the Dockyard Vote, before I touch upon the ship-building programme, I should like to say a word or two upon certain details. There is an apparent reduction in the number of men employed in the Dockyards. There is no such reduction, and the number of men employed is practically the same as last year. The apparent reduction is caused simply by the transfer of the Dockyard writers to salaries and allowances. That is one consequence of the re-organization. There is also an increase in the charge for the Bermuda Dock. That dock has been the cause of considerable expense during the last few years. The total Estimates for the re-

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pairs of the dock at Bermuda have been something like £31,543; but in future the annual cost of it will only be £3,000. The work has been done exceedingly well, and I am sure that the Committee will understand how important it is that this dock should be kept in good condition. I now come to the ship-building programme of the year, which the Committee will see we have been enabled practically to carry out. The number of tons proposed to be built last year were 11,672, and the actual number amounted to 12,073, so that we have really carried out all that we contemplated. We have also carried out the contract Estimates, and are able, for this year at all events, to say that what we led the country and the House to expect has been performed. I must at this point occupy the attention of the Committee for a few minutes, while I state precisely what was the position of the Government with regard to this question at the time of its taking Office. When we came into Office, my Predecessor (Mr. Ward Hunt) had considered the number of workmen that should be employed in the Dockyards, and it was thought necessary to maintain a peace establishment of no less than 16,000 men, who were required on the average. This number has been maintained since the year 1874-5, except during the year 1878, when they were temporarily increased by a considerable number, under the Vote of Credit, the number being raised to 17,670, owing to exceptional circumstances in the political situation of Europe. The number of tons' weight of hull built in the year which is now coming to a close was 12,073, the number proposed by the programme having been 11,672, builders' measurements. The tons' weight of hull proposed to be built next year is the same as for the current year—11,587, and the number of men employed in ship-building about the same—that is to say, 5,800. It has not been found possible to proceed as rapidly as we expected with some of the more important ships—namely, the *Inflexible*, the *Ajax*, and the *Agamemnon*, now in course of construction, owing to the experiments on armour-plates which were found to be necessary, and to which I will presently refer. I stated to the House last year that the Government had deliberately delayed the completion of these ships, in order that experiments

might be made with the compound steel and iron armour which was being at that time introduced. Very careful experiments were being conducted at Shoeburyness, and I will now state the conclusions that were arrived at. It was found—

“First, that flat plates of compound armour of 12 inches thick are more effective against iron and steel projectiles, fired normally at high velocity from a 9-inch gun, than plates of iron 14 inches thick. The advantage still remaining on the side of the thin plates appears to me to be not less than two inches. But I propose to say that for flat plates there is a gain or saving of weight of 20 per cent—that is to say, that against 14 inches of iron weight we might set 11½ inches of compound armour, or 12 inches against 15 inches. Second, that against oblique fire there will remain beyond this a considerable advantage in favour of the steel-faced plates. Third, that while the first made of the large turret plates for the *Inflexible* have not shown so great an advantage as is here claimed against normal fire, their circular form makes the advantage under oblique fire more important. Fourth, that our experience with the tests for the turret plates of the *Inflexible* show that the manufacture is steadily improving, and we may expect to have much more favourable results as we go on.”

This is the testimony of Mr. Barnaby, the Director of Construction; not likely to be a prejudiced man, and whose authority, will, I believe, be recognized by every hon. Member opposite. I think the Committee will, therefore, consider that I did right in delaying the construction of the ships in question until this Report was before me, and that it was necessary to do so until the question of armour should be decided. We are now going on rapidly, building with compound steel and iron armour, and we believe that the results will fully justify the delay which has taken place. By contract work, during the last year, we have constructed 31,727 tons weight of hull, and, therefore, practically, the proposed amount of tonnage has been built. I have now to ask the attention of the Committee to a question of considerable importance—namely, that of the arming of our ships. Some little time ago I was in communication with the right hon. and gallant Gentleman the Secretary of State for War, who fully recognized the importance and the necessity of very carefully considering this question of arming the larger and more important ships now in course of construction, and a Committee was appointed, on which sat two Naval officers of great reputation, in order to

consider, in conjunction with officers of Artillery, the best form of gun to be used for this purpose. A design was submitted to the Committee of a gun which is now in course of construction at Woolwich with a view to its being tested and tried for the arming of the ships referred to. It is a breech-loading gun of 43 tons, and possesses greater powers of penetration than the breech-loaders of the old type. I have no doubt that it will be remarked that the Navy is again coming to the adoption of breech-loading guns; but that is necessary in order to insure the length of range, which cannot otherwise be obtained, and in order to secure a penetrating power which will put us in successful competition with other countries whose Navies possess breech-loading guns. My right hon. and gallant Friend entirely agreed with me in the necessity of entering into these experiments, and I believe the result will be that we shall have a gun very much more powerful and effective than hitherto, and that ultimately these new weapons will take the place of the old muzzle-loader. In addition to that, the Committee will inquire into and test the 6 and 8-inch breech-loading guns which have been brought under their notice; and I think it is possible that we may have to introduce them in place of the old 64-pounders and of the heavier guns in some of the smaller ships. It is clear that, under no circumstances, can this country have in their ships weapons inferior to those which are in use by Foreign Powers. I am aware that I am referring to an expenditure which may have to fall heavily upon the Army Votes for some years to come; but I am sure that my right hon. and gallant Friend will not hesitate to place in the Army Estimates such provisions as may be found to be really necessary to maintain the position of the country in respect both of weapons and ships. The Committee will see that the introduction of these breech-loading guns suggests also consideration with regard to the type of our vessels, which has also been very carefully considered; and we accordingly propose to lay down one ship, possibly two, of a novel type—that is to say, with barbettes instead of turrets. The other vessel would be like the *Majestic* and *Colossus*, with a speed of 14 knots, and armed with 4 breech

loading 42-ton guns in the turrets; and some of the new breech-loading 6-inch guns, which have considerable penetrating power, mounted elsewhere. The ship of the new type will have two fixed armour towers, with two 43-ton breech-loading guns revolving within each of them, and a battery of breech-loading guns capable of piercing armour between them. That ship will have a speed of 15 knots, and a coal stowage of 1,200 tons. The new barbette ship would carry 6 armour-piercing guns, protected from a raking fire. She has, also, an ample provision of machine guns and a torpedo armament; an increase of speed from 14 to 15 knots; the buoyancy and stability secured by a long belt of armour in the region of the water line, about 140 to 150 feet long, this protection by steel-faced armour being about equal to the corresponding protection by iron armour on the water line of the *Inflexible*. Provision is also made to admit water to unarmoured parts above the below-water armoured deck before and abaft belt, so that damage in action might not put the ship out of trim or make her unmanageable. The cost of the hull and engine will be about £540,000, being about £15,000 above the price paid per knot of speed above the *Colossus*. The coal supply will be the same as the *Colossus*, and the coal endurance will be the same in the case of the two ships at the same speed. In the barbette ship, however, the engines can exert 1,000 horse power more than those of the *Colossus*; so that when they both steam at the rate of 14 knots an hour the *Colossus* would be able to do no more, while the barbette ship could reach a speed of 15 knots. There will also be provision made for stowing more coals. The tonnage of the new vessels will be the same as that of the *Colossus*, which is 6,150 tons, or probably, by builder's measurement, 7,000. We shall, therefore, have a knot more speed, with equal protection, so far as the ship is concerned, with the barbette tower as against the turret. Many of my hon. and gallant Friends appear to entertain some doubt as to whether the guns will perform their duty equally well in a barbette tower as in a turret; but, I think, it will be found that there are advantages to be gained from the barbette plan which will, on the whole, outweigh those of the turret system. It is true

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that the men would be, to a certain extent, exposed; but, seeing that the gun will be a breech-loader, the angle, at which it would be possible for the machine guns to reach the men within the tower, would be very difficult to attain. Seeing that so many other Powers are constructing barbette ships, I think we do well in meeting those vessels with ships of the same character. It is clear that we can obtain greater speed from a barbette ship than from a turret ship. The proposal is, to build at least one barbette ship, and probably two, and the third will be of the type of the *Colossus*. There is no doubt as to the force and power of the *Colossus*. She is a vessel that can probably cope with any ship likely to be brought in contact with her. Now, as to the question of cruisers, which we have also had before us, there is no doubt that we require that speed which is necessary to keep the seas, protect our commerce, and to cope with any vessels likely to be brought against us. I have been under the impression that we have a Navy at least equal to the Navies of other nations; but it is a remarkable circumstance that when I come into the House of Commons I hear that every other country has ships of a kind which England does not possess. According to the views of the hon. and gallant Member for Gravesend (Captain Pim), we have neither ships nor reserves. All I can say is, that I myself should have regretted if we had built much faster than we have done during the last 15 or 20 years. Some ships were referred to just now in the course of this debate as being both costly and useless at the present time, which have not been built more than 15 years. If we had spent £15,000,000 sterling 10 years ago in building other ships we should find ourselves at the present time in a very awkward position. This is the extreme difficulty in which we are placed; science is advancing now more rapidly, guns are becoming more powerful, armour is increasing in extent and thickness, and this process, going on step by step, would be sufficient in itself to render a vessel laid down 10 years ago almost obsolete by the time she might be completed. Therefore, it requires the utmost prudence in order to avoid the undertaking of work which might be afterwards found to be useless to the country. I am, at all events, certain that the cruisers will

be of the greatest possible advantage to the Service, and we have determined to lay down three unarmoured vessels, which are to be built by contract, with the object of getting, as economically as we can, a fast ship that can be used for cruising in time of war. For my own part, for such a purpose I greatly rely upon the assistance of our fast merchant ships, and I know that in our Merchant Navy there are some of the fastest vessels in the world. I think that in time of war we should have no difficulty in laying our hands on 10, 20, or 30 of such ships, which could in a short time be rendered as efficient as need be against ordinary shot and shell, so far as their boilers and engines are concerned. Again, the arming of these ships would offer no difficulty, and would be completed in a very short period. But I admit it is not desirable to rely entirely upon our merchant ships; we should have something else to fall back upon in case of need, and, therefore, I propose to lay down three fast vessels, intended to steam 16 knots at full speed and with an average ocean speed of 14 knots, with coal enough to carry them 4,000 miles at this rate. The dimensions of the vessels will be the same as in the case of the *Iris* and the *Mercury*. They will have the protecting steel deck over the engines and boilers; but with engines of less power than the *Mercury* and *Iris*, and with stowage for 1,000 tons of coal. They will be armed with the most efficient guns that we can secure, mounted so as to minimize the number of men, and to secure the best possible result for cruising purposes. And here I may remark upon one feature of the inventive power of the present day, which we welcome with the greatest satisfaction. An automatic gun-carriage has recently been brought under our notice, and is about to be tried at Shoeburyness. If it succeeds, as it has been reported to have succeeded elsewhere, we shall be able to work a 6-inch breech-loading gun with from three to four men instead of 12 or 13 as are now required. The Committee will at once see that the Service would be greatly strengthened if it could send a larger number of ships to sea with a small number of men, and that points directly to the difficulty under which our cruisers now lie. Their crews are much too large for the work they are capable of doing

and for the circumstances in which they are likely to be placed. From this cause alone the danger of loss of life is so considerable that they have frequently to be kept out of range, and in consequence have been found unable to do the work assigned to them. Again, the commanding officers are placed under a very heavy responsibility by exposing the lives of so large a number of men. On the other hand, it will be seen that a small ship, with a powerful armament, and manned by a small crew, would be extremely valuable for cruising purposes. The automatic gun-carriage, therefore, if it succeeds, will enormously increase the power of the cruiser and make her much more defensible, inasmuch as where we are now capable of manning one gun we should be able to man three or four. I have no doubt, that if thus adapted, these vessels will prove most efficient cruisers; but the question is under consideration, and I have thought better, on the whole, to proceed with the vessels I propose to lay down, rather than undertake costly alterations in connection with vessels of the class of the *Black Prince* and the *Northumberland*. No doubt, these vessels which, from the length and thinness of their armour, are no longer capable of taking their place in line of battle, might, when they have received new boilers and compound engines, be converted into most efficient cruisers. All I can say now, however, is that they stand over for further consideration. With reference to the repair of ships, we have only repaired those whose types are considered still suitable for the present wants of the Navy. We are from time to time considering the case of ships which are becoming more or less obsolete, and when we find the cost of repairs in excess of the probable value of the vessels we hesitate to undertake them. When the cost is not excessive compared with their ultimate value, they are repaired, and when repaired they are almost as good, if not quite as good, as when first turned out. The misfortune is, that there is no customer to take our obsolete ships. I should be exceedingly glad now to part with several vessels, if I had the good fortune to know where to meet with a customer; but however good their engines and boilers may be, their only use, it would seem, is to break them up for old iron and old wood, and to sell their copper. Nothing can be

more disagreeable than to see a large number of ships in our Dockyards, occupying moorings, and receiving repairs to a larger amount than could be represented by their future value to the Service. We should be glad to get rid of the expense if we could dispose of them. The hon. Member for West Norfolk (Mr. Bentinck) has spoken of the greater cost of building ships now, as compared with the cost some years ago, and I quite agree in his remarks on that point. There is no comparison between the cost of vessels now and what it was 10 years ago. The materials of which they are built are dearer, the labour employed in their construction is dearer, and their machinery and fittings are more costly. The *Inflexible*, for instance, cost £76 per ton, while the *Sultan* only cost £47 per ton. We have now, however, come to the conclusion that every first-class ship should have a torpedo boat attached, and two attendant boats. The torpedo boat would cost £5,000, and the attendant boats would be £1,850 and £850, so that this alone will make an increase in the cost amounting to £7,700. I only mention this to indicate the fact that greater cost is now incurred for these vessels than was the case a few years ago. The Committee will observe that we have made provision for a number of torpedo boats, being advised it was necessary to increase their number, so as to be able to supply ultimately a proportion of two torpedo boats to each first-class ship. The ships will not carry them, but they will be kept in store at Malta for the use of the Mediterranean Squadron, so that they can take them on board when required, and provision will also be made to have them in store in England, so that if, unfortunately, war should arise, there will be ample provision. We have, I think, acted very prudently in not building these vessels more rapidly than we have done; as the torpedo boat of to-day is very different from that of three or four years ago. It is more rapid, more effective, more seaworthy, more dangerous for the enemy. With regard to our maritime strength, and the condition of the Navy for the purposes of defence, I do not at all undervalue the adverse view which has been expressed of them. I know that the remarks which have been made on the subject have been made with the desire of increasing the Naval strength

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of the country, but I cannot admit that such observations are justified by facts, as must be clear to all who have examined the subject carefully. But, should the occasion unhappily arise, the country would be well able to defend itself. There is no insecurity in our position, and there should be no feeling of insecurity as the result of these remarks. We have the *Dreadnought*, the *Nelson*, the *Advance*, the *Serpent*, the *Neptune*, the *Sultan*, the *Repulse*, the *Devastation*, and the *Orion*, nine ironclads now ready in our Dockyards. We have, besides, the *Inconstant*, which has taken some of the crew of the *Alexandria* to Malta, four corvettes, two despatch vessels, capable of carrying guns, the *Iris* and the *Mercury*, four sloops, and some gun-boats. But in addition to these we have 6 turret ships for harbour defence, 12 gun-boats for river service, and 25 gun-boats for harbour service. I have now put before the Committee what our policy is with regard to the Navy. I think I have indicated that our policy is not to have the biggest ship, nor the biggest guns. We are content to have a 43-ton gun as the largest necessary. We prefer two such guns to one 80-ton, and we prefer two ships carrying four such guns to one ship with two 80-ton guns. In other words, we prefer the smallest ships we can find which shall combine protection to their vital parts, with speed, which we consider to be essential, and also with handiness. It is not possible, however, to have these conditions in small ships. If you will have speed, you must have power; if you will have protection, you must have size in order to carry the necessary weight of armament; and if you will have coal-endurance, you must have size. But our aim is to have the smallest ship that will combine these qualities. Then as regards the turret, I confess I am inclined to view it with a certain amount of distrust; but I feel bound to treat with great respect the opinion of those who regard the system with great affection, and consider that the turret affords the very greatest protection to the men who have to fight the guns; and it is, above all, those who have to fight the guns who should have confidence in the security of the means adopted for their protection. The barbette principle will, I believe, be found satisfactory. Then

as regards cruisers for the protection of our commerce, we require speed, and their engines and boilers must be protected by a deck, and they must also have coal-endurance. They should be as moderate in size as is consistent with the requisite speed, and, without fixing any limit, we think that speed should be equal to that of the fastest mercantile steamers attained under present arrangements, and the highest speed of any other cruiser on the seas. I may add to what I have already said with regard to machine-guns, which have entered so largely of late into discussions on naval warfare, that I have had to make some demand for them on my right hon. and gallant Friend the Secretary of State for War. They have come into naval warfare during the last few years, and are most valuable, and in fact absolutely necessary, for defence against attack of torpedoes. These machine-guns are easily trained, and they afford almost the only protection that is to be had against light craft stealing quietly alongside. The demand we have made has been met by my right hon. and gallant Friend, and we have furnished ourselves with a large number of these defences. On the whole, we are inclined to think that the "Nordenfeld" is the best gun for defence against the approach of torpedo-boats. With regard to the tonnage to be built by contract, it includes three steam cruisers, a despatch vessel, eight gun-boats, a surveying steamer, and other vessels, making altogether about 4,000 tons. The horse-power, also to be provided by contract, amounts to 24,141. I do not think I need detain the Committee longer on these Votes, and I will proceed to the others which require some explanation. With respect to Vote 8, I may say a Committee has been appointed to consider the position of the Naval Medical Service, with a view of placing the pay and emoluments of that branch of the Service in some relation to those of Army medical officers, which have been greatly improved since the recent Warrant was issued. In the nomination of that Committee officers of all grades have been appointed. It has been my object that every rank of the Service should be represented, in order that the subject might be thoroughly investigated in view of the discrepancies in the mode of treatment of these officers. It is my hope that in

this way the grievances of which these officers have complained may be ascertained and remedied, and I have no doubt the result will be satisfactory to the Service and to the country. Vote 10 calls for a few slight remarks. All I have to say on it is, that we have to ask for a large amount for armour-plate this year, and that has been met by some reduction in steel plate not so much wanted. On the whole, we have been able to keep down the Vote without in the slightest degree damaging the efficiency of the Service. Vote 11 calls for one remark only, and that is with regard to the Chatham extension and the Devonport dock. The Committee will see that the charge for Naval Barracks has almost disappeared. I hope that substantial progress will be made this year; but the Committee will understand that it is a matter of extreme difficulty to settle such a matter in the first instance, as a great increase is required in order to make the necessary provisions for all the grades of officers that have to be accommodated. I trust, however, the result will be satisfactory. With regard to Chatham Dockyard, I am glad to say we are approaching the end of the works we have been accomplishing there, and the extension of Chatham will be completed early in 1881; so that by the end of the year we trust to see the works completed, with the exception of the removal of the dam, and that will be completed in 1882. In Devonport Dock, the new large dock will, I trust, be completed towards the end of next year, and we shall then be relieved of two considerable sources of expenditure, which have considerably hampered our operations. On the Vote 15 there is little to be said. I am glad to say that, although this year there will be an increase of £3,540, the amounts provided for under the system of commutation will begin to cease in 1881-2, when a charge of £24,516 will disappear. I do not think I need occupy the attention of the Committee longer. Taking these Estimates all round, I can recommend them to the Committee with confidence that, while they are peace Estimates and economical Estimates, and they have been prepared with a desire to impose as small a charge on the Exchequer as possible, they are sufficient for the works which it is my duty

from time to time to undertake on the part of this House. I am not unmindful of remarks which are sometimes made, drawing a comparison between the Fleet of this country and those of foreign countries; but I am still doubtful whether we should embark on such an ambitious era of shipbuilding as they suggest, or whether we are relatively so weak as has been represented. I believe we have a sufficient force of first-class ships, and of men to defend our interests, if they should be attacked; and we have sufficient resources within ourselves for meeting any emergencies that may arise. I do not think there will be a combination of European Powers against us. I cannot imagine a state of things in which we should be left without an ally; though, undoubtedly, if it did take place, we should be in a position that would involve anxiety. But I believe that in ordinary circumstances, even if they did involve the necessity for war, we should find we had ships on which we might rely, and men who would rise to their duty, and give a satisfactory account of any enemy who might attack us. For my own part, I rely largely on the Mercantile Marine, being satisfied that from this source we can, if necessary, derive very valuable assistance. I feel assured that they would be willing to enter the Service if called upon. It rests with themselves; but I am sure we should have them when we wanted them. I know it is the opinion of some hon. Gentlemen that we ought to subsidize the Mercantile Marine. I do not say that under no circumstances should a subsidy be given, though I do not myself believe it to be necessary; but when we had subsidized ships for 10, 15, or 20 years, and they had disappeared as completely as some of our own, it would not be a very satisfactory result. When, on the other hand, a time came of war breaking out, we should, I believe, be able in 24 hours to lay our hands on a sufficient number of vessels, making, of course, a proper compensation to their owners. I do not think we should be in any better pecuniary position by giving them 10s. or 20s. per ton per annum. If we did so, I think we should find that when we wanted the ships they would not be available. It is clear that by no subsidy it is in the power of the Government to give would it be possible to

induce owners to keep their ships at home. Ships must be employed. They are built for profit and trade, and must go where profit and trade demand that they should be sent. If they were in any foreign port, we could not take them under any circumstance; but if they were in any colonial port, they would be as available for us as if they were here, with or without any subsidy. If the necessity should arise, I believe we should be able to find a sufficient number of ships in our own ports. I am perfectly willing, however, to consider the whole question, and to give it the attention and the thought it deserves; but I am, at the same time, sure the shipowners of the country are a patriotic body, and would be ready to give the Government any assistance in their power which might be necessary for the defence of the country. I will not occupy the attention of the Committee longer. I only ask you to give us the Vote I have placed in your hands.

(1.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That 58,800 men and boys be employed for the Sea and Coast Guard Services for the year ending on the 31st day of March 1881, including 13,000 Royal Marines."—(*Mr. W. H. Smith.*)

MR. E. J. REED said, he considered the statement the Committee had just listened to was a very satisfactory and business-like one, and one which he could not help contrasting, for its quiet, economical; and moderate character, with those which were delivered by the late First Lord of the Admiralty (*Mr. Ward Hunt*) when the present Government took Office. The speech which they had just heard was, substantially, very much like those they used to hear when the right hon. Gentlemen below (*Mr. Childers* and *Mr. Goschen*) sat upon the Treasury Bench. He had listened attentively to the speech of the right hon. Gentleman who had just sat down, bearing in mind the circumstance that six years ago, when the late First Lord of the Admiralty of the present Administration addressed them, they listened to a proposition that was embodied in a motto, and that was contained in the words—"We will not give you a paper Fleet." He (*Mr. Reed*) was one of those who always believed that the late First Lord, in using those words, did not in

terms accuse his Predecessors of having done that. He did not say as much; but he left the Committee to draw the inference. Well, seeing that the country had had six years of Conservative administration of the Fleet, and that the Committee had listened to such a speech from the right hon. Gentleman, he thought it was right and proper that they should now, with some little elaboration, review the course of that right hon. Gentleman in the administration of the Navy, particularly one branch of that Service—namely, the construction of ships, with respect to which the present Administration had not ceased to cast obloquy on their Predecessors, whom they accused of all sorts of shortcomings. The right hon. Gentleman who had just spoken did not object to pose outside of that House in the attitude of a man who had delivered the Navy from a state of great depression, and given the country, instead of a paper Fleet, a substantial one, fit for any service that might be required of it. He (*Mr. Reed*) should be sorry in any degree to ally himself with persons who could see nothing but evil and shortcomings in the labours of their opponents. On the contrary, he was ready to give the Government credit on two points, and they related chiefly to unarmoured vessels. The Government had, by its own action, in pursuance of the proposals of the Chief Constructor of the Navy, stimulated on various occasions the manufacture of mild steel, adapted for shipbuilding purposes, from which manufacture the Estimates showed that great advantages had resulted. Anyone who would take the trouble to look down the Navy Estimates of the present year would find that for a given weight of hull in a ship a very much larger amount of offensive and defensive efficiency was to be had; and that, he contended, was entirely due to the encouragement which this matter had received from the Admiralty, and he wished to give them all credit for it. There was another respect in which he thought the Government had done good service, and it was one in reference to which the right hon. Gentleman had made his concluding observations. Everyone who knew the greatness of our Royal and our Mercantile Fleets must have felt that, at one time or another, it might be desirable to make the latter available for the former in

the event of war. Now, the present Board of Admiralty—the good work was commenced by the late First Lord (Mr. Ward Hunt)—the present Board of Admiralty did enter into a course of investigation into the character of the merchant ships of the country, particularly the leading merchant ships, pointing out to their owners and builders in what respects they were deficient, chiefly in regard to water-tight compartments; and they established a sub-department, in which the merchant steam ships of the country were studied and recorded. He believed that the course thus taken by the Board of Admiralty had, in many cases, stimulated substantial improvement in the construction of these vessels. The right hon. Gentleman the present First Lord of the Admiralty had remarked upon the propriety of substituting these vessels for those which had formerly been employed; but he (Mr. Reed) was bound to mention a grievance which had been complained of. The country had lately passed through a time when the Government had occasion to hire or take up a great many vessels for the Public Service; and the complaint which had been made was, that when the opportunity arose, and large merchant steamers had to be taken up, they gave no sort of preference or consideration to the owners of these vessels, who had incurred a large expense and outlay in order to meet the requirements of the Admiralty. If that was really the case, he thought the Admiralty were in some degree to blame, because they had certainly been the means of inducing the owners of such ships to incur increased expense. He had listened with very great satisfaction to the energetic repudiation which the right hon. Gentleman gave to the statements of the hon. and gallant Member for Gravesend, (Captain Pim) with regard to the alleged disgraceful condition of our seamen. He was not surprised to hear the right hon. Gentleman say that that was altogether inconsistent with the information he had received, and with the unanimous voice of the Naval Service. He (Mr. Reed) could himself mention a circumstance which went far to show how entirely without foundation the views of the hon. and gallant Member were. He was lately conversing with a distinguished Admiral respecting the

Naval Service; and he was told that it was undoubtedly the case that the seamen of the Navy had so much improved, and at the present time bore so high a character, that it was a question whether the Marines, whose duty it originally was to preserve order and discipline, were any longer required. Now, he did not suppose that there was any necessity or desire to abolish the Marine Service; but the very fact that it might be abolished, so far as the character and conduct of the seamen were concerned, was a proof that they were not open to the aspersions which the hon. and gallant Member for Gravesend had cast upon them. He might mention another circumstance. A gallant Admiral lately commanding in the Mediterranean assured him that at one time, when he suggested the landing of his seamen in large numbers in one of the French ports, the French Admiral almost thought he was beside himself. But, nevertheless, the men were allowed to land without any special orders, precautions, or limitations, and after having been landed systematically for a fortnight, the French Admiral told the English Admiral that there had not been the slightest ground for any complaint against any seaman of the British Squadron. These were circumstances which he (Mr. Reed) thought in themselves, if there were no other, told most favourably in regard to the character and conduct of the seamen. But the testimony of the right hon. Gentleman was far more valuable than any which he (Mr. Reed) could give to the Committee upon the point, and it went to show that the men were certainly not open to the animadversions which had been made in regard to them by the hon. and gallant Member for Gravesend. He (Mr. Reed) also concurred in what the right hon. Gentleman had said in regard to the character of our officers. He had not hesitated in past times to endeavour to enforce in his place in that House various improvements in the pay and condition of the engineers and other mechanical officers; and he could not help thinking that we were living in a time when every possible encouragement must be given to the general improvement of all classes of officers of the Navy. He was well aware, and, no doubt, hon. Members were well aware, that greater demands than ever were now being made upon the executive

officers for scientific and technical study and acquirements. The right hon. Gentleman had not referred to the matter in the course of his remarks; but he (Mr. Reed) had heard with great pleasure that some time ago the Admiralty had the courage to appoint to study at the Naval College at Greenwich naval lieutenants on full pay. He felt that it was both a necessary and a judicious step. He had always felt that while these demands on the officers of the Navy and the Naval Service generally were increasing, they must also carefully consider how far they would check the entry of officers at the bottom of the Naval Service, because it could not be doubted that it was the proper policy of the country—and the statement of the right hon. Gentleman went far to prove it—to keep down, as much as possible, the number of officers, and to raise, as much as they possibly could, the character and pay of the Service. In order to raise the character of the Service, it was necessary that they must raise the rewards and emoluments of the Service; and while doing this, and keeping down the number of the officers entered, they would, in some respects, reform the pension system. Nothing could be worse than the principles upon which that system was now conducted. At the present moment a sum of £2,000,000 sterling was being paid annually by the country out of Navy Estimates for Non-effective Services; and he thought it was the duty of every well-wisher of the Service to endeavour to reduce, as far as possible, the number of claimants for pensions in the future. At the same time, he wished to guard himself against being for a moment supposed to encourage anything in the shape of injustice towards the existing officers of Her Majesty's Service. Such an idea had never entered his thoughts. He should like now to turn for a moment or two to the Shipbuilding Vote, on the strength of which the Government based their original propositions, and upon which they went about seeking to establish a reputation. He would ask the Committee to consider carefully how far, in the six long years of their Administration, the present Government had carried out their proposals not to give the country ships upon paper, or rather not to keep the ships of the country on paper, but to give to the country ships fit for active service. In discussing this

question, he hoped the right hon. Gentleman would not expect him to consider, in any degree, anything that happened under the Vote of Credit. He was one of those who thought that the Vote of Credit, placed at their disposal by the generosity of Parliament, enabled them to do much towards improving the Service, especially the Transport Service. He thought that it enabled them to do useful service; but it was one which they could not have had in view in 1874, when they declared that their policy was one of actual, against paper, ships. Nor was it necessary to make much reference to ships built by contract. The iron-clad vessels which Her Majesty's Government had constructed in private firms during the period they had been in Office were singularly few, and certainly did not entitle the Government to boast of their performances, or give any sort of confirmation or justification of the statements which they made on entering Office. What the Government had in their mind, and what the late First Lord of the Admiralty had in his mind, and what the present First Lord of the Admiralty had in his mind, was that they would so employ the labour of the Dockyards as to give the country actually finished ships, and not ships on paper, year after year. They were to provide the country with ships which should be in a condition in which they could be made use of for the service of the country. Well, when the Government came into Office there were in the course of building at the time six iron-clad vessels—the *Superb*, afterwards called the *Alexandra*, the *Temeraire*, the *Thunderer*, the *Dreadnought*, the *Shannon*, and the *Inflexible*. These, when the Government entered upon Office, were ships upon paper; and, in pursuance of their professions to the House and the country, it was their duty to get them off the Paper as soon as possible, complete and finished, and ready for the service of the State. Six years had now rolled away, and they had been successful in getting five out of the six ready for sea and afloat. One of the six—the *Inflexible*—had taken the whole period of their Administration, and was so far unfinished at the present moment that she appeared in the present Estimates, and a considerable sum was asked for her completion. He now proposed to tell the Committee, if he might be allowed, under what conditions Her Majesty's Government had finished

the five ships initiated by their Predecessors. He could not help thinking that for a Board of Admiralty, with great intentions and resources, and with £10,000,000 a-year voted for the Naval Service, it was not a very great thing to have got five ships finished which their Predecessors had begun, and some of which their Predecessors had advanced almost to completion. He wished to inquire now how it was that Her Majesty's Government performed this great task? He believed he should be able to show fully how they did it. He would take the ships in the order in which he had just mentioned them, and point out what had been done in regard to each. The *Alexandra*, as he would call her, was put before the House on the entrance of Her Majesty's Government into Office. In passing, he might remark that although he was about to give the figures of 1874-5, it was not open to Her Majesty's Government to say that he was giving the figures of their Predecessors, because, in the following year, they put forward the same figures, after a year's tenure of Office, with one or two slight exceptions, which he was sure the right hon. Gentleman opposite was not small-minded enough to claim, for the purposes of a comparison like this. The *Alexandra*, they were told by the Government, was to be completed for £113,660 for labour only. In the course of years the Government were successful in their endeavours, and did complete her; but for a cost which was in excess of the original Estimate by the sum of £25,000. The *Temeraire* was also finished, and had only a small excess upon her, which was scarcely worth mention—a sum of £6,233. The *Thunderer* was nearly finished when the Government entered upon Office. There was only £13,000 to spend upon her; but they spent £11,700 upon her besides, and then finished her. The *Dreadnought* was to be completed for £70,000. They spent all that money upon her, and £88,000 besides, before she was finished. In the case of the *Shannon* they were to finish her for £73,000, and they spent upon her £83,000. The *Inflexible* was the last ship. When they came into Office six years ago this ship had been commenced. They were now going out of Parliament—he did not say that they were going out of Office—for he was not one

of those who were sanguine enough to suppose that; but, at any rate, they had spent the whole six years of their administration over the *Inflexible*, and they now came down to the House this year and told the Committee that this wonderful vessel was not yet complete, and that they would want an additional sum of £25,000 this year for labour to finish her. Hon. Members would bear in mind that she was begun when right hon. Gentlemen below him were in Office, and that she had been a paper ship ever since. It was said that this additional sum would complete her, if the Board of Admiralty were so fortunate as not to have any more new inventions put before them—for that was what seemed to bother them more than anything else. New inventions were at the bottom of the whole matter. Somebody invented a new armour plate, and immediately the Admiralty stopped all their ships. They had kept the *Inflexible* on paper for all these years; and when they finished her, if they were fortunate enough to do so without further delay, instead of the £125,000 she was estimated to cost originally for labour, the Government would have expended £106,000 besides for labour only—that was to say, £231,000, or, strictly speaking, nearly £232,000 in all. That was the sum she would have cost, instead of the £125,000 which was down for her when the Government first came into Office. Why had this gone on? The right hon. Gentleman told the House, without a blush as far as he (Mr. Reed) could perceive, that it was a deliberate act on his part to stop the *Ajax* and the *Agamemnon*, because somebody had suggested improvements. The right hon. Gentleman said it was by his own deliberate act that these ships had been stopped, and that they had been kept ships upon paper. It was the result of the right hon. Gentleman's own action in accordance with his own judgment; and if the same kind of judgment was still to have sway, heaven only knew when the country would get any more ships, because improvements were always going on. That was the curious history of the *Inflexible*. In March, 1874, she had been begun, and £14,000 was then spent upon her. It was then estimated that she would cost £125,000 for labour before she was completed. In March, 1878, the ship had been four years in progress. All the £125,000 had been

spent, and £12,000 besides. Then the Government came down, and in 1878-9 asked the House to give them £37,000 more to go on with. With that liberality which never failed, the House of Commons gave it to them, and they came next year—last year—and asked for £32,532 more, and they got it, as they were sure to do. Now they came down this year and asked for £25,700 more, and were good enough to tell the Committee that if they granted that sum then, indeed, they would at last get this *Inflexible* off the paper; but the process would have absorbed the existence of an entire Parliament, and they had not yet completed it. It might be said—but the right hon. Gentleman was too candid and too honourable to say so—that the Government might have had particular difficulties with the ships which they had inherited from their Predecessors. He would, therefore, endeavour to ascertain what had been the case with their own ships, and what were their own proposals. If his judgment was not at fault, he believed he should be able to show that the Government had been during the six years of their Office, and promised to be if they were allowed to go on in the same career, the greatest and most strenuous advocates of paper ships that ever existed. He would, in the first instance, call attention to their proposals. In March, 1876, four years ago, the *Agamemnon* was begun. This was a ship which the Predecessors of Her Majesty's Government had nothing whatever to do with, and it was a ship which he himself had not been able to admire. It was entirely their own, and they had now been four mortal years in building the *Agamemnon*. It was one of those ships in reference to which the right hon. Gentleman almost boasted that he had not built her. Before he proceeded farther, he (Mr. Reed) should like for a moment to close with that argument. Did the right hon. Gentleman suppose that he lived in any special period of change? Did he not know that his Predecessors had to administer the Navy under circumstances of great and constant change and novelty of inventions? If he did not, let him turn round and ask the right hon. and gallant Admiral behind him (Sir John Hay), who was well acquainted with the practical difficulties of iron-clad ship-building from the first, and by his

labour and skill had endeavoured to meet them. Was it not that the right hon. Gentleman preferred to consider anybody's invention rather than fulfil the obligations he placed himself under when he took Office, and the professions that he made to the public on the part of a Ministry, who, above all things, would give the country actual ships, and not paper ships, for the money voted? What had happened with regard to the *Agamemnon*? She had been four years in progress when the right hon. Gentleman came to the House again, and asked for a large sum for the present year to spend upon her. And then he had the candour to tell the Committee that if they granted him that sum they would actually have advanced this ship, after five years' work upon her, to the position of three-fourths of her construction, and that was to be the case next year—1881. If the Committee granted the Admiralty what they now asked for, she would then be brought up to three-fourths of her construction. Now, let any hon. Member take a pencil and a piece of paper, and calculate if it took five years to build three-fourths of a ship, how long would it take to build the whole of it. He had made the calculation himself, and he found that the right hon. Gentleman proposed to complete the *Agamemnon* in January, 1883, or nearly seven years after her commencement. And this was to be the operation of an Admiralty, which, above all things, was to give the country real serviceable ships, and not ships upon paper. At present the *Agamemnon* was worthless, because she was only a ship upon paper. The real fact was this—that if another war should arise in 1880, 1881, or 1882, the Administration would have been in power for several years, would have made use of the whole resources of Her Majesty's Dockyards, and have spent all the money allowed to them, and yet would never have built one single ship for the Naval Service of their own initiation. [An hon. MEMBER: These are iron-clad ships.] He meant iron-clads. He was speaking entirely of armour-clad ships. Then there was another ship—the *Ajax*. That ship was begun with the *Agamemnon*, or at about the same time; and the case was even worse with her. They were told that if they gave the Government all the money they asked for this year for the *Ajax* she would be advanced to 70-100ths or

less than three-fourths of her full construction by next year. By the simple calculation he had made before the ship would be finished in May, 1883; and this was the second ship initiated by this Conservative Administration, who came into Office to show the folly the Liberals had been guilty of, and how they had lingered over their ships, and kept them on paper for so long a time. He could certainly find nothing to match this in the annals of the Predecessors of the present Government. He was only seven years in the service of the Admiralty, from the day he entered it until he left it, and before he left it ships had been built from his design, sent to sea, returned home, and been paid off during that time. And yet they were to be told by this Administration, who held themselves out to the country as peculiarly capable in the construction of ships, that if they would allow them to go on for nine years and a-half they would then have given to the country two ships, all formed out of their own mind and conceived by themselves alone. He failed to see that things had got much better. As he went on and exhausted the roll, it would be seen that things did not improve. The next vessel on the list was the little ship at Chatham—the *Conqueror*. It was a comparatively small vessel. It had been on hand all the last year; and they were told in the Estimates that if they voted the money the Government asked for, then this remarkable result would take place. The *Conqueror*, as he had said, was comparatively a small vessel, nothing near so large as the others; but if Parliament voted them the money they asked for they were told that by the end of the coming financial year, after having been two years at work upon her, and having had as much money as they had asked for to expend upon her, she would be in the extraordinary position of being four-tenths built, or less than half built, after two years. And yet they were told that this Admiralty, this energetic Admiralty, who had so much aversion to ships on paper, actually proposed to take five years in building a little ship like the *Conqueror*. Surely, if they were to make any progress at all, they must stir the Admiralty up. After what they had heard to-night, and after the universal sentiment on the other side of the House in favour of more shipbuilding and more rapid shipbuilding,

he certainly was bound to say that, instead of being better than a Liberal Administration, they had been much worse; and, in the case of their Liberal Predecessors, the latter never talked about what they intended to do and made no professions. Then, again, there was the *Polyphemus*. The First Lord of the Admiralty told them the *Polyphemus* was an experimental ship. No doubt, she was; from all he knew of her. But she was a very small ship, of some 1,600 tons; and any private firm might build her in 18 months, or, at the outside, in two years. But they were told that this ship was not to be advanced in anything like that way; but at the end of three years, having been already two years in progress; she was to be 90-100ths built in March next year, taking four years to build altogether after her initiation. Thus, in three or four years, they would only have been able to turn out this one wretched ship. Then there were two other ships which were really worse than the first as regarded progress. What were the proposals of the Government with regard to the *Colossus*? He was not going into the question of the ship, but would only say that there was nothing that they knew of to prevent the work upon it going forward at the rate of progress which it was making, and was to make, this year. According to the Estimates, it would occupy five years and eight months, or nearly six years, in construction. With regard to the *Majestic*, according to the rate of progress promised upon her, she would be built in about six years and 10 months. He could not imagine that the right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Admiralty had ever looked into these facts and figures, when he put before the Committee the proposal to occupy five, six, and seven years in building single ships. Everybody must know that it was the most miserable and wanton waste of public money to delay the building of war ships for that number of years. The result would be this—that the present Administration, if it remained in Office, would not, for years to come, have put a single ship of their own design into the service of the country. He was bound to say that these Estimates ought not, in his opinion, to be passed, and that the Committee should not accede for a single moment to the proposals of the Government for laying down other ships when

so little progress was made. The right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Admiralty had observed that they might congratulate themselves in not having to lay down many new ships, because there were so many changes continually taking place that they could not tell that vessels would remain satisfactory. The work upon ships ought to be done with the greatest possible despatch, and the Government ought not to begin other ships before completing those they had laid down. The present Administration had brought the country to this—that, having obtained all the money they demanded for the Navy, they had, during their term of Office, completed four iron-clads which their Predecessors had begun. He hoped that that consideration would have some weight with the Admiralty. He was not sufficiently a Party man to endeavour, even for a single moment, to make an observation for the purpose of depreciating the Admiralty; but he should earnestly press upon them to take the incomplete ships off paper only, and make them fit for the service of the country. It had been said that they must proceed slowly with constructing these vessels on account of the numerous changes that were continually being suggested. If this line were to be adopted, they might go on delaying from year to year, and when the day of action came, the nation would find the First Lord of the Admiralty's ships in the public Dockyards calmly awaiting the next suggested change. He objected to any more keels being laid down, as proposed, until the ships so left on the stocks were completed, and until the right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Admiralty had formed some definite idea as to what the new ships were to be like. If he waited until he got a design perfectly free from objection the country would dearly regret the delay, as changes would be continually proposed. He, however, felt the greatest relief at the statements that the ships in contemplation had not that special quality of the *Inflexible* which filled him with alarm. After the debates and the inquiry which had been held the *Inflexible* had been immensely improved; nor did he deny that in some particular instances, where some crucial point recognized by most fair minded men was to be decided, delay was not only excusable, but inevitable. With regard to the *Inflexible*,

Ajax, and *Agamemnon*, the right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Admiralty must be aware that the whole essence of the controversy was that the battery was too much restricted in length, and that the remedy for it was an increase in the length of the battery, the whole question being one of proportion. He did not, however, wish to go into that matter. He trusted that the right hon. Gentleman would not put the House in the unfortunate position of having to check him from running dangerous risks, as would be done if the *Inflexible* style of construction were persisted in. The Government must be aware that if a battery of 100 feet would not be safe, while one of 110 would be, the former ought not to be adopted. At present, they could not tell how far the *Colossus* and the *Majestic* would be built in the right way. He had examined them, and they certainly were most magnificent and most beautiful vessels, and were justly deserving of admiration. He should be sorry to say anything calculated to bring them into doubt in other respects. He had been told, by those who ought to know about them, that they were much less open to objection than the *Inflexible*. On the whole, he thought it was clear that the Government had not fulfilled its obligations in respect of giving the country a real Fleet and not one on paper. It was now going back to be judged by the country for its proposals, and its non-fulfilment of them. The occupants of the Treasury Bench had never been weary of telling the country how specially fitted they were as an Administration—and the Secretary to the Admiralty in particular—for dealing with such matters as these. He (Mr. Reed) had shown how they had dealt with them. In conclusion, he would ask, what would be the position of a Conservative Government supposing, what was a very reasonable supposition, that war should break out in one, two, or three years? Such a juncture would find the Government, in some portion of the seven, eight, or nine years they had been and were taking to build the war vessels of the country, still spending millions of money, with the result that they had not even in that time succeeded in completing a single iron-clad of their own design.

CAPTAIN PRICE said, that he felt it necessary to say a few words upon this subject, because he felt that the Navy Esti-

mates were being passed at a very critical period. In the earlier part of the evening, reference had been made by the hon. and gallant Gentleman the Member for Gravesend (Captain Pim) to the state of the discipline that existed in the Navy. He thought he would be in Order in mentioning the matter, as it had already been referred to in Committee. So far as he knew—and he had made it his duty to inquire into matters of discipline in the Navy—he was of opinion that, in that respect, the Navy was never in a more satisfactory state than at present. He thought that his hon. and gallant Friend had been led away by the Return which had been issued of late years, giving the number of summary punishments in the Navy. All punishments now inflicted on board ship were obliged to be entered in a book, and returned to that House in the form to which his hon. and gallant Friend had alluded. Speaking of the reduction in the Fleet, it seemed to him that there was to be a reduction in the *personnel* of the Navy. They were to have a considerable reduction in the Marines. [Mr. W. H. SMITH: The reduction was made last year.] He (Captain Price) understood there was a still further reduction. They were asked to pass a Vote for 13,000 men, which, as the right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Admiralty had stated, was the same as was voted last year. But, on page 178 in the Appendix, they would find that there was an abatement of 250 men; and it seemed to him, therefore, that they were to be asked to pay £422,000, and, nevertheless, have the total of 13,000 men reduced by 250 men. But, besides the reduction in the number of Marines, there was a considerable reduction in the Coastguard. He could not understand why that reduction was to be made, in the face of the Report of the responsible advisers to the Admiralty. Admiral Phillimore, in his Report, recommended that the Coastguard should be kept up to 5,000 men. That number was to be reduced; and upon whose advice he could not understand. The number of pensioners, he was glad to see, had, however, been slightly increased; but there were very small inducements offered to the pensioners in the Reserve to come forward and drill at stated times. With regard to the armament of the Fleet, events had lately occurred which must have cast some

doubts upon our Artillery. The large gun, upon a vessel called the *Duilio*, had lately burst; and he was very glad to hear from the right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Admiralty that at last he had consented to the introduction of breech-loaders into the Navy, and that he had appointed officers to see the proper experiments carried out. The other day it was stated by the War Department that the Navy had resisted the use of breech-loaders; he had never heard that observation made before, and he felt bound to dispute it. It was not the fact that there had been any dislike in the Navy to the use of breech-loading ordnance. Many years ago, when the Armstrong breech-loaders were first introduced, several of those guns failed, especially in action; and some naval officers sent home very adverse Reports as to their use. Since that time, however, breech-loaders had been invented which were fully capable of piercing armour-plates, and even much more capable of doing so than muzzle-loaders; and he was not aware that any naval officer at the present day objected to the use of modern breech-loaders. It might be that the authorities at the Admiralty had some time ago set their face against breech-loaders; but they spoke, not with the voice of the Navy, but of the Treasury. He was sorry the right hon. and gallant Gentleman the Secretary of State for War was not present, or he would have challenged him to say that the Navy had ever offered any objection to a breech-loading gun which had been found to do its work. Coming to the shipbuilding topic, the hon. Member for Pembroke had stated a good deal with which he must say he agreed; but the hon. Gentleman had given rather a Party complexion to what he had stated. He quite agreed with him that the Fleet was not what it ought to be in numbers; but when his hon. Friend compared what had been done during the last five years with what had been done in the course of the five years previously he did not think that he placed a fair statement before the Committee. The hon. Gentleman complained that in 1874 the Fleet was spoken of hon. Members upon this side of the House as a paper Fleet, and had said that, during the six years of the present Administration, nothing had been done to make the Fleet anything more than a paper Fleet,

and that it was, in fact, just as much a Fleet upon paper as that of the late Administration. That assertion he must entirely dispute. Statistics had been given by the hon. Member with regard to the number of ships that had been building during the last five or six years. It should be recollected, however, that, in calling the Fleet of their Predecessors a paper Fleet, they were alluding to the number of ships which had been allowed to fall into decay, and to become useless for service, although still permitted to appear on *The Navy List*. The best way of dealing with the question was to look at the actual state of the case at the present moment. It was no use to quote figures as to the number of ships now building, and the promised advances to be made in them; but it was necessary to look at the actual results of the case. In 1870 there was in the hands of the late Administration a magnificent Fleet of 40 iron-clads, fit for service. But in January, 1874, there were only 16 armoured ships in good condition, and 6 in fair condition. That was a very considerable reduction. Not only this, but there were, at the latter date, only 2 armoured ships under repair, while no less than 14 required repairs, and for which no provision had been made by the Government of the day. Taking, then, a comparison of those figures with those contained in the Return of the right hon. and gallant Member for Stamford (Sir John Hay), it would be seen that on January the 30th, 1879, there were 25 armoured ships in good condition, against the 16 of 1874, or an increase of 50 per cent. There were also 9 armoured ships in fair condition, as against 6 in 1874, which was also an increase of 50 per cent. In 1879, although there was that increase in the number of efficient vessels, there were only 3 armoured ships requiring repair, and for which no provision had been made, as against the 14 left in similar condition by the previous Government. He thought that was the way in which this question ought to be looked at. In speaking, therefore, of the ships of their Predecessors as a paper Fleet, they were not referring only to the number of ships built, but to all which were fit for sea. It must be remembered that iron-clads at the present day took a very long time to build; and it was the object of the present Government, besides building fur-

ther vessels, to prevent those already in use falling out of repair, and becoming unfit for the service of the country. The remarks which he had made were caused by the observations of the hon. Member for Pembroke, who, it seemed to him, had certainly made a Party speech, and he had felt himself bound to answer him in the same way. But after having said that he was bound to admit that he did not consider that the Fleet was at present what it ought to be in point of numbers, the hon. Member for Pembroke had made one or two apposite remarks about the various excuses which were made for the delay in the progress of shipbuilding. He had pointed out that the right hon. Gentleman the First Lord had made the excuses which he had brought forward on that occasion at previous times—namely, that shipbuilding was in a transition state. They all knew that alterations in these days were very rapid; but war was a great deal more rapid, and they must be prepared with sufficient vessels, however often they might have to change them. He would venture to call the attention of the Committee for a moment or two to a very extraordinary statement that had recently been put before the public. He alluded to an article written by Sir Spencer Robinson in *The Nineteenth Century*. That gentleman was a man entitled to speak on naval matters with authority, whose opinion was of the greatest weight. He was not a member of an extreme Party. He had, he believed, sat on the opposite Benches, or if not, he had been a candidate for that honour. At any rate, he was a Liberal, and not a Conservative. That gentleman had lately put a remarkable statement before the country which, he believed, had filled the minds of many with the same uneasiness as had filled his own. In that statement a comparison had been drawn between the state of the British Navy and that of other Navies, and the conclusions arrived at were these:—He said—“The armed Fleet of England is not yet adequate to the duty it may be called upon to perform.” He begged to say that these were most important words. He put the number of the Fleet at 69 armed ships. He made deductions of those ships which were incomplete or unfit, and he then put the number in fair condition as 31. Those were about the same figures as

those given by the right hon. and gallant Gentleman the Member for Stamford. He then deducted 10 others as being weak, and 8 more which, for special reasons, could not be placed in line of battle, leaving 13, 6 of which he put in the first class, and 7 in the second. To the number of 13 he said that, if occasion should require, 6 might probably be added, which would leave a total of 19. He said, further, that supposing no repairs were required, or that they were finished by June, 1880, the English would number 8 first class, which could be soon re-inforced by 3 more, and the French could number 8 also, which could be re-inforced by 2 more. In the second class there would be 12 belonging to each country. We should have, besides these, 8 smaller vessels with thinner armour, which could be used for special purposes, but could not go into line of battle. Sir Spencer Robinson then compared the strengths of the European Powers. Russia had 1 first class and 6 second class iron-clads; Germany 3 first class and 4 second class, and so on. He would not trouble the Committee with the numbers of all of them. If the figures he had given them were accurate, it would appear that France, combined with any other Power, would have a larger Fleet of ships fit to go into line of battle than we should, especially when we considered the duties that our own Fleet had to perform in distant waters. The disparity was more striking when considering the unarmoured ships, cruisers and others, about which a good deal had been said. Of the first class frigates capable of going over $15\frac{1}{2}$ knots there were 3, one of which was capable of steaming $16\frac{1}{2}$. Of first class corvettes capable of going over 15 knots there were 4; that was to say, altogether, 7 capable of steaming 15 knots and over. Of corvettes capable of 14 knots there were 2 in our Navy. This made a total of 9 capable of going 14 knots and over. Including corvettes of a lower class, there were altogether 20 cruisers capable of going 13 knots, only 9 of which could exceed that speed. The French had, of first class frigates capable of steaming over $15\frac{1}{2}$ knots, 2, as against our 3; but he believed theirs were capable of going at a greater speed. The French had, moreover, 10 second class corvettes capable of steaming $15\frac{1}{2}$, and 2 of a little less power. They had, of fast cruisers

capable of going over 15 knots, 14 vessels, as against our 9. He would remind them that he was only taking those figures from the article he had referred to, and he wanted the right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Admiralty to contradict them if he was able to do so. If those statistics were accurate, we should, in the event of war breaking out, have only the numbers he had just recited to fall back upon. He thought it a most remarkable state of things, but would not answer for the accuracy of these statistics. He was aware that the right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Admiralty had at his disposal professional advice of the best order; and he thought it his duty, when such statements as these were made, to contradict them, if possible, in order that the matter might be set right before appealing to the country. He thought that hon. Gentlemen opposite would agree that the Fleet of this country ought at least to be equal to two, if not three, Fleets of other countries. In fact, they said as much. He should like, however, to ask the First Lord of the Admiralty also his opinion as to that before they went to the country; for he should like to feel certain that we were fully equal to two or three other nations. One thing was certain—that the opinions of Sir Spencer Robinson, and the hon. Members who had spoken in that House that night, were to the effect that the Navy of England was not adequate to the service of the country. If the right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Admiralty supposed that they ought to be satisfied without an explanation, they could not but come to the conclusion that he was guided in the matter, not by professional opinion, but by political necessity. He would not trouble the Committee any longer; but he thought that the general feeling must be that, instead of the Estimates being cut down, they should rather be augmented.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE said, it was impossible for anyone to take exception to the tone and temper of the speech in which the First Lord of the Admiralty had explained the Estimates. He agreed with the hon. Member for Pembroke (Mr. Reed), who said that the remarks which had fallen from the right hon. Gentleman reminded him forcibly of those of his right hon. Friend the Member for Pontefract (Mr. Childers) 11

years ago. When the First Lord of the Admiralty had proceeded to advocate the reduction of the number of clerks at the Admiralty—when he entered upon the question of the necessity of reducing the number of boys in the training ships, and had explained the expediency of reducing also the number of Cadets, in order that the number of those who would eventually become lieutenants should be reduced, he was following out strictly the policy initiated by his right hon. Friend the Member for Pontefract 11 years ago. When the right hon. Gentleman spoke of the great difficulty he had in the question of cadetships, he had hoped that he would have gone on to say that he proposed to re-introduce the system of limited competition. That system had been established by the right hon. Member for Pontefract, but, unfortunately, had since been done away with. He believed that, by the re-introduction of that system, the difficulties attending the question of supplying cadets would subside, as there were always a large number of people who were anxious to obtain those appointments for their children. He felt sure, also, that the class of boys entering the Navy would also improve if that were done. The principal interest, however, in the debate on the Estimates of that night centred in the programme of the work of the Dockyards. In the first place, he wished to express his regret that, in consequence of the change in the arrangement of the programme in detail in the Estimates, it was extremely difficult to follow out that programme from year to year. He had attempted to follow it out by taking ship by ship, in order to discover, if possible, whether the promises given by the right hon. Gentleman last year had been carried out. He was rather surprised to hear that the programme had been carried out; and he hoped that, before Votes 6 and 10 came on for discussion, the right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Admiralty would lay on the Table a statement showing how that had been done, ship by ship. He thought, if the right hon. Gentleman would be good enough to follow his remarks, he would show that, in respects of iron-clads, at any rate, the programme had not been carried out. In the case of the *Inflexible* 1,200 tons had been promised, of which only 779 had been completed, leaving a

deficiency of nearly 500 tons. In the case of two others he found a deficiency of 666 and 244 tons. It was true that there appeared to be an excessive expenditure of labour upon the *Neptune* and the *Superb*. But they would, no doubt, remember that these were not vessels which had been built in the Dockyards; they had been bought under the Vote of Credit, and the money spent on them should be treated as spent on alterations or repairs, and not for building purposes. The labour expended on those ships must have affected the programme. If his conclusions were right, there appeared to be a deficiency in work of from 1,400 to 1,500 tons. He could not go into the whole matter; but, from the details he had given, he thought it evident that the promised programme had not been accurately carried out. He felt bound to say that the arrangement of the Estimates was most unintelligible to those desirous of instituting comparisons between the present and former years. He ventured to point out last year, on the discussion on Votes 6 and 10, that the programme then promised was the smallest that had ever been laid before that House, as compared with previous years, with respect to both unarmoured and armoured vessels. If, therefore, the programme promised had not been accurately carried out, how small must be the amount of work done! He would not draw any comparison between the present and former Administrations, but take the former years of the present Government, when the number of men employed in the Dockyard was placed at its normal strength of 16,000. Let them go back to the year 1875-6. In that year, of 14,000 tons of ships which were built in the Dockyards, 10,000 were iron-clad. In the building, of the following year, of 13,457 tons of vessels, 7,920 tons were iron-clad. In 1878, 12,022 tons of vessels were built, 5,940 being iron-clad. In 1879, 10,429 tons were built, of which 5,000 were iron-clad; and in the past year, 1879-80, 10,572 tons of vessels were built, exclusive of the *Neptune* and *Superb*, and inclusive only of 5,300 tons of armour plate. These figures showed a continual reduction in the work in iron-clads, and he thought that was a matter for serious consideration. The promised programmes did not appear to have been fulfilled. The amount of

work was not, he thought, sufficient for the maintenance of our iron-clad Fleet. He had taken the figures from the documents laid upon the Table recently, in consequence of a Motion made by himself. He was afraid, however, the statistics were not accurate; they were, no doubt, drawn up from the Books of the Admiralty, which were not, he supposed, always reliable. For a range of years, he preferred to take a Return which his hon. Friend the Member for Pembroke had obtained, showing the amount in the last six years of the tonnage of vessels. Testing the Return of the Admiralty by that of his hon. Friend, he obtained the following results:—For the last six years, the amount of iron-clads built, excepting vessels built under the Vote of Credit, was 43,221 tons, which gave an average of 7,200 per year. That amount, he felt certain, was not sufficient for the maintenance of our iron-clad Fleet. The right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Admiralty stated, in his speech, that the actual work effected during the past year, if converted from tons' weight into tons' measurement, would amount to that stated by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Pontefract as the proper amount which should be built annually. He failed to understand that. That right hon. Gentleman had pointed out, in 1869, that the amount of shipbuilding per annum, in order to maintain the Fleet, should be not less than 20,000 tons, of which 12,000 should be iron-clad, and that amount was exactly maintained during the five years of the last Administration, whereas, under the present one, we had, instead of 12,000, only 7,200. Adding to this the tonnage of 4 iron-clads bought under the Vote of Credit, which amounted to 18,000 tons, there would be an average of 10,000 tons for each of the six years. Even then, it did not amount to that which was considered necessary by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Pontefract. The calculation, which had led him to those results, was based in part on a consideration of the number of vessels which became obsolete and useless for service, and in part on the amount of tonnage annually built by France and other Naval Powers. He believed that France built one and one-third iron-clads in each year. That represented a tonnage of between 6,000 and 7,000. He was

confident that, for the maintenance of our iron-clad Fleet, the Admiralty must build considerably more than they had done in the past few years. For his own part, he concurred entirely with his right hon. Friend the Member for Pontefract (Mr. Childers) that the normal amount of our annual iron-clad shipbuilding should be 12,000 tons. He reminded hon. Members that during the last six years an annual average of only 7,200 tons had been built. It was quite clear that if the programme for the past and coming year was to be considered as representing the normal state of ship-building in the Dockyards and by contract it was not sufficient for maintaining our Navy of iron-clads in the state in which it ought to be. It was one of the points dilated upon by the hon. Member for Pembroke (Mr. Reed) that the building of vessels of the *Inflexible* type occupied too long, and that the *Inflexible* herself had been no less than seven years on the stocks. Her completion was promised during the coming year, and that would make a period of no less than eight years from the time of her birth to the time when she was launched. That was a very long period over which to extend the building of a vessel. It had formerly been the boast of the Admiralty that, having taken in hand the building of an iron-clad, she was turned out with the greatest possible speed; and, as a general rule, the vessels built in this country were completed in about half the time that vessels of the same class were completed in France. He believed that it would be well to follow the wise course hitherto pursued—namely, that of laying down a smaller number of vessels, and hastening on those which were in course of construction, turning them out as rapidly as possible. Now, the *Inflexible* had been no less than eight years in course of construction, the *Ajax* and *Agamemnon* had been already four years on the stocks, and were only half completed, while the *Majestic* and *Colossus* had, he believed, been commenced last year. He found that in the programme for the year, for which the money was then being taken, although it was proposed to finish the *Inflexible*, yet, in the case of the *Ajax*, it was proposed only to advance her by one-eighth, and in the case of the *Colossus* by one-sixth. That was not satisfactory; and he

quite agreed with the hon. Member for Pembroke that, instead of laying down new vessels, we should complete those already in hand. It seemed to be something like a farce to lay down a new type of vessels when we had already eight or nine on the stocks, which were being completed at such a slow rate. In his opinion, it would be far better to hasten on the work of vessels like the *Ajax*, *Agamemnon*, and *Colossus*, rather than lay down new ones. He had to make a further remark upon the appearance of an old friend in the programme of the Government—namely, the *Independencia*, now called the *Neptune*. He had stated before to the House that the *Independencia* was a vessel bought under the Vote of Credit for £614,000, including her armament, which was estimated at £40,000. She had since her purchase up to the present time been two years in the Dockyard, and the sum of no less than £35,000 had been expended upon her during that time in labour alone, and the House might take it that an amount equal to half that amount, at least, had been spent in the shape of materials, so that about £80,000 had been expended upon the changes which she had undergone during the last two years. The result of this was that the vessel had proved to be one of the most expensive, if not the most expensive, in the Service. He doubted whether there was any other vessel which had cost the country two-thirds of the amount expended in her purchase; and from what he heard she was not of so satisfactory a type as might be desired, for it appeared that in some respects she had great defects which could not justify the enormous sum which had been expended upon her. Consequently, they had a vessel by no means a perfect one, which had cost more money than any other ship in the Navy. He could not but think that, inasmuch as this vessel on being taken by the Admiralty had been proved unfit for maritime service, and had required alterations in the Dockyard during a period of two years, it would have been better to have forwarded the completion of vessels like the *Ajax* and *Agamemnon*. It appeared to him that sufficient consideration had not been given to the extreme importance of advancing the completion of vessels in hand, and of bringing them

to a point at which they could be tried. This was the case with the *Inflexible*, which it was desirable should be tried at sea as soon as possible, so that the experience gained thereby might be applied to vessels of another type. Again, there were vessels like the *Majestic* which were of a somewhat different type, but which were proceeding upon the same plan as the *Inflexible*. He could not but regret the delay which had taken place in completing the latter vessel, and which was also occurring in the case of the *Ajax* and *Agamemnon*. So far as the *Ajax* was concerned, it was almost monstrous, after the number of years she had been on the stocks, that only one-eighth of the vessel was intended to be advanced during the year. For his own part, he did not wish to advise the Government to enter into any greatly increased expenditure; but his belief was that the vessels referred to might be advanced with advantage to the Service and to the country generally, while, at the same time, the expense should be saved in other directions. He had already stated his belief that it would be wise on the part of the right hon. Gentleman to hasten on the building of those iron-clads, and to spend a larger amount of money in future upon them, than upon vessels of a different description. He also pointed out that, in his opinion, it would be better to complete those vessels, rather than to repair some of the obsolete ships. The right hon. and gallant Member for Stamford (Sir John Hay) had stated that vessels of the class of the *Minotaur* and *Agincourt* were very low down in the rank of iron-clads. He believed the right hon. and gallant Member had stated that they were almost useless.

SIR JOHN HAY said, he wished to explain that he had said that the *Minotaur*, *Warrior*, *Black Prince*, and *Achilles* were covered with such thin armour that they could not resist the iron-clads of the present day, but that they were valuable for ordinary services as cruisers if they were fitted with compound engines.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE said, he had understood that the vessels referred to were of some value for cruising purposes, but not as iron-clads. By the Return recently laid upon the Table of the House relating to the cost of fitting a vessel of the class of the *Minotaur* and *Agincourt* with new boilers, it appeared that this operation would

cost £97,000, a sum which, in his opinion, would be much better spent in completing the *Ajax*. He desired to say that possibly there was no more important work before the Admiralty than that of hastening on the iron-clads already in hand, and that it was desirable, looking to the progress of France and other countries, that a larger amount of money should be voted for that purpose than had been expended during the last three or four years. He thought that an average return of 7,000 tons of iron-clads was not sufficient for maintaining the Navy of the country. He hoped that, in the interval between this and the next Parliament, the right hon. Gentleman would bear that in mind. He believed he would see that there existed a certain general dissatisfaction on account of the non-advancement of our iron-clads, and he would surely have to consider whether that work could not be expedited, and, by doing this, he was sure that he would greatly add to the strength of the Navy.

MR. SAMPSON LLOYD said, he should be very sorry if the Naval Estimates were to show signs of going into any extravagance of expenditure; but, on the other hand, there were some items relating to the Dockyards which he regretted to see had not been fully provided for. He would speak first of the Royal Marines. During some years he had had the honour in that House of drawing attention to the injustice with which officers in the Dockyards had been treated; and he was glad to observe that some considerable improvement had now been made in the prospects of promotion for the officers of the Royal Marines. Still, as regarded the private soldiers and non-commissioned officers in that branch, a very great inequality was felt to exist in respect of the rate of pay of those men as compared with the corresponding ranks in the Army. It had been frequently said that the Navy could not be fairly compared with the Army in this respect; but that argument he thought was one that could not hold water. If hon. Members looked at the pay of the soldiers and non-commissioned officers in the Army, and multiplied it by the requisite number of days to make up the amount received by each rank respectively per annum, it would be found that the sergeant-majors in the Line received

£40, the sergeant-inspector £28, and the colour-sergeant about £10 more than the corresponding ranks in the Navy. He would not trouble the House by making any farther comparison of the Navy with the Line, but would simply remark that the inequality which he had shown applied to all ranks. He would be glad to see some provision made in the Estimates of this year for doing justice to the claims of that efficient body of men; and he hoped the right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Admiralty would see that it was a subject which required some consideration. Allusion had been made to the old navigating officers of the Fleet, of whom there were several left, and many of them felt that they were exposed to a great hardship in having young officers put over their heads. There was a feeling among them that the executive officers were looked upon as gentlemen, while the navigating officers were put down in a class which was rather inferior. In his opinion, there ought to be none of those distinctions kept up between the different classes of officers; and, moreover, it was not always true that such a distinction existed, because many of the executive officers in the Service had sprung from the same class as navigating officers. Therefore, that reason was a very shallow one for maintaining that humiliating difference in the case of the navigating and executive officers, and it was a distinction which should be at once done away with. If the First Lord felt any difficulty in doing justice to those navigating officers in the manner indicated, he suggested that some small retiring pension should be given to the soldiers and non-commissioned officers of the Navy. Again, he had to call the attention of the Committee to the complaint of another class of men in the Dockyards. He believed it was too much the case that nearly everybody in the Queen's Service was more or less dissatisfied with his position; but there were some instances in the Dockyards where reason existed for that dissatisfaction. The Committee which sat in 1859 had recommended that the leading men, as a matter of proper discipline, should be placed above the others in order to preserve the respect due to their position as officers, and they were recommended to be paid 7s. 6d. a-day in ordinary hours, with a maximum rate of

8s. 6d. a-day; but the recommendation of that Committee had never been acted upon at all. Many of those men to whom he had referred had to perform the most difficult duties, such as passing under the bottoms of vessels, and remaining there to perform certain work in which they very frequently received serious injuries. That was an additional reason why the recommendations made many years ago should have been carried out. Then there was the case of the Admiralty writers. If the First Lord did not see his way to promote these persons to the position of clerks they should, at any rate, give them the maximum rate of pay to which they were entitled. They were a good body of men, and were quite equal to the clerks as a whole, and all that they wanted was an increase of the maximum rate of wages; but they often saw men who were many years their juniors promoted over their heads. He considered it to be a matter of policy to consider these matters, and endeavour to do justice to those persons. He should only refer to two more cases, one of which was the foremen of the Yards, whose duties were of a very important character, and included the responsible occupation of getting out the specifications of ships; but it was a fact that they represented the only class in the Service who had not received an increase of pay for half a century. The last class he should refer to was that of the continuous service men, who had served in the Navy, and who, he believed, had entered the Service of the Dockyard on the promise made to them, or, at least, upon the expectations held out to them by responsible officers, that the time during which they had served at sea would count with their services in the Dockyard in entitling them to a pension. It did not seem to him right that men who had entered the Service with that understanding should lose their pensions merely because they had been to sea. He could not help thinking that a few pounds spent in remedying some of the alleged grievances which he had attempted to deal with would be well applied; while, as to the fear of the people of this country objecting to the expense, he believed that to be an entirely mistaken opinion. He was perfectly well aware that the country had a great objection to extravagance and waste; but he also believed that it was desirous that its public servants

should be fully and justly paid, and he pointed out that there were many directions in which money might be more wisely and efficiently saved than by denying the men who served in the Army and Navy their just rights.

MR. ANDERSON said, he had no intention of detaining the Committee for any length of time, nor did he intend to enter into the great battle of the ships and guns. He only wished to make a few remarks with reference to the Royal Marines. He could not but feel that they were in a very helpless and friendless condition, inasmuch as while the Army and Navy were both represented the Royal Marines had no Representatives in that House; and, with the exception of the hon. and gallant Member for Gravesend (Captain Pim), who had stood up for them, he did not know of anyone else who had ever attempted to befriend them. So utterly friendless were they, that the First Lord of the Admiralty could not even give an answer, when he was asked a question concerning them, that was either over civil or over accurate. Some of the answers of the right hon. Gentleman had been, to his mind, almost evasive. A short time ago he had asked him a question with regard to the Departmental Committee then sitting to consider the question of the Royal Marines, and the question which he had put suggested that the Marine Office was too largely represented upon that Committee. The right hon. Gentleman's reply to that was that the Committee consisted of eight Members, and that only two of them were connected with the Marine Office. His question had been altered by the clerks, or he believed that it would have been impossible to give an answer that should be so inaccurate. The right hon. Gentleman had, however, said—"There were only two Members of the Committee out of eight from the Marine Office;" and he gave the whole of the names of the Committee which he (Mr. Anderson) was, of course, acquainted with already. The suggestion was that the Marine Office was tainted with officialism and favouritism; the officers had no confidence in it, because they felt that any Departmental Committee in which that Office was almost exclusively represented would not be considered a just one by the majority of Marine officers. There were on the Committee

General Adair, and Colonel Festing, both in the Marine Office, as well as Major Blake, who was Secretary to the Committee, whose name the right hon. Gentleman had omitted in his first statement. Those gentlemen were directly connected with the Marine Office; but there was another officer who was in the Marine Office a few years ago, General Williams, who was regarded as the worst of them all; and again there was General Pim, who had never been in the Marine Office, but who had been twice promoted out of his turn; a fact which, no doubt, predisposed him very unfairly towards Marine Office views. He had shown that upon the Committee there were five Members out of nine, all more or less tainted with Marine Office views. The right hon. Gentleman had maintained that he had answered his question both in letter and spirit; but he replied to that, that it was barely accurate both with regard to the letter, and utterly inaccurate with regard to its spirit. Again, there had been another question and another answer as to the promotion of a General out of his turn. He had asked the right hon. Gentleman whether it was not a fact that certain promotions had taken place, and whether one officer who had been passed over had not been referred to the Regulations, which, when he had asked for, he could not obtain? The right hon. Gentleman had said that the Regulations were in the Orders in Council, which could be found in the Library. It was perfectly useless to refer him to three or four large volumes of the Orders in Council, because it would be hopeless for him to search through them to find the one in question. Why did not the right hon. Gentleman specify the particular Order in Council? A colonel was promoted to a general over the head of another who had two-and-a-half years' Army seniority, and he contended that that was an absolutely illegal act, and he charged the right hon. Gentleman with having permitted it to be done. He challenged the right hon. Gentleman to specify the Order in Council which justified the passing over of that officer. In making these observations, he was not speaking on behalf of any friend, as neither of the two officers in question were even known to him. He was acting on no personal ground, but solely because this great and capital Service was being

ruined through two things—one was slow promotion, and the other was favouritism. There was very little promotion in the corps owing to its being small; but when steps in the higher ranks did go they went entirely by favouritism. There were no end of grievances connected with the corps, and there ought to be an independent Commission to inquire into them. He demanded that an independent Commission should be appointed to examine and take evidence in public, and hear the views of the Marine officers themselves. The right hon. Gentleman had informed them that the Medical Service of the Navy was to have an independent Commission to inquire into its grievances; and he would ask why should that be refused to the Marines which was granted to the Medical Service? The Marine officers were as much entitled to a full inquiry as the medical officers, and in asking for that he did not think they were asking for anything unreasonable. They complained of a great number of grievances. As compared with the Army officers, they were not fairly or equally treated, and yet it had always been held that the three Services ought to be treated equally. He would ask if the right hon. Gentleman was aware that in the Army, whenever an officer was away from his regiment for three months, he was made supernumerary and was seconded? But why did he not adopt that rule in the Royal Marines? There were at least two officers away from their regiments at the present time; one had not done duty for nine or ten years, and another for some three years. In the Army those officers would have been made supernumerary in three months and would have been seconded. The same promotion ought to be granted to the Marines as was granted to the Army, and which it had been the practice until recently to grant to the Marines also. For 100 years, from 1755 to 1854, promotion in the Marine Service went absolutely by seniority. In 1854 it was directed by an Order in Council that promotion should go by selection and not by seniority; but so unfair was that felt that the Order was never acted upon for about 25 years. It was only in 1878 that the power was first exercised by the right hon. Gentleman the present First Lord of the Admiralty. How was that process carried out? It was done

by pure selection, and he should like to know how the right hon. Gentleman could justify it as the same course as that which was taken in the Army. That assertion he ventured entirely to dispute. Evidence was given before a Commission by the Duke of Cambridge; and he remembered that Lord Cardwell, when in that House, had described His Royal Highness's evidence as representing the system in the Army as seniority tempered by rejection. The right was retained to reject those who were incompetent; but that was not the system which prevailed in the Royal Marines. In the system adopted in the case of the Royal Marines, it was selection distempered by favouritism. An officer was passed over one day and promoted another day to a command, showing that he could not have been incompetent at the time he was passed over. He would like to know whether any officers who joined the corps previous to 1855 had been passed over by that system of selection? because, if so, clearly the terms upon which they joined the Service had been violated and injustice had been done to them. If that were so, he hoped that the right hon. Gentleman would inquire into the cases of the officers who had been so passed over, and would give them some substantial compensation. Formerly, field officers' good-service pensions had been considered only tenable by officers on the Active List; but in two recent cases they had been allowed to be carried into retirement, thereby limiting the number of rewards for the services of the officers on active service. As he had already said, one of the evils of the corps was the slowness of promotion. That was partly owing to the retirement scheme adopted some time ago. That scheme did not work well and fairly, for there was no retirement from the higher ranks. The captains—men in the prime of life—were those who were retired. A man of 42 was still capable of rendering very good service; but, as the scheme worked, men of 50 and 60 in the higher ranks seemed not compelled to retire compulsorily at all. In the Army it was generally considered that the time of service for a captain was 11 years, and for a major 20 years; but in the Royal Marines there were three captains of 24 years' service—double the time that they ought to have been in that rank. There

were no end of lieutenants who would have completed 16 or 17 years' service before they got their promotion. In speaking of the matter of promotion, it was fair that he should say that his remarks applied only to the Royal Marine Light Infantry, and not to the Royal Marine Artillery, which was in every respect on a better footing. He would give the right hon. Gentleman a few details as to what was in prospect as regarded promotion for the present officers in the Marines. In 1880 there would be no compulsory retirement of generals, colonels, lieutenant colonels, or majors. Nobody would be retired under the scheme above the rank of captain, but six captains would be retired, by which so many steps would be given to lieutenants; but even then there would remain a senior lieutenant of 15 years' service. In 1881 no generals would be retired, but one command of a division would lapse; there would be no steps among generals, lieutenant colonels, or majors; and no steps, therefore, would be vacant by retirement above the rank of captain. Three captains would be retired, which would give so many steps to lieutenants. There would be then six lieutenants remaining of 16 years' service without promotion. In the year 1882 there would be no general retired, but three commands of divisions would lapse, and one major would retire; six captains, however, must quit the Service, and even then the senior lieutenant would have 16 years' service. In 1883 no general, colonel, or any officer above the rank of major would be retired; but three majors and 10 captains would be compulsorily retired, and there would remain even then 10 lieutenants of 16 years' service. In that way, there would be 25 captains driven out of the Service at the early age of 42 in so short a space of time as three years. He thought he had shown by these figures that the officers of the Marines had really substantial grievances to complain of in the matter of promotion and in the matter of the retirement scheme, which was certainly not working fairly and equitably for all ranks. In conclusion, he called upon the right hon. Gentleman to give the same justice to the Marines, who had no one to state their views in that House, as had been done to the other Services.

MR. BENTINCK said, that the right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the

Admiralty had been blamed for having followed too closely in the steps of his Predecessors, by sanctioning unwise reductions. His object in rising was to refer to what had been stated on the subject of cruising ships. It had been said, in the first place, that cruising ships ought to be able to compete with the ships of other nations. But that was not all they wanted. They wanted a great deal more than that. The cruising ships of other nations were for the purpose of cruising only; but the cruising vessels of this country were required also for the purpose of protecting the Colonies. An attacking ship could judge its own time; but a ship for the purpose of defence required to be able to meet the foe at all times and under all circumstances. The right hon. Gentleman had proposed to lay down some new ships. He agreed with the hon. Member for Reading (Mr. Shaw Lefevre) in the opinion that the amount of iron-clads which it was proposed to build was insufficient for the service of the country, although he was somewhat surprised to hear that view advocated by a Member of the Government which was remarkable for the parsimony of its Naval Estimates. He had heard with very much regret from the right hon. Gentleman a proposal to fit these vessels with twin screws. He thought that no greater mistake could be made than to furnish those vessels with twin screws. A ship with a single screw might be a cruising ship; but a vessel with a twin screw was incapacitated from sailing. He had, therefore, heard with very great regret that it was the intention of the right hon. Gentleman to construct cruising vessels with twin screws, and thus make it almost impossible for them to be properly navigated. He should contend that such ships would be almost useless. These vessels generally remained at sea for a great length of time, and there certainly would be no economy in having vessels with twin screws which made them unable to sail.

MR. GOSCHEN said, that they had been desirous that the right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Admiralty should be able to take Votes for so much as was necessary for the conduct of the Naval Service during the Recess. He did not wish at that moment to stand long between the right hon. Gentleman and the defence which he would, on this

occasion, have to make, against his own supporters. On that side of the House they had been very reticent, and had been satisfied to allow the right hon. Gentleman's own supporters to attack him. He confessed that he had a considerable fellow-feeling with the right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Admiralty; he had a great deal of sympathy for him. Notwithstanding the £5,000,000, £6,000,000, or £7,000,000 of extra money that he had been spending on the navy during the past five or six years, he was bitterly attacked by his own supporters for not having done enough. Some hon. Members on the Government side of the House had even made two speeches against him. Any one who had been in the habit of sitting through the naval debates must be aware that the speeches were exactly the same as were made while the late Administration was in Office. They had had a speech from the hon. Member for West Norfolk (Mr. Bentinck), and that they had heard before. They had also heard the right hon. Member for Stamford (Sir John Hay), who used always to make the same kind of speech, perhaps a little less complimentary, when the late Administration was in Office. The hon. Baronet the Member for Portsmouth (Sir James Elphinstone) had been replaced by the hon. and gallant Member for Gravesend (Captain Pim), as a critic of the proceedings of the First Lord. The noble Lord the Member for Chichester (Lord Henry Lennox) had been replaced by the hon. and gallant Member for Devonport (Captain Price). With those differences, the speeches were precisely the same as those they had formerly been accustomed to hear. The Navy was still, it was said, unable to cope with the Navies of other countries, and the ships were still not the right sort of vessels. Those were criticisms to which they were well accustomed. The right hon. Gentleman the First Lord must painfully feel that, notwithstanding his exertions, and notwithstanding that a single penny he had asked for from that House during the last six years had not been denied him, he could not give satisfaction. But another criticism had been made to the effect that he was not building sufficient ships. No doubt there was some force in that criticism. There were two policies which might be adopted—one was repairing the Fleet, and the other was

Mr. Bentinck

building fresh ships. The right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Admiralty had set his mind to repairing as many ships as possible, and he certainly had accomplished considerable results in that respect. But, unfortunately, the result also was that he had been criticized for not having built sufficient ships; and as his hon. Friend the Member for Pembroke had stated, during the six years that the Government had been in Office, they had not turned out a single iron-clad of their own design from the Dockyard; those built by contract, or purchased out of the Vote of Credit, of course, being a different matter. He made no charge against the right hon. Gentleman; but he stated what were the simple facts. The late Government pursued a different policy, for they concentrated a great deal of their attention upon shipbuilding, and the result was they were abused for not having repaired sufficiently. The fact was that they adopted a different plan to the present Government. No better illustration could be found than the case of the *Minotaur*, which cost about £100,000. If they had had to deal with that they would, instead of having spent £100,000 upon the boilers of the *Minotaur*, have advanced the *Ajaz*, and the result would have been on paper that they would have had one ship less to show. It was in that way that the results of the late Administration showed unfavourably. They looked to building ships, and the result was that that great Fleet which was in the Mediterranean, and near Constantinople during the late troubles, was built and put into line by the exertions of the late Government. But, while building, they did not, at the same time, concentrate their attention also on the repairs of ships. In reply to what had fallen from the hon. Member for West Norfolk, he would point out, although the question had not been raised from their side, that the late Administration, during five years, built 63,000 tons of iron-clads; whereas the present Government in six years had built only 50,000. Therefore, he felt he was justified in speaking of the attention that the late Administration had paid to shipbuilding. The main point seemed to him to be this—and he would wish to draw the attention of the right hon. Gentleman to it—namely, that there had been a very unanimous feeling in the House that the progress of iron-clad ships was inadequate

to the occasion. He hoped his right hon. Friend would re-consider his proposal, and, by means of economy in other matters, increase the amount of work to be done upon those ships. By so doing, he would be acting in accordance with the feeling of his own supporters as well as of hon. Members who sat upon that side of the House. No stronger case could be put than that of the *Ajaz*, of which only one-eighth would be advanced. Could the right hon. Gentleman give any reason why only one-eighth of that vessel was to be advanced? That was the question that he wished to put to him. He did not wish to divert his attention from the answer that he would give to his own supporters with regard to Sir Spencer Robinson. The hon. and gallant Member for Devonport had said that it was very important for hon. Members, in going to their constituents, to be able to state that the Fleet was not in the condition depicted by Sir Spencer Robinson. He believed that a great many hon. Members would wish to have an answer to that question, not only for electioneering purposes, but also in a national point of view. They would wish to know whether it was the opinion of the right hon. Gentleman and his advisers that the Fleet was not able to cope with any force that was likely to be brought against it, or whether too much alarm had been raised? The skill of Sir Spencer Robinson was universally acknowledged; and it would be satisfactory to hon. Members upon that side of the House, as well as to the right hon. Gentleman's own supporters, that he should give them some further assurance than they now possessed of the incorrectness of Sir Spencer Robinson. He was bound to say that there was no great confidence expressed in the speech of the right hon. Gentleman. He said that if not in ships, yet certainly in men, this country would be equal to other nations. It seemed to him that by drawing a distinction between ships and men the right hon. Gentleman must have had an uneasy feeling in his own mind. Under those circumstances, he thought it would be doing good service to the country if the right hon. Gentleman could announce that he intended to make greater progress with the ships which were being constructed.

CAPTAIN PIM said, he believed he had made himself very clear as to the

cause of the falling-off of discipline in Her Majesty's Navy, which he had attributed to the short-service system then prevailing. Perhaps, however, he had not read the Return clearly to the House; and he would, therefore, now just quote the figures bearing upon the question of summary punishment. He maintained that it was utterly impossible for any Service to be in a proper state of discipline which had, during one year alone, summary punishments to the number of 26,067 at home and 34,911 abroad, as appeared by the Return. The total of summary punishments in the Royal Navy, during one year alone, had, therefore, amounted to no less than 60,978. If that did not clearly show that the discipline of the Navy was in a bad state, he did not know what would show it. There was another point in connection with the merchant vessels, which, it had been suggested, might be made use of in time of war, to which he wished to call the attention of his right hon. Friend. The First Lord had told the Committee that he placed the very greatest confidence in the merchant ships he proposed to make use of in case of necessity, and that he had in view 10, 20, or 30 ready to his hand at a moment's notice. Nobody could expect that his right hon. Friend would know anything about ships; had he possessed that knowledge, he would have seen that the merchant ships on which he relied were utterly unfitted for the purpose required; they had a length equal to 10 times their beam, and if anybody would tell him that such vessels could bear guns upon their upper decks—why, if that were true, he knew nothing whatever about a ship. He held in his hands a newspaper folded up to one column—that was, only nine times the breadth for length, and, therefore, was no exaggeration of the present shape of our merchant steamers. Would any hon. Member tell him that such a shape could either support the weight or sustain the strain of firing broad-side guns? He wanted his right hon. Friend, before he launched into that experiment, to take one of our Mercantile Marine steamers, and put her, when flying light, into dock, and run out only one gun on either side. He did not hesitate to say that, upon those conditions, the ship would capsize at once—that was to say, only one gun

being run out. ["Oh!"] Hon. Members might cry "Oh!" but it was a very easy matter for his right hon. Friend to make that experiment. Let him apply to a firm of shipowners to place one of their vessels in dock, and let him run out one gun in the manner suggested, and he believed that it would be found that the vessel would capsize; and, moreover, if anyone was rash enough to fire that gun all the rivets in the wake of the gun would be started, and the ship would founder. He thought that before any expenditure was gone into for converting merchant ships for warlike purposes this extremely easy experiment should be tried. He asked, was there any hon. Member who would not prefer to be in a gunboat in a gale of wind rather than in a merchant steamer thus fitted? And, moreover, this latter class of vessels could not be handled at all under sail. Take the case of the *Australia*, which vessel had broken her screw-shaft, and had altogether broken down the other day, lying helpless in the trough of the sea. Nothing could be more unsafe than to rely upon vessels of that class except as beasts of burden. It seemed to him a species of madness to rely in the remotest degree upon such vessels, when really useful seagoing gunboats could be built and maintained for one-fifth of the cost of merchant steamers. He had thought it his duty to point out the difficulty which existed in converting and making use of merchant steamers at enormous cost, be it remembered, for the purposes of war, because the right hon. Gentleman had laid very great stress upon their adoption. In his opinion, the idea of making use of these vessels was a complete fallacy; and he advised the right hon. Gentleman to have nothing to do with them; at all events, if he was ever persuaded in that direction, a dire responsibility would rest upon his shoulders, for which he would surely be called to account.

MR. R. W. DUFF said, he did not agree entirely with the hon. and gallant Member who had just sat down that there were no vessels in our Mercantile Marine Service that could be adapted to the purposes of warfare. He was surprised that in the course of the discussion no reference had been made that evening to an event which outside the House had attracted a great deal of attention in the Naval Service. He referred to the ac-

tion in which the *Huascar* had been engaged. He presumed that the right hon. Gentleman had in his possession the principal facts connected with that action, and that he would see that they possessed a very strong interest at that moment. A complaint had come from both sides of the House because sufficient progress had not been made with the large iron-clad ships. He had no doubt that that progress was very slow in proportion to what they had been led to expect. But, for his own part, he did not complain of the Government not building those large vessels. His opinion was that they should build smaller vessels of greater power, because he considered that that was a type in which the Navy were most deficient. They had heard also of an experiment for stopping holes in the iron plates of ships; but he desired to remind the right hon. Gentleman that the holes knocked in the sides of the *Huascar* were big enough for him to walk through. He held that they should not rely on any such schemes for repairing damage when they had had the actual experience that iron-clads could be destroyed by ramming. He hoped that the First Lord of the Admiralty would not allow that lesson to be thrown away, and that he would give more attention to the construction of small but swift vessels than to the building of large ships. He did not believe that there were two corvettes in the Service that could steam 14 knots. When the hon. and gallant Member for Gravesend (Captain Pim) spoke about the Mercantile Marine, and said it was of no use to the Navy, he had thought, and begged to remind him, that some of those vessels would make uncommonly good *Alabamas*. He differed from the hon. Member for Pembroke (Mr. Reed) in his opinion that in case of war a great many naval officers would be required to assist in the command of these vessels. We should, however, require the assistance of some professional men, and would have to frame our Estimates accordingly. He should be happy to support the hon. Member for Glasgow (Mr. Anderson), who would, no doubt, propose an addition to the Estimates of the Navy for the purpose of retiring some of the officers of the Royal Marines.

MR. W. H. SMITH: I assure the Committee that the speech I have made in introducing the Navy Estimates is by no means an electioneering speech; but it

is a remarkable coincidence that it should be made just after the announcement of an immediate appeal to the constituencies; while the speech of the hon. Member for Pembroke is an able statement of the supposed demerits of the present Administration. But, ingenious and able as it is, I cannot help remarking upon the omission of the fact that it was owing to the strong opposition and criticism which have appeared in the public papers that rendered it necessary that a Committee should be appointed, and owing to the deference paid to the hon. Gentleman's professional knowledge that so long a delay has been incurred in the case of the *Inflexible*, the *Ajax*, and the *Agamemnon*. In point of fact, I am obliged to hold the hon. Gentleman largely responsible for the circumstance that those vessels are not now much nearer completion, and I cannot help remarking that the Admiralty are greatly indebted to him for the position in which they find themselves. It is a curious fact that the hon. Member confined his observations to the Dockyards, and did not say anything of the *Northampton* and *Nelson* built by contract, nor of the four other ships bought out of the Vote of Credit and added to the Navy. I am prepared to admit that if Parliament had found more money a larger amount of tonnage might have been built. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for the City of London (Mr. Goschen) is perfectly just in his observation that those who devote themselves to the building of ships accomplished a greater amount of work than those who devoted themselves to keeping the Fleet in repair. I confess that it has been the view of the Admiralty that ships that were likely to prove efficient should be maintained in a state of repair; and we have spent a large sum of money for that purpose, the consequence being that we have now in harbour ships capable of affording relief which were not before forthcoming. I do not charge my Predecessors in Office with any error in judgment; but, in 1874, I am obliged to point out there were not in harbour, as there are at this moment, ships capable of taking their place in line of battle. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for the City of London has referred to the case of the *Minotaur*. I am under the impression that the *Minotaur* was, however, in the programme handed over to us by our Predecessors, and that is

certainly the case as regards the *Achilles*. The question we have to answer is—Have we built a sufficient number of iron-clads? I think we have. But I am by no means unwilling that a larger number of iron-clads should be built for cruising purposes, and the fact that the Fleet is in an efficient state of repair will enable us, in the future, to spend a larger amount in building; but it is our clear duty to put ships that are capable of taking part in the first line of battle in repair before we expend large sums in building. Now, Sir, the right hon. Gentleman who spoke very recently (Mr. Goschen) referred to the proportion of tons of iron-clads built before we came into Office. In 1873-4, I find that the iron-clads actually built in that year represented 7,500 tons—[“No, no!”]—I insist upon it that my right hon. Friend the late First Lord of the Admiralty found the Navy in difficulty, and that he spent money in repairs which amounted, in the first year, within a few thousands of the sum spent last year, while he was able to build only 5,000 tons of iron-clads during that year. We have built during the past year 7,000 tons of iron-clads. The fact is, no rule can be laid down. You must proceed upon the necessities of the case and according to your sense of what is most imperative. That is the principle on which we have acted. When the Government came into Office they found a Fleet requiring repair, and they have given it repair. Referring to the observations that have been made in reference to the additions to the Navy under the Vote of Credit, I stated, at the time that that Vote was taken, that—

“The addition of 18,000 tons of iron-clads would place me in a position to restrict the building of iron-clads, and that, consequently, I felt if I spent £1,500,000 for the purpose of building iron ships at that time that some reduction ought to be made in the number of vessels built during coming years.”

And that I considered to be taking up a very reasonable position. The hon. Member for Reading (Mr. Shaw Lefevre) has referred to “the programme so far as it has been carried out;” but I trust he has since found, by the Paper placed in his hands, that the programme has been substantially fulfilled. Again, the hon. Member refers to the case of the *Neptune*. I take issue with the hon. Gentleman on this question, and I think that the money spent upon that vessel

was a wise outlay, and that it was a right purchase to make. Reference has been made to an article which has appeared in one of the periodicals, written by a person of great authority. I do not think it would be fitting that I should in this House attempt to make a comparison between the Navies of France and England. It would be obviously most undesirable and improper that I should make any such comparison. What we have to consider is, whether the strength of the Fleets of England is sufficient for the duties which they may be called upon to discharge? A Minister would incur a very great responsibility if he shut his eyes to any inefficiency in the Fleet. I believe that the Fleets of England are sufficient for the duties which they are called upon to discharge. I believe it to be my duty, however, to watch the progress of shipbuilding in other countries, and to take care that our progress keeps pace with theirs; and I further believe that we are capable of meeting, at the present moment, any probable combinations of Powers at sea in any part of the world, while I am perfectly confident of the result. Looking at the increase of strength and speed of our cruisers which will be secured by the course we now propose to take, it will be seen that we shall have a number of perfected vessels which do not exist in any other country, and which can come into action with anything but iron-clads with considerable confidence as to the result. It has been remarked that our ships in course of building existed only on paper. Now, it is a serious question whether the list of vessels in Her Majesty's Service, placed in *The Navy List*, is a reality or not. I remember a remark which fell from my Predecessor which was applicable to this subject. He said “that the ships incapable of going into action were really nothing more than paper ships.” But I never heard that the term “paper ships” has ever been used in connection with ships in course of construction. I now come to the points raised by the hon. Member for Plymouth (Mr. Sampson Lloyd). I will not go through the whole of the questions brought forward by him; but I cannot help expressing my regret that any officer should be obliged to bring a personal matter before the House of Commons. I fully recognize the right of the House of Commons to consider the

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cases of individuals; but it should, indeed, be a serious grievance that should make it necessary to bring it before the House of Commons. I believe that discipline in the Service would be very seriously endangered if every personal grievance were to be ventilated in this House. I should be sorry to inflict any injustice whatever upon any officer, non-commissioned officer, or any person in Her Majesty's Service; and upon this point I will observe that, in the matters referred to, I have been obliged to exercise my judgment with the full sense of the responsibility attaching to it. I hope, therefore, for the sake of the corps, and for the sake of the Service generally, that the grievances of individuals in the Navy will not be brought before the House. So far as I am informed, I am not aware that the amount of dissatisfaction alluded to really exists; but I am aware that, when the retiring scheme was carried into effect some years ago, it gave considerable satisfaction; and I may point out that, although it is quite true that captains in the Marines are retired at the age of 42, captains in the Army are retired at the age of 40. So that the former have not so much ground for complaint as some hon. Members seem to suppose. In leaving this point, I wish to say that I shall endeavour to discharge my duty with regard to the Royal Marines as before, with a full sense of their great services, and do everything I possibly can to give them satisfaction. I can assure the hon. Member for Banffshire (Mr. R. W. Duff) that the accounts of the action in which the *Huascar* was engaged are very carefully preserved, and very carefully examined; and that as much instruction and information as possible, which was likely to be of service to the officers in the Navy, has been obtained from that source. One thing which struck us very much with regard to that action was the remarkably bad gunnery of the *Huascar*. In conclusion, I merely express a hope that, as another opportunity will be afforded to hon. Members for discussing these Estimates, the Committee will now give me the Vote on Account.

MR. E. J. REED said, that the right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Admiralty had accused him of taking no account of the ships built by contract during the time that the present Government had been in Office. His reason for

this, as he had stated, was because the present Administration had been more deficient in producing tonnage by contract than the former. He had a Return before him in which he found that the tonnage of ships built by contract under the previous Administration ran as follows:—6,000, 1,600, 5,200, and 11,200 tons. During the present Administration there had only been two years in which the Admiralty had built 3,000, and one in which they had built 800 tons. He thought, therefore, he was open to no reproach for what he had said upon that subject. Touching the case of the *Huascar*, he was afraid that a false impression might be produced as to the result of that engagement, and he desired to read an extract from a letter which had been sent to him upon that subject. The letter ran as follows:—

"I was sent on board in the first boat to report on the condition of the ship, and I will just give you a rough idea of her state. I found that one shell struck centre of stem, carrying it away, breaking short off with transporting chocks, bowsprit bitts, cat and fish davits on starboard side; other shot passed through top-gallant fore-castle, and has shaken it all to atoms, parting all deck ends from the waterways; two shells passed through fighting turret; one, in passing or after passing, struck end of starboard gun carriage, carrying away flap of trunnion, and burst, killing all hands belonging to that gun; the other passed through near the top, destroying all the transverse beams forming crown of turret, killing the second commander, who was taking a sight at the centre platform to fire both guns. The small, elongated, hexagon conning tower is pierced and blown to pieces. The commander (Gran) was killed inside of this tower by our second shot; nothing of him was found but one leg—the rest is supposed to be blown to pieces, charred, burnt, pulverized, or otherwise, as no other part of his body could be found. The ship had six holes through her hull, which is four inches armour, ten inches backing, and two and a-half inches plates inside; one of these holes is very near water-line, another is close to stern, passing fore and aft, striking stern post, breaking it off, and the same shot passed through beams, breaking them off, smashed block of preventive tackle and steering gear for the second time, killing about seven or eight men attending the same at one time. Another near the last passed through, tearing away three iron beams into ribbons, carrying away iron block of the first broken steering gear, breaking out fronts of cabins, wood bulkheads, &c. It would take a long time to describe the damage done by every shot; but it requires seeing to believe the destruction done. One 12-pounder gun had the muzzle cut off by a shot. Fish and cat davits are carried away, coamings destroyed, and skylights, decks cut up in all directions. Ventilators, riding bol-lards for chain forward, perforated with holes from seven, nine, and 20-pounder guns, mitrail-

leuse and rifles, also mainmast and mizen pole for adjusting compass, bulwarks and hammock nettings carried away, also portable iron bulwarks, which fall down for combat, partly shot away and lost, the whole of one side of ports, after bulwarks under poop, blown clean out by shell. To go on to describe the particulars would make a small book. I wish to state here that 'apabalases,' or shot plugs, are out of the question after, or at an armour-clad fight, they are entirely useless; not a hole was either round, square, or oval, but different shapes, ragged, jagged, and torn; the inside parts and half-inch plating being torn in ribbons, some of the holes inside are as large as 4 feet by 3 feet, all shapes; there are many shot plugs of pine on board here, all sizes, conical shape and long; but they are of no use whatever. The scene on board no pen can describe, and it would require seeing to believe. We had to climb over heaps table high of *débris* and dead and wounded, fronts and pieces of cabins, beds, bedding, and clothing, bodies, some without heads, others without arms, legs, &c., &c., too awful to describe. The engines escaped. We fired 45 Palliser shell, and the engineers who were on board say that every shell, or nearly so, must have struck, and that every one that struck burst on board, doing awful destruction. The 'cochrane' received one shell through upper part or thin plating forward in wake of galley, breaking it all to pieces; another passed through upper works at commander's cabin, breaking fore and aft bulkhead of cabins in a direction of the opposite angle, breaking skylight above ward room, thwart ship bulkhead—wood—passed on, cut in two a 5-inch iron pillar, through the pilot's store room, struck armour plate, glanced off, passed through plating of embrasure closet at corner, finishing at after gun port, and went overboard. This shell passed in at starboard after part of stern, and terminated at after battery port side, but at the extreme corner of embrasure below the port, which is finished with the wide angle iron, carrying out a part of the angle iron in its flight.

Officers taken prisoners	..	28
Sailors	"	144
Among which are wounded	.. (30)	
Killed	..	69
Total on board	..	241

These particulars are as near as I can possibly state, and I feel a great pleasure and am thankful at being spared to be able to give you this; and I shall be very pleased at any time to give you information respecting the iron-clads."

Question put, and agreed to.

(2.) £680,384, on account, Wages, &c. to Seamen and Marines.

(3.) £253,381, on account, Victuals and Clothing for Seamen and Marines.

(4.) £44,871, on account, Admiralty Office.

MR. CHILDERS said, that he did not wish to take any exception to

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this Vote, or to the general action of the Admiralty in dealing with the Admiralty Office. When he was in Office, at the end of 1868, one of the first things which struck him as requiring alteration was the enormously redundant condition of the Admiralty Office. There were in that Office double or treble the number of clerks and officers that were required. Under those circumstances, he had initiated a very great reduction of officers, with the view of ultimately arriving at a number similar to that which had now been adopted by his right hon. Friend. For this he had been violently attacked by right hon. and hon. Gentlemen on the other side of the House. Every kind of epithet, from cheeseparing savings to reckless and ruthless destruction, had been applied to his economies. He persevered, however. Not a single clerk had been appointed, not a single vacancy, filled from that time to this; and now another sweeping reduction had been made of nearly half the clerks. He was glad to give his testimony to the benefit of the First Lord's scheme; and to say that, having compared the state of things which existed at the time he took Office with that which had now been brought about by his right hon. Friend the present First Lord of the Admiralty, he could sincerely congratulate him on what he had effected. He himself, and the right hon. Gentleman had succeeded in reducing the number of the Admiralty and Accountant General's clerks from 207 to the modest figure of 97. He would also wish to congratulate him upon the consideration and fairness which he had shown in effecting the various changes. Not only had the expense of the Office been greatly reduced, but its efficiency had been greatly increased. He should like, however, to express his extreme regret at the intelligence that a gentleman who had rendered very great services to the public was about to leave the Admiralty under the final reduction which was contemplated. He alluded to Mr. James Noel, an officer who had been engaged in duties of the most confidential and of the most useful character at the Admiralty for many years. That gentleman had been virtually the permanent chief of the Office of the First Lord of the Admiralty during successive Administrations. He had been in the secrets of every First Lord

for the last 15 or 20 years; and now, at a comparatively early age, he was to be retired on a pension, which he (Mr. Childers) did not doubt would be of a just and liberal character; but still he could not help thinking that it would be most unfortunate if, through any technical reason as to the classification of clerks, the services of Mr. James Noel were lost to the public. He would entreat the right hon. Gentleman to consider whether, under some new arrangement, Mr. James Noel could not be retained in the Admiralty Office, and enabled still to discharge those duties by which he had already rendered such benefit to the Public Service?

MR. W. H. SMITH said, that he had every desire to meet the views of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Pontefract. It would give very great satisfaction to himself and to his Colleagues if Mr. Noel would consent to stay in the Admiralty; but his retirement had been at his own desire, and he did not know how to refuse to allow a gentleman to retire who asked to leave on the ground of his long service. He should be glad to communicate again with Mr. Noel on the subject; and if he felt disposed to withdraw his application for retirement it would be very favourably received by him.

MR. CHILDERS said, that he was acting on no communication from Mr. Noel; but the fact of his retirement having come to his knowledge, he had felt himself compelled to urge his retention in the Service if possible.

MR. E. J. REED said, he would like to know whether the House would have another opportunity of criticizing the Admiralty Votes?

MR. W. H. SMITH said, that there certainly would be another opportunity.

Vote agreed to.

(5.) £48,569, on account, Coast Guard Service and Royal Naval Reserves, &c.

(6.) £28,276, on account, Scientific Branch.

(7.) £335,896, on account, Dockyards and Naval Yards at Home and Abroad.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE said, he hoped that the Government would lay upon the Table of the House a more detailed programme, showing the work

which had actually been carried out during the past year. The present detailed account was so utterly unintelligible that it was impossible to make comparisons by means of it. He had compared the programme of the present year with that of last year; and, if he was accurate, the programme of last year had not been carried out with regard to shipbuilding, and the promised advances had not been made. Vessels were nothing like so near completion as it was promised last year they should be. No doubt, money had been spent upon them; but the vessels were not so complete as it was promised they should be. For instance, to take the case of the *Inflexible*, it was stated in the Estimates of last year that 5,983 tons of that vessel had been completed, and 1,293 tons were promised during the ensuing year. But it was now stated that only 6,490 tons of that vessel had been actually finished; so that, instead of 1,293 tons as promised having been added to the vessel, about 500 tons only had been completed during the year. Therefore, he thought he was justified in saying that the programme had not been carried out. The money voted for the work had probably been spent, not on the completion of vessels, but on alterations. He thought it would be well if the Government would lay a detailed statement with regard to these matters upon the Table of the House.

MR. W. H. SMITH said, that the information required by the hon. Member should be laid upon the Table of the House. When the figures were laid in detail before the House it would be found, he thought, that the total difference between the amount promised and the actual tonnage completed only amounted to 59 tons. Before the Estimates were considered, they would be able to give a detailed account of the work actually done on iron-clad ships.

An hon. MEMBER said that his hon. Friend the Member for Reading (Mr. Shaw Lefevre) had pointed out that the work upon the *Inflexible* had not been completed to the extent which had been promised, but was extremely backward. He did not see that it was an answer to that observation to show that work making up the amount promised had been done upon other ships.

MR. W. H. SMITH said, that the Estimates were prepared on the calcula-

tion that a certain sum would complete one ton of a vessel. Accordingly, it was stated that so many tons would be completed, and a certain amount of money was asked for. In the course of construction of vessels it had been found that they were sometimes much more expensive than was originally supposed, and the consequence was that the work done for the money spent fell short of what had been originally estimated. At present, the mode of estimating the work done was, in his opinion, extremely unsatisfactory; and he desired for the future to frame an Estimate showing the original estimated force of vessels, and then the work which was done on them.

MR. GOSCHEN said, it was contended on that side of the House that, whereas money had been spent for ship-building, yet the work had not been done. It was true that there was at present very little mode of ascertaining the amount of work done except by the money spent. He should be very glad if the right hon. Gentleman could devise some other system, by which a more exact comparison could be made between the work actually done and the money spent in doing it.

MR. E. J. REED said, that under the old system they had nothing to do with the money Estimate for ships. The introduction of a ton-weight added nothing whatever to their information; but merely made the departures from the original Estimate more glaring. In the present case, what really happened was that the old system was not less applicable at the end of a ship than at the beginning. The remarkable feature of the present Administration was that the Estimates put forward and sanctioned by the House had never been to any extent completed. It seemed to him that the Government now proposed to introduce a system to make permanent their departures from the Estimates laid before the House. It was now the custom to make the statement that the Estimates laid before the House had not been in any way carried out. The right hon. Gentleman had introduced into his programme two headings for vessels. One was the estimated cost of building the hull given in the programme of 1879-80, and the second the real estimated cost of building the hull. Thus it would be seen that the estimated cost of building the

hull varied from year to year. There was another objection to this form; the right hon. Gentleman only proposed to compare the Estimates of last year with those of the present year. They would, therefore, have to hunt back through the Estimates for, perhaps, seven years, in order to trace the original proposal for the cost of a particular vessel. He, for one, certainly objected to the system of departing from the Estimates laid before Parliament being made permanent. It would give rise to a licence in the Estimates for ships, and would set aside the whole control of that House over the proposals of the Government.

MR. GOSCHEN said, that the right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Admiralty had not stated why so small a proportion of work was to be done on iron-clad vessels during the ensuing year. What was the reason that the *Ajax* and the *Agamemnon* were not to be more advanced?

MR. W. H. SMITH said, they could do nothing more to those vessels at present, on account of alterations to the machinery.

Vote agreed to.

(8.) £17,790, on account, Victualling Yards at Home and Abroad.

(9.) £15,861, on account, Medical Establishments at Home and Abroad.

(10.) £5,350, on account, Marine Divisions.

CAPTAIN PRICE asked if the right hon. Gentleman would give some explanation with regard to the reduction in the number of Marines? The number of Marines voted for the year was 13,000, and a Vote on Account of that number of men was taken. In another part of the Estimates it was stated that it was contemplated to reduce the establishment of Marines by 250 men. He should like to know why that reduction was to take place.

MR. W. H. SMITH said, that when the Estimates for the present year were being prepared they were 250 men under their strength. Instead of reducing the number to be voted, he thought it better to leave it at 13,000, so that they could work up to that number if they saw fit, but to reduce the money asked for to the sum which experience showed they would require. He might mention that they

Mr. W. H. Smith

were able to obtain men very readily for the Marines.

Vote agreed to.

(11.) £252,750, on account, Naval Stores for Building and Repairing the Fleet, &c.

(12.) £192,250, on account, Machinery and Ships built by Contract.

(13.) £139,737, on account, New Works, Buildings, Yard Machinery, and Repairs.

(14.) £18,787, on account, Medicines and Medical Stores, &c.

(15.) £2,312, on account, Martial Law, &c.

(16.) £33,940, on account, Miscellaneous Services.

(17.) £223,789, on account, Half Pay, Reserved Half Pay, and Retired Pay to Officers of the Navy and Marines.

(18.) £205,804, on account, Military Pensions and Allowances.

(19.) £80,607, on account, Civil Pensions and Allowances.

(20.) £42,875, on account, Extra Estimate for Services not Naval—Freight, &c. on account of the Army Department.

(21.) £36,548, on account, Greenwich Hospital and School.

CIVIL SERVICE AND REVENUE DEPARTMENTS, VOTE ON ACCOUNT.

£5,662,400, on account, viz. :—

CIVIL SERVICES.—Class I., Class II., Class III., Class IV., Class V., Class VI., Class VII., and the REVENUE DEPARTMENTS.

(22.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

“That a sum, not exceeding £5,662,400, be granted to Her Majesty, on account, for or towards defraying the Charge for the following Civil Services and Revenue Departments for the year ending on the 31st day of March 1881, viz. :—

CIVIL SERVICES.

CLASS I.—PUBLIC WORKS AND BUILDINGS.

Great Britain :—

	£
Royal Palaces	9,500
Marlborough House	600

	£
Royal Parks and Pleasure Gardens ..	28,200
Houses of Parliament	9,000
Public Buildings	29,200
Furniture of Public Offices	4,100
Revenue Department Buildings	46,000
County Court Buildings	12,700
Metropolitan Police Courts	7,000
Sheriff Court Houses, Scotland	2,100
New Courts of Justice, &c.	28,000
Surveys of the United Kingdom	33,400
Science and Art Department Buildings ..	5,100
British Museum Buildings	1,200
Natural History Museum	7,500
Edinburgh University Buildings	-
Harbours, &c. under Board of Trade ..	5,000
Rates on Government Property (Great Britain and Ireland)	65,000
Metropolitan Fire Brigade	2,500

Ireland :—

Public Buildings	37,200
Science and Art Museum, Dublin	300
Shannon Navigation	5,000

Abroad :—

Lighthouses Abroad	2,800
Diplomatic and Consular Buildings	5,500

CLASS II.—SALARIES AND EXPENSES OF PUBLIC DEPARTMENTS.

England :—

	£
House of Lords, Offices	11,000
House of Commons, Offices	12,600
Treasury, including Parliamentary Counsel	15,100
Home Office and Subordinate Departments	22,500
Foreign Office	18,100
Colonial Office	9,500
Privy Council Office and Subordinate Departments	8,000
Privy Seal Office	700
Board of Trade and Subordinate Departments	42,200
Charity Commission (including Endowed Schools Department)	8,100
Civil Service Commission	7,100
Copyhold, Inclosure, and Tithe Commission	4,300
Inclosure and Drainage Acts Expenses	2,100
Exchequer and Audit Department	14,000
Friendly Societies, Registry	1,600
Local Government Board	86,200
Lunacy Commission	3,800
Mint	16,600
National Debt Office	4,400
Patent Office	7,000
Paymaster General's Office	6,400
Public Works Loan Commission	2,600
Record Office	5,300
Registrar General's Office	12,000
Stationery Office and Printing	115,000
Woods, Forests, &c., Office of	6,000
Works and Public Buildings, Office of ..	10,300
Secret Service	5,800

Scotland :—

Exchequer and other Offices	1,700
Fishery Board	3,500
Lunacy Commission	1,500
Registrar General's Office	1,900
Board of Supervision	4,700

Ireland:—	£
Lord Lieutenant's Household ..	1,900
Chief Secretary's Office, &c. ..	9,600
Charitable Donations and Bequests	
Office	550
Local Government Board	32,800
Public Works Office	7,700
Record Office	1,500
Registrar General's Office	4,100
Valuation and Boundary Survey ..	5,700

CLASS III.—LAW AND JUSTICE.

England:—	£
Law Charges	18,200
Public Prosecutor's Office	1,100
Criminal Prosecutions	50,100
Chancery Division, High Court of Justice	41,000
Queen's Bench, &c. Divisions, High Court of Justice	25,700
Probate, &c. Registries, High Court of Justice	23,300
Admiralty Registry, High Court of Justice	3,000
Wreck Commission	3,400
Bankruptcy Court (London)	9,200
County Courts	114,100
Land Registry	1,400
Revising Barristers, England	-
Police Courts (London and Sheerness)	3,400
Metropolitan Police	150,000
County and Borough Police, Great Britain (for Inspection only)	800
Convict Establishments in England and the Colonies	109,200
Prisons, England	119,600
Reformatory and Industrial Schools, Great Britain	66,000
Broadmoor Criminal Lunatic Asylum	6,500

Scotland:—	
Lord Advocate, and Criminal Proceedings	16,700
Courts of Law and Justice	15,500
Register House Departments	9,100
Prisons, Scotland	20,400

Ireland:—	
Law Charges and Criminal Prosecutions	21,700
Chancery Division, High Court of Justice	9,600
Queen's Bench, &c. Divisions, ditto ..	7,100
Land Judges' Offices, ditto	2,900
Probate, &c. Registries, ditto	2,900
Court of Bankruptcy	2,600
Admiralty Court Registry	450
Registry of Deeds	5,000
Registry of Judgments	750
County Court Officers, &c.	20,600
Dublin Metropolitan Police (including Police Courts)	34,600
Constabulary	380,000
Prisons, Ireland	36,500
Reformatory and Industrial Schools ..	22,800
Dundrum Criminal Lunatic Asylum ..	1,700

CLASS IV.—EDUCATION, SCIENCE, AND ART.

England:—	£
Public Education	970,000
Science and Art Department	110,000

	£
British Museum	50,000
National Gallery	4,400
National Portrait Gallery	600
Learned Societies, &c.	8,000
London University	2,800
Deep Sea Exploring Expedition (Report)	1,200
Sydney and Melbourne International Exhibitions	2,000

Scotland:—

Public Education	220,000
Universities, &c.	4,700
National Gallery	600

Ireland:—

Public Education	315,000
Teachers' Pension Office	500
Endowed Schools Commissioners ..	200
National Gallery	600
Queen's University	1,400
Queen's Colleges	3,500
Royal Irish Academy	500

CLASS V.—COLONIAL, CONSULAR, AND OTHER FOREIGN SERVICES.

	£
Diplomatic Services	58,000
Consular Services	62,500
Colonies, Grants in Aid	9,000
Orange River Territory and St. Helena	600
Suez Canal (British Directors)	450
Suppression of the Slave Trade	1,800
Tonnage Bounties, &c.	3,000
Cyprus Police	6,500
Subsidies to Telegraph Companies ..	17,500

CLASS VI.—SUPERANNUATION AND RETIRED ALLOWANCES, AND GRATUITIES FOR CHARITABLE AND OTHER PURPOSES.

	£
Superannuation and Retired Allowances	200,000
Merchant Seamen's Fund Pensions, &c.	7,100
Relief of Distressed British Seamen Abroad	8,100
Pauper Lunatics, England	-
Pauper Lunatics, Scotland	-
Pauper Lunatics, Ireland	60,500
Hospitals and Infirmarys, Ireland ..	4,300
Savings Banks and Friendly Societies	
Deficiency	-
Miscellaneous Charitable and other Allowances, Great Britain	1,000
Miscellaneous Charitable and other Allowances, Ireland	1,100

CLASS VII.—MISCELLANEOUS, SPECIAL, AND TEMPORARY OBJECTS.

	£
Temporary Commissions	14,000
Miscellaneous Expenses	1,700
Total for Civil Services	£4,392,400

REVENUE DEPARTMENTS.

Customs	110,000
Inland Revenue	200,000
Post Office	410,000
Post Office Packet Service	200,000
Post Office Telegraphs	350,000

Total for Revenue Departments £1,270,000

Grand Total .. £5,662,400

MR. DILLWYN said, that he made no objection to this Vote being taken, as it was, under very exceptional circumstances. At the same time, he must protest against its being regarded as a precedent. The Civil Service Estimates were increasing in a manner which demanded severe criticism upon the part of the House, and showed that there was very great waste in drawing them up. At the same time, it was obviously impossible in an expiring Parliament to scan or criticize them; and he should make no objection to the Vote being taken.

Vote agreed to.

House resumed.

Resolutions to be reported *To-morrow*;

Committee to sit again upon *Wednesday*.

BLIND AND DEAF-MUTE CHILDREN
BILL—[BILL 41.]

(*Mr. Wheelhouse, Mr. Montague Scott, Mr. Benjamin Williams.*)

COMMITTEE. [*Progress 4th March.*]

Bill considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Clause 1 (On the application of parents of any deaf-mute or blind child, Board of Guardians may send such child to school).

Amendment proposed,

In page 1, line 9, after "child," insert "resident in any such union or parish."—(*Mr. Monk.*)

Amendment agreed to; words inserted accordingly.

MR. MONK said, that the Amendment he was about to move had been carefully framed, and had been taken from the Irish Act of 41 & 42 *Vict.* c. 60. He intended that the clause should run thus—"To any school fitted for the reception of young persons suffering under

such infirmities." It would be seen that it would then run on all fours with the Irish Act. He begged to move the Amendment standing in his name.

Amendment proposed,

In page 1, line 17, leave out "such child, whether," and insert "young persons suffering under such infirmities."—(*Mr. Monk.*)

Amendment agreed to; words inserted accordingly.

Amendment proposed, in page 1, line 17, leave out "shall or shall not have," and insert "having."—(*Mr. Monk.*)

MR. WHEELHOUSE said, he must oppose the Amendment. There were many schools which did not require to be certified at all.

MR. MONK said, the object of the Amendment was that children should only be sent to such schools as had been certified under the provisions of 25 & 26 *Vict.* c. 43. That, as the hon. and learned Gentleman knew, was a usual form.

MR. WHEELHOUSE said, he did not want to make it absolutely necessary that the school should be certified to which the children were to be sent. There were many schools which did not require to be certified at all; and he wanted to bring both descriptions within the Bill.

MR. MONK said, the Amendment was perfectly right as it stood on the Paper. If the hon. and learned Gentleman would allow it to stand it would be far better. There were very strong objections taken to children being sent to schools which were not certified and not under the control of Government.

Amendment agreed to; words inserted accordingly.

Amendment proposed,

In page 1, line 27, after "burial" insert "Provided always, That the amount to be paid by such union or parish for the reception, maintenance, and education of every such pauper child so received in any such school shall not exceed the sum of five shillings weekly."—(*Mr. Monk.*)

MR. WHEELHOUSE said, that this Amendment would render the portion of the Bill which provided for the education and maintenance of children almost nugatory, practically. He did not wish to delay the Committee for a moment; but he had in his mind an instance in

which the Board of Guardians refused to send a child to the Liverpool School, leaving that child without education and without care. It could not be too much to ask that children should have something more spent upon them than the sum named.

MR. MONK said, he wished to remind the hon. and learned Member that he had accepted this Amendment last year at the recommendation of the Home Secretary. It had been proposed last year that the sum should be limited to 3*s.* 6*d.* a-week; but after some discussion a compromise was effected, and the sum of 5*s.* a-week agreed upon. This Proviso was the exact counterpart of one in the Irish Act of 1878. It had never been intended that these children should be maintained and educated entirely out of the rates. What was meant was, that a portion of the expense should be borne by their parents, and 5*s.* a-week was certainly as much as the ratepayers ought to be called upon to pay. They had a precedent in the Act passed the year before last for the relief of poor afflicted persons in Ireland, and he must certainly press his Amendment.

SIR HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON said, he was afraid that there would be some difficulty in going beyond the amount of 5*s.*; and he reminded his hon. and learned Friend (Mr. Wheelhouse) that to do so would be to go outside the amount of the allowances in the case of industrial schools. He could hardly assent to the payment of a larger sum than that at present granted in the case of institutions having similar duties to perform.

Amendment agreed to; words inserted accordingly.

Clause, as amended, agreed to.

Remaining clauses agreed to.

House resumed.

Bill reported; as amended, to be considered To-morrow.

WAYS AND MEANS.

CONSOLIDATED FUND (NO. 1) BILL.

Resolutions [March 5] *reported, and agreed to*:—Bill *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. RAIKES, Mr. CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER, and Sir HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON.

Bill presented, and read the first time.

Mr. Wheelhouse

PROBATES OF WILLS, &C. [STAMP DUTIES] BILL.

Resolutions [March 5] *reported, and agreed to*:—Bill *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. RAIKES, Mr. CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER, and Sir HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON.

Bill presented, and read the first time. [Bill 104.]

BURIAL LAWS AMENDMENT BILL.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Resolved, That the Chairman be directed to move the House, that leave be given to bring in a Bill to amend the Burial Laws.

Resolution reported:—Bill *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. GRANTHAM and Mr. MARK STEWART.

Bill presented, and read the first time. [Bill 103.]

House adjourned at a quarter after Two o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Tuesday, 9th March, 1880.

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILLS—*First Reading*—Neglected Lunatics (Ireland) * (31).
Second Reading—Artizans Dwellings Act (1868) Amendment Act (1879) Amendment * (21); Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (Banbridge &c.) * (25).
Committee—Report—Settled Land (14-32); Conveyancing and Law of Property * (15-33); Indian Salaries and Allowances * [22].

ARMY—THE AUXILIARY FORCES—THE EASTER MONDAY VOLUNTEER REVIEW.

VISCOUNT BURY: I regret to state that the Dissolution of Parliament, as announced yesterday, affects the question of the Easter Monday Review. The Volunteer Regulations lay down that Volunteer corps are not to be assembled for any purpose whatever between the issue of the Writ and the termination of the election. It is possible that proceedings in connection with elections may be going on in some boroughs on Easter Monday; and if the polling is not fixed for that day in Brighton, it is quite possible it may be fixed in other boroughs where Volunteer corps may assemble. If troops of the Regular Forces should take part in the Review,

as we had anticipated, the Volunteers would be liable to the Army Discipline Act (section 169—8) and thus come under the Act, 10 *Vict.* c. 21, which makes it illegal for them to assemble within two miles of any "city or place" on days of nomination, election, or polling. There is the possible alternative of allowing the Volunteers to assemble without any Regular officers or troops. But this would seem to be very undesirable; and then arises the further question, whether the Review, if so held, would not run the risk of failure, by Volunteers who are electors absenting themselves from the Review for the purpose of attending the elections in their own boroughs. On the whole, in view of the legal and other difficulties, it would seem to be advisable to postpone the Review. If, however, a desire be expressed to hold a Review at Whitsuntide, the authorities will, no doubt, be ready to grant the same facilities as those which they were prepared to give at Easter.

SETTLED LAND BILL—(No. 14.)

(*The Lord Chancellor.*)

COMMITTEE.

Order of the Day for the House to be put into Committee, read.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR, in moving that the House should go into Committee on this Bill, said, he only proposed that it should be committed *pro forma*, in order that it might be placed before the House and the country in as complete a state as possible.

Moved, "That the House do now resolve itself into Committee upon the said Bill."—(*The Lord Chancellor.*)

EARL GRANVILLE said, he regretted that a slight indisposition prevented his being present in the House on the second reading of this Bill and the Conveyancing and Law of Property Bill. He had wished to make some remarks on what they contained and what they omitted. It would not be becoming in him to inflict a second reading speech upon the House on this formal stage of the Bill; but there were some questions which he should like to ask. The first arose from the announcement made the previous night. He should be glad to know whether Her Majesty's Govern-

ment intended to pass these Bills through the House of Lords before the Dissolution? He might ask with advantage for the public, who took great interest in this matter. He should be glad to know what answer there could be to the suggestion made by the noble and learned Lord behind him (Lord Selborne) that existing and future settlements should be treated in the same way? The difference was considerable; but even if it were not, whichever was the best way ought surely to be applied to both. He found, also, that there was a difference of opinion even among the lawyers as to the powers given by the Bill to limited owners under future settlements. Could he, if stimulated only by the desire to increase his life income by the sale of land, investing the produce in certain securities giving a rather higher rate of interest, without the same deductions from gross income, do so? Or would the remainder-man be able under the Bill to bring him into Court to force him to apply the purchase-money to some of the other purposes mentioned in the Bill? There was one other point on which he should like an explanation. Why, if the life-tenant had power to sell the estate, should he be debarred from selling the mansion? He knew there was a sentiment on this point, and that the provision was not without precedent. But if a man sold his estate, or the greater part of it, without the house, it would in most cases diminish the value of the estate; while it left a positive white elephant on the hands of one who, on the hypothesis, had not money to spare. He was aware that power was given to the trustees and to the Courts; but there seemed to be no directions as to what principle was to be adopted by them when such an application was made.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR said, that it had been thought advisable to make the mansion house an exception. There would not be power to the limited owner to grant a long lease of the mansion house or to sell it without the leave of the Court: but as there were cases in which it might be desirable to even sell the mansion house, the Court would have a discretionary power in the matter. It would be for the Court to say whether, in its opinion, there were good reasons for either making a long lease of or selling the mansion house.

As regarded the investment of money derived from the sale of land, the proposal was that it should be employed for the various purposes enumerated in the Bill, or invested in any of those securities in which the Court of Chancery was authorized to invest the money under its control. The remainder-man would have no power to re-invest it in land during the lifetime of the tenant for life. The difference made in the Bill between existing settlements and future settlements was not very great. The tenant for life in existing settlements would have to apply to the Court for leave to sell, while the tenant for life in future settlements could sell by leave of the trustees. One strong reason for this difference was that in some existing settlements there might be no trustees to whom the tenant for life could apply for leave to sell; but in future settlements there would be such trustees. If they made no objection, the tenant for life would have the power to do what he proposed; but if they did, the Court of Chancery would decide whether the power should be exercised or not. He asked their Lordships to go into Committee on this and the Conveyancing and Law of Property Bill, in order that Amendments might be inserted in them which would make them more complete; but he did not do so with the idea that the Bill could become law in the present Parliament.

Motion agreed to: House in Committee accordingly.

Bill *reported* without Amendment; Amendments made; Bill *re-committed* to a Committee of the Whole House on *Friday* the 19th instant; and to be *printed* as amended. (No. 32.)

CAPITAL PUNISHMENT—THE PRISONS ACT, 1868—EXECUTIONS IN CHEETHAM AND KIRKDALE GAOLS.

RESOLUTION.

LORD HOUGHTON, in rising to call the attention of the House to the presentment of the jury empanelled to sit on the body of William Cassidy, executed in Cheetham Prison, with respect to the admission of reporters; and to move—

“That it is the opinion of this House that it is advisable that other than official persons should be present at intramural executions.”

The Lord Chancellor

said, that this was a matter that had created considerable public interest; and the conversation which took place the other night, in the House of Commons, was not sufficiently satisfactory to enable him to dispense with the necessity for bringing the matter forward. There was, no doubt, a change in public opinion upon this subject; for during the long period that he took an interest in this question he was not able to induce any Government to bring about the change in the law that had now taken place. It was also, by a strange accident, that he was now called upon to ask a very different question. Among the Ministers that he had communicated with upon the subject was one in whose abilities he had the greatest confidence (Sir James Graham); but he was unable to convince him that it would be proper to execute criminals away from the public gaze within the walls of a prison, or that this could be done without offending the sense of public justice. The important change, however, was made by an Act of Parliament in 1868. That Act provided for the execution of criminals within the prison walls; but no provision was made for the admission of reporters, the discretion of admitting anyone within the gaol being invested in the Sheriffs. They all knew, from the reports in old chronicles, that scandalous scenes were enacted in the prisons after this period, and eventually an order was made by the Home Office to exclude reporters. Even then, however, the reporters mingled with the crowd outside and obtained from the officials an account of the execution, and were able to write an account. The Act of 1868 provided that certain persons should be admitted—such as the chaplain, the gaoler, the surgeon, and such relatives of the criminal as the Sheriffs thought fit; but as time went on the powers of the Sheriff got smaller and smaller, until such matters were left, for the major part, in the discretion of the Visiting Justices. The Act that had transferred the jurisdiction over the prison from the Visiting Justices to the Home Office had virtually and by implication altered the operation of the law. The authority of the High Sheriff was supposed to remain paramount when it was not interrupted by direction from the Home Office, and the Visiting Justices could no longer admit such persons

as they thought fit. The practice of the admission of reporters had been variously exercised. In the prisons of his own county—Yorkshire—all reporters were excluded on one occasion; on another more than a dozen were admitted; generally three or four were present; and at the execution of Peace, whose case had created great sensation, there were about 40 applications, but only four reporters were allowed to be present. No special attention appeared to have been called to those circumstances. But in the case of Cassidy, who was executed in the early part of this year, the High Sheriff of Lancashire, on his own special authority, refused to allow any reporter to be in attendance. The importance attached to that refusal showed that a public opinion had been formed upon the question; and he believed that such an action as that pursued was not only peculiar, but that it was not in accordance with public opinion. The Coroner, in the full exercise of his right, declined to hold the inquest on the body within the prison, and empanelled a Jury outside. The Jury made a presentment to the Home Office, expressing a wish that on future occasions reporters of the Press should be allowed to be present at executions. In the same county—Lancashire,—namely, at Kirkdale Gaol, two prisoners had been executed, and on that occasion the High Sheriff absolutely refused to allow any reporters to be present. Some communication appeared to have taken place between the Home Office and the High Sheriff, and subsequently the latter expressed his willingness to admit the representative of one of the papers, whose editor had written to him on the subject, but on three conditions, which were, in effect—to report the fact that the execution was carried out humanely or otherwise; to publish no detailed account of the appearance of the prisoners, either before or after the execution; and to supply no other paper with information in contravention of those conditions. The editor of the paper in question declined to accede to the conditions laid down, and the other Liverpool journals took a similar step. At the inquest the Jury expressed a strong opinion that the representatives of the Press should be present, not only at the inquest, but also at the execution. Looking at this question from a larger point of view, he might fairly call upon the House

to affirm the proposition he submitted to their consideration—that it was advisable that other than official persons should be present at intramural executions. If ever any notion got abroad that this terrible penalty of the law was not carried out with due solemnity, and with the greatest possible humanity, such an impression would have an injurious effect upon the public mind. If the Government took the same view, he would be content to leave the whole matter to the discretion of the Home Office, whether they should adopt the American plan of empanelling a Jury of execution—that was, a Jury of independent persons who could be present at the execution; or whether a certain portion of the prison yard might be used for the admission of the general public; or whether a selection should be made from the representatives of the Press where the applications were numerous? Whatever course the Home Office might adopt, he trusted they would, at any rate, satisfy the just demands for publicity, combined with the requirements of public feeling.

Moved to resolve, “That it is the opinion of this House that it is advisable that other than official persons should be present at intramural executions.”—(The Lord Houghton.)

VISCOUNT SIDMOUTH regretted that a proposal, abrogating to a great extent a just and proper law against public executions, should emanate from a noble Lord who was well known to be of a poetical and refined mind. He was sorry that the noble Lord should make himself the mouthpiece of the public Press on a question of this kind. It had been established, beyond doubt, that executions conducted in public had a brutalizing effect; that certain classes delighted in the horrors attending such spectacles; and that the facts were exaggerated by the worst part of the public Press. Surely the functions of the Jury were sufficient to satisfy public opinion; and then, in addition, there was the character of the persons who were entrusted with the execution as a security that the execution was carried out in a decent and proper manner. He thought that it would be well that the Legislature should provide that reporters should be altogether excluded from executions.

EARL FORTESCUE thought that the High Sheriff of Lancashire had exercised a sound discretion in excluding reporters

from these scenes. He regretted, however, that at one of the executions referred to the jurors had not been admitted as spectators. He did not see why a complaint should be made as to the non-admission of reporters, if they would not consent to confine their accounts to the unsensational circumstances connected with the execution. If this were not done, the object for which public executions had been abolished would be defeated, and they would again have those revolting and disgusting details of public executions, which a leading article in *The Times* had so graphically discouraged. The clamour against capital punishment had very much died away since those details had ceased to be brought under the public eye; and he did not wonder, therefore, that the opponents of capital punishment joined in the cry against the exclusion of reporters from the places of execution.

EARL BEAUCHAMP said, he had followed the remarks of the noble Lord who made the Motion with some surprise, because they naturally led to a repeal of the Act of 1868. There was no adequate ground of complaint that publicity was not given, and there was no desire not to give due publicity to executions under the law. He thought that the action of the High Sheriff must be viewed with satisfaction by most persons. It might be said that the newspaper Press consisted of gentlemen to whom the public were very much indebted; but no body of reporters was wiser than the most foolish one of the whole number; and if they admitted the right divine of the whole body of reporters to be present at executions without check or without control, they would leave it in the hands of the most foolish and the most sensational of the reporters to send forth to the people any statement that he might think proper, regardless of the consequences to the morals of the population. It was clear that whatever was left to the discretion of a person was left to his indiscretion; and he would rather leave the matter in the hands of the High Sheriff than in those of any other persons who were irresponsible. The High Sheriff of Lancashire did not impose any absolute condition of absence on the reporters; but the conditions which he laid down as to their admission were wise and judicious. Formerly, the Visiting Justices had power to admit persons to wit-

ness executions; but by the Prisons Act that power was transferred to the Secretary of State for the Home Department; but he, having no local knowledge, and having no means really in his power of exercising any discrimination, which would be itself an invidious task, left it entirely to the High Sheriff, who was responsible for the due administration of the law. The noble Lord had said that the High Sheriff was not paramount, and was not responsible for the due administration of the law. That was not a fair representation of the case. The High Sheriff was paramount, and was responsible for the due administration of the law; and he very much doubted if the Secretary of State for the Home Department imposed upon that functionary conditions which were not warranted by law, whether the High Sheriff would not regard them as advice merely, which he might or might not follow. The question was really a very simple one. Were they to allow facilities for discussing the degrading details of the last moments of notorious malefactors? If they were disposed to say that such things should be allowed, they would strike a great blow at the Act of 1868. The noble Lord said that publicity was the essence of British justice. No doubt that was so, and Parliament had laid down that due publicity should be given to executions; but that publicity was to be in the presence of those whose duty it was to see that justice was fully carried out, and not to allow disgusting and degrading details to be given by every wretched penny-a-liner to be sent to the newspapers. He contended that the Press could not be indiscriminately admitted. The High Sheriff made an offer to the various Liverpool newspapers to be admitted under the conditions which had been described, and which they declined; and unless their Lordships were prepared to say that there should be indiscriminate and uncontrolled admission, they must place some restriction on the admission. The Act of Parliament said that certain officials should be present, and when the execution was over there had to be an inquiry before the Coroner and a Jury. The noble Lord suggested that there should be one of three courses pursued. The first was, that there should be a special Jury empanelled in the prison. He (Earl Beauchamp) did not say that that

could not be done; but he thought that in the end they would come to be regarded as mere officials, and their presence would really give no additional satisfaction to the public. The next course he suggested was, that a portion of the open yard should be devoted to the public; but that would reproduce all the worst features of the scene that used to take place before Newgate; and so far from its securing the proper fulfilment of the law, it would be the means of bringing its highest punishment into contempt. The third remedy suggested by the noble Lord was that a certain number of selected reporters should be sent from the newspapers who should be present; but he thought he had sufficiently answered that by what he had said with reference to the discretion exercised by sensational reporters. Believing, as he did, that the Act of 1868 provided all necessary safeguards to secure that the law was fully vindicated and the identity of the criminal executed established, he must oppose the Motion.

LORD ABERDARE said, that he was not at all satisfied with the statement of the noble Lord who represented the Home Office in that House. He (Lord Aberdare) would not be for indiscriminate admissions to executions; but he thought that the Statute contemplated considerable publicity, and that it was not in accordance with English notions that executions should be witnessed by only the officials of the gaol. There were two means by which publicity might be secured—first, by the presence of the High Sheriff; secondly, by that of the Visiting Justices, or some such persons appointed for the purpose. Now, publicity was desirable to a certain extent. But the Secretary of State for the Home Department threw upon the Sheriff the whole responsibility as to the admission of persons at executions. Was that a satisfactory state of things? The answer given was that the High Sheriff was a person whom they could implicitly trust. But why? What guarantee was there that the High Sheriffs would exercise that discretion wisely? They were not appointed because of any special qualifications, but because they possessed so many thousands or hundreds a-year. One High Sheriff might take one view of the matter, and another take a different view. One great source of publicity had disappeared—namely,

that of the presence of the Visiting Justices. The Visiting Justices were far more likely to exercise a sound discretion than the High Sheriffs. He thought it desirable, therefore, that some other means should be adopted of securing that the circumstances of humanity and decency were observed than at present. He regretted the alteration which had taken place by the action of the Government in passing the Prisons Act. He thought that the Secretary of State for the Home Department would do well to consider how the matter of publicity should be duly attended to without introducing any of those details the publication of which they all deprecated. He hoped that some general regulation on the subject would be made by authority.

VISCOUNT CRANBROOK and Lord DENMAN rising at the same time to address the House,

EARL GRANVILLE *moved* that Viscount CRANBROOK be heard.

On Question, *agreed to.*

VISCOUNT CRANBROOK said, that there appeared to be no difference of opinion, with the exception of that which had been expressed by the noble Lord who had introduced the subject, as to the value of the alteration which had been made in the law; and, so far as he was aware, there was no complaint on the part of the general public that the prisoner left for execution was not duly and properly executed according to law. But it was a very remarkable fact that those persons who wished for more publicity had been exactly those who were in favour of the abolition of that punishment; whereas those who were in favour of private executions were those who were against the abolition of capital punishment. A good deal had been said as to the injury done to the morals of the public, and that was one of the most important points connected with the question; and he contended that there was a great injury done to morals by the descriptions given of what was said and done by criminals in their last moments. Now, why had this question arisen? It was in consequence of a remonstrance on the part of the Coroner's Jury that reporters were excluded; but there was no desire to exclude them absolutely. Certain officials had to be present, and the High Sheriff had the power to admit persons; and he had no

doubt that power would be exercised with discretion. He thought it would be very unwise that other than official persons should be allowed, as a general rule, to be present. He submitted that there was at present sufficient publicity. The law had been in force for 12 years, and its operation had never been called in question until recently, and he hoped the Motion would be rejected.

LORD DENMAN said, that an hon. and learned Relative of his had 12 years ago predicted that, if the Act in question passed for a few years, complaint would be made of private assassinations in prisons. This debate showed that such a complaint would have been unfounded, and High Sheriffs whom he had seen in every part of England were well worthy of the trust reposed in them; and the High Sheriff of Lancashire, whose office was paid, and whose expenses used to be guaranteed by the Under Sheriff on account of the fees received by him, had exercised a wise discretion in not allowing the danger of scenes like those which followed Peace's execution, being again incurred.

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY said, there was no difference of opinion as to the necessity for preventing those demoralizing accounts of executions which used to appear in the public papers. His noble Friend (Lord Houghton) had said there was no security at present that executions were properly carried out; and he pressed upon the Government that the Secretary of State for the Home Department should consider whether an arrangement could not be made by which the officials should be guided upon all occasions. They had all great confidence in the Executive Government of the country; but they would like persons to be present who were independent of the State. He would refer to an analogous case. There had been a Commission as to the working of the Penal Servitude Acts. The Commissioners reported that the administration of the convict system was, on the whole, excellent. But they, nevertheless, suggested that in order to strengthen the authorities and give confidence to the public, some non-official persons should be appointed to visit the prisons. He understood that the Secretary of State for the Home Department had determined to act upon these suggestions, and he thought that something

might be done in the same way in this matter.

THE DUKE OF NORTHUMBERLAND begged to remind the noble Earl (the Earl of Kimberley) and their Lordships that the publicity desired by the noble Earl, beyond that of the presence of the officials, was already secured by that of the friends of the sufferer, and of any magistrates who might choose to attend. The question had, therefore, no analogy whatever to that of the penal servitude system quoted by the noble Earl.

LORD HOUGHTON, in reply, said, this matter had occasioned a great deal of excitement in the large centres of population, and he feared, unless something were done, it would continue. In the Press notices about "strangulation" were to be read, and almost the whole of the London Press supported the admission of some non-official person to be present at these executions. At present the matter seemed small; but it might rise to be one of public danger in the administration of the law. Some steps ought to be taken through the Home Office; for if, public opinion were not in some degree satisfied, the results would be serious and unfortunate. Under all the circumstances, he would not divide the House upon the Motion.

Original Motion put, and resolved in the negative.

House adjourned at half past Six o'clock, to Thursday next, half past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Tuesday, 9th March, 1880.

MINUTES.] — SELECT COMMITTEES—*Report*—
Sugar Industries [No. 106]; Merchant Ships
Laden in Bulk [No. 110].

WITHDRAWAL OF RESOLUTION.

CLOSING OF PUBLIC-HOUSES ON SUNDAY.

MR. STEVENSON: Sir, in consequence of the necessary absence of many hon. Members, and the impossibility of

obtaining an adequate discussion on the subject, I do not intend to proceed with the Resolution which stands in my name for Friday next in favour of closing public-houses on Sunday. At the same time, I beg to give Notice that if I have the honour of a seat in the new Parliament, I will, on the earliest opportunity, by Bill or by Motion, bring the subject forward.

QUESTIONS.



CONTAGIOUS DISEASES (ANIMALS) ACT—SHEEP ROT.

MR. PAGET asked the Vice President of the Committee of Council on Education, If his attention has been called to the prevalence of sheep-rot, and the enormous losses occasioned thereby; and, if in view of the magnitude of the disaster, Her Majesty's Government will institute scientific inquiries into the matter?

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON: Sir, the nature and causes of rot in sheep are so well understood, that it is not likely that any further scientific inquiry could add usefully to our present knowledge on the subject. The results of previous investigations will be found in Professor Simmond's Paper, reprinted this year, from the "Journal" of the Royal Agricultural Society, and in Professor Brown's Essay in the Bath Society's "Journal," 1861. Wet seasons, by favouring the development of the fluke, which produces liver rot, are the main causes of the disease, and there have been serious outbreaks of it after wet seasons—in 1735, 1747, 1766, 1792, 1809, 1817, 1824, 1830, 1853, 1860, and again in 1879. A dry, hot season, is the one thing necessary to arrest the ravages of the disease.

VALUATION OF PROPERTY (METROPOLIS) ACT—THE SCHEDULE OF QUESTIONS.

MR. THOMSON HANKEY asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Whether, if any alteration is made in the Returns issued for the assessment of property under the Valuation of Property (Metropolis) Act (but which are now in circulation), some modification should not be made in Questions 10, 11, and

13, so as to adapt them to the circumstances of the particular parish, it being not only useless but inconvenient to rate-payers to answer such questions in parishes where there is no Land Tax, where there has never been any Tithes, and where the amount of Sewers Rate varies from year to year, and can be easier ascertained by the rating authorities than by the ratepayers?

SIR HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON, in reply, said, no alteration was intended to be made in the form of these Papers at present. The form must be general, and it would be impracticable to make separate forms for different parishes. No penalties would be incurred by leaving blank those particular questions not applicable to a person's case.

INDIAN FAMINE COMMISSION.

GENERAL SIR GEORGE BALFOUR asked the Under Secretary of State for India, To state the amount monthly paid for salaries and allowances to the officers employed on the Famine Commission, including the Secretariat and Establishment; also the amount paid to officers in India performing the duties of the Commissioners and Secretary?

MR. E. STANHOPE: Sir, the amount now being paid monthly for salaries and allowances to the officers employed on the Famine Commission in England is 10,777 rupees, besides a guinea a-week to a messenger. We do not accurately know the allowances paid in India to officers acting for the Commissioners who are in England; but they are given under the general rules of the Service, which prescribe that each officer so acting receives 20 per cent of the pay of the substantive appointment of the absentee. But as the absentee receives only two-thirds of his Indian salary while working for the Famine Commission in England, the saving so effected more than covers the allowances in India.

CYPRUS—LARNACA.

SIR JULIAN GOLDSMID asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether it is true that in the course of the winter several persons have been drowned in attempting to land at Larnaca, and, whether the Government have taken or propose to take any steps for providing a safe landing-place there?

MR. BOURKE: No, Sir. No report of such an occurrence as that mentioned by the hon. Member has reached the Foreign Office, and no proposal to provide a new landing-place is before the Foreign Office.

SIR JULIAN GOLDSMID; I would ask the hon. Gentleman, whether he will make inquiries?

MR. BOURKE: We have made inquiries. The fact of the hon. Member having asked the Question will draw the Commissioner's attention to the report.

METROPOLITAN POLICE—PENSIONS.

MR. H. B. SHERIDAN asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether there is any fund out of which the widow of Ambrose Shelvey, the policeman who for so long a time did duty at the library door, and who had been nearly forty years in the police service, could obtain any pension or pecuniary gratuity; and, whether the widow would be entitled to any relief from the police fund, to which her husband had been compelled to contribute during the whole term of his service in the police force?

MR. ASSHETON CROSS, in reply, said, there was no Government fund out of which the widow of Ambrose Shelvey could obtain a pension; but she would be entitled to a sum of £38 out of the Police Fund, and if there were any children, they would have a claim on the orphanage belonging to the force.

MERCANTILE MARINE—THE "STRELNA."

MR. BURT (for Mr. PLIMSOLL) asked the President of the Board of Trade, Whether it is his intention to order an inquiry into the loss of the "Strelna," wrecked off the Vickerland, near Antwerp, on the 2nd of January 1880, and which is said to have had on board 1,100 tons of linseed, although she appears to be of only 664 tons burden; and, if the inquiry will be directed to ascertain whether the said linseed was in bulk or in bags, and, if in bulk, whether any and, if so, what amount of shifting boards were employed to prevent the shifting of the cargo?

VISCOUNT SANDON: Sir, the hon. Gentleman appears to have been incorrectly informed when he states that the

Strelna was lost, as I am assured that she is at this moment in a dry dock at Antwerp. The accident which befell her seems to be very simply explained, and appears to have had nothing whatever to do with her cargo. She was bound from Riga for Antwerp, and completed her sea voyage in safety. On arrival off the river there was so much ice that it was unsafe for her to proceed up, and she put into Flushing Dock, where she remained for a fortnight, and on the navigation being resumed she left in charge of a Belgian official pilot, who appears to have run her ashore on the banks, which were not clearly discernible owing to the river having overflowed them. As far as our information goes, the accident appears to have been simply the result of an error on the part of the pilot, and to be in no way connected with the ship; or her cargo, or the conduct of her officers. In these circumstances, the Board of Trade would not be justified with their present information in ordering an inquiry.

MERCHANT SHIPPING ACTS—THE "HARTER."

MR. BURT (for Mr. PLIMSOLL) asked the President of the Board of Trade, If his attention has been called to the case of the ship "Harter," brought before the magistrates of Southport on a charge of overloading, and in which the magistrates inflicted a penalty of only five pounds; and, whether he will give instructions in future cases to press for a more adequate penalty, one which shall at least amount to the extra freight earned by the overloading complained of and proved?

VISCOUNT SANDON: Sir, I am informed by my legal advisers that this was not what is legally termed a case of "over-loading," an indictable offence which cannot be dealt with summarily, but a case of allowing "the ship to be so loaded as to submerge in salt water the centre of the disc," the penalty for which is one not exceeding £100. The crew had all been discharged before proceedings could be commenced, and the men, who left the vessel at New York, and upon whose complaint the Consul reported the facts, had not returned to the United Kingdom, so that the Board of Trade had only to rely upon the master's admissions, and could not press

the case against him, as might have been done in other circumstances. It was, however, considered important to obtain a conviction, even with a nominal penalty. If it should be found hereafter that heavier penalties are needed to secure obedience to the law, I have no doubt that we shall press for a heavier penalty. But it must always be remembered that the amount of the penalty is in the discretion of the Court, and that pressing for a heavier penalty may in some cases lose a conviction. The management of these cases is one of discretion, and I can give no pledge whatever, except that I shall take such steps as I think most likely to secure that the law shall be obeyed, and that the intentions of Parliament shall be carried out.

RAILWAYS—CONTINUOUS BRAKES.

MR. BAXTER asked the President of the Board of Trade, If any more energetic and satisfactory steps have recently been taken by the Railway Companies to provide their trains with continuous brakes answering the requirements of the Board of Trade; and, if not, whether Her Majesty's Government adhere to the policy indicated in August 1878, that further action must be taken in that respect to compel the adoption of measures for the protection of the travelling public?

VISCOUNT SANDON: Sir, I can hardly say that the steps taken by the Railway Companies as to continuous brakes have been as energetic and as satisfactory as I could wish, for up to the present time only 1,114 out of 4,833 engines, and 11,302 out of 40,651 carriages, &c., in use, have been fitted with continuous brakes. Of these, 288 engines and 2,441 carriages, or 6 per cent, were fitted during the year 1878. In 1879 the progress was not very great, though it is slightly in excess of 1878—that is to say, 352 engines and 2,912 carriages, or 7 per cent, were fitted during that year. I cannot hold that these figures show any very rapid action. It is fair, however, to observe that the constant improvements which are being made in continuous brakes explain to a certain degree the hesitation of the Companies in coming to a decision on this matter, and they also certainly show how inexpedient it would be that Parliament, unless absolutely compelled, by

the want of action on the part of the Companies, should lay down a rule as to the adoption of some particular form of brake.

MERCHANT SHIPPING ACTS— THE "HINDOO."

MR. MACDONALD asked the President of the Board of Trade, If he has seen a statement of the abandonment of the S.S. "*Hindoo*" in mid-ocean, the crew of which numbered fifty men, who were provisionally saved from drowning by a passing steamer; if he is aware that the said ship carried upwards of 20,000 bushels of wheat, 5,000 bushels of peas, and 57,811 bushels of maize (Indian corn); and, whether he can inform the House what portion of the above quantities of grain was in bulk, and what portion was in sacks or bags?

VISCOUNT SANDON: Sir, the *Hindoo* was abandoned on a voyage from New York, and the survivors have been taken to New York. I sent a telegram to the Consul General at New York some days ago to obtain and send home full particulars, and also to send home the witnesses. I have already ordered an inquiry to be held in London, and until that inquiry has been held I am not in a position to give further information.

COMMISSION ON LIGHTS FOR FISHING VESSELS.

MR. BIRKBECK asked the President of the Board of Trade, Whether he will lay upon the Table, and issue to Members with the promised Report, the evidence given at the inquiries, respecting the proposed new regulations for lights for fishing vessels, held at Great Yarmouth, Grimsby, Hull, Brixham, and Penzance?

VISCOUNT SANDON: Sir, no evidence was taken down on the spot by the Commission that made inquiry as to the proposed new regulations for lights for fishing vessels. I am informed by the Commissioners that the most important evidence they had was in the form of conversation with the fishermen and a personal inspection of the boats and the lights. It is not in my power, therefore, to meet the wishes of my hon. Friend, which otherwise I would have been glad to do.

METROPOLIS WATERWORKS
PURCHASE BILL.

MR. SAMUELSON asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether, before concluding his negotiations with the London Water Companies, he obtained Reports and Estimates from competent engineers of the probable cost of extra works, if any, required to give an adequate constant supply of pure water on the transfer of the various undertakings; a similar estimate for works having the same object during the period covered by the proposed payments of deferred stock, and a Report and Estimate of the cost of establishing entirely new works adequate to afford such a supply over the area served by the existing Companies; and, if such Reports and Estimates have been obtained, whether he will lay them upon the Table?

MR. ASSHETON CROSS: Sir, of course, all these questions were matters which had to be very carefully considered; and if the Bill had gone into Committee, I should then have been prepared by evidence, before the Committee, to have shown actually what would have been the estimated cost and expenses of these matters. They are not in such a form as could be placed on the Table of the House, nor at the present moment do I think it would be conducive to the public interest that they should be laid upon the Table. But whenever the Bill gets into Committee, if it ever does get into Committee, I will take care that all these matters are laid before it.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE asked the right hon. Gentleman, Whether he could not give any Return on the subject? He understood the day before that a Return would be given, although in a slightly altered form, and he had been expecting that Return from the Home Office.

MR. ASSHETON CROSS: If the hon. Baronet will allow me, I will communicate with him in reference to this matter before the close of the evening, and explain my views upon it.

MR. ALDERMAN COTTON asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, In what position the new Water Bill (*Metropolis*) now stands; and, whether it would not be better to withdraw such Bill at once, seeing that there is not any chance of its being

passed before the dissolution of Parliament?

MR. ASSHETON CROSS: Mr. Speaker, I thought I had stated, in reply to the hon. Member for Chelsea (Sir Charles W. Dilke) a day or two ago, that the Bill would not appear upon the Paper again this Session. At present the public do not appear willing to pay the price at which alone the Companies are willing to sell, and therefore the matter will remain in abeyance. But I wish, with the permission of the House, to correct a few errors which appear to prevail as to what I said on two points in connection with the Water Bill. I am reported to have said that there would be a saving of £50,000 in the year 1880 from the consolidation of the staff and in engineering operations. What I believe I did say was that there would be a saving of £50,000 owing to the basis on which the income of the Companies in that year was calculated, and the abolition of directors' fees, besides the saving by consolidation of staff and in engineering operations, which is variously computed at from £75,000 to £100,000. Secondly, as to the impression which appears to prevail that the ratepayers will not be consulted, I do not understand how this impression could have got abroad. The whole object and end of the Bill was that the ratepayers should be brought into the same Committee-room as the Companies, and that they should have every opportunity of pressing their views on the Committee for rejecting the Bill if they thought it was not beneficial to them. Should the matter again come forward, the ratepayers may rest assured that they will be duly consulted, and have ample opportunity of making their views felt.

MR. GOSCHEN: May I ask a Question also of the right hon. Gentleman with regard to this Bill, which, if more convenient, I will put down for Thursday? It is, Whether any steps could be taken before any legislation takes place with regard to the Water Companies to prevent any alteration in the relative position of those Companies and the public in the interval? I mean, for instance, precautions that the Water Companies should not again raise their rates upon the public before the next valuation, and then make that raising of the rates a further argument for an increased price when fresh negotiations were opened.

I would ask the right hon. Gentleman whether he can state anything now to the House, or whether he would on Thursday be able to make a statement as to whether it is possible by a short clause, or by any other means, to endeavour to maintain the *status quo* in regard to these Water Companies?

MR. ASSHETON CROSS: I cannot answer that Question to-day; but on Thursday I shall be able to do so.

RAILWAY SERVANTS—COMPENSATION FOR INJURIES—THE RESOLUTION.

SIR EDWARD WATKIN asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether, should the honourable Member for Chester fail to bring on his question as to the liability of railway employers to compensate workmen injured in common employment, he will give facilities for the discussion of the question of providing, under legislative sanction, insurance funds to meet all cases of injury and death by accidents, however caused, in the conduct of all our national industries alike?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: Mr. Speaker, the Question rather surprises me, because I see that my hon. Friend the Member for Chester (Mr. Raikes) has his Notice down for to-night, and I presume if he can he will proceed with it. I think it would have been better to first ask him whether he had any intention to give up his Motion; but even if he did give up his Motion, I do not think I could give any facilities such as the hon. Member suggests. I shall have to be asking for facilities myself.

ARMY—OFFICERS' QUARTERS, PRESTON BARRACKS, BRIGHTON.

GENERAL SHUTE asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether, in reference to the recent death of a Captain in the 16th Lancers, he has directed an inquiry to be made into the sanitary state of the new Officers' Quarters in Preston Barracks, Brighton, as regards ventilation, drainage, and water supply; and, if so, with what result?

COLONEL STANLEY, in reply, said, that inquiries had been made by the War Office, and the Report received from the medical officers was that the

sanitary condition of the officers' quarters was very good; but that there were some slight defects which were being remedied.

ARMY—THE AUXILIARY FORCES— VOLUNTEER CLOTHING—THE EASTER MONDAY REVIEW—THE GENERAL ELECTION.

SIR JOHN LUBBOCK asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether Her Majesty's Government would make arrangements to supply great coats on loan to those Volunteers who are intending to take part in the march out to Brighton at Easter?

MR. ALDERMAN COTTON said, that before the Secretary of State for War answered that Question, perhaps he would allow him to put another on the same subject. Paragraph 419 of the Volunteer Regulations of 1878 provided that no Volunteer demonstration should take place at any place between the period of the issuing of a Writ for an election and the return of a Member to Parliament, and he wished to know what effect that regulation would have on the forthcoming Dissolution and the holding of the Review?

COLONEL STANLEY: Sir, perhaps I had better answer the Question put by the hon. Member for Maidstone (Sir John Lubbock) first. Under the existing Regulations, which are based on the recommendations of the Volunteer Committee, great coats are allowed without expense to Volunteers only while in camp and under canvass, and otherwise the issue of great coats, except on payment, is invariably refused. Volunteers can purchase the great coats on the same terms of payment as are charged in the case of other clothing. We have 15,000 of these great coats, which could be purchased by the Volunteers on the same conditions as their other clothes; but if great coats were to be called for and supplied on all occasions of marches out and reviews it would lead to a considerable expense, because new coats once issued for this purpose could only be issued again as part worn. With regard to the Question put by the hon. Gentleman the Member for the City of London (Mr. Alderman Cotton), it will be my duty, in answer to that Question, to make a statement that causes me some regret. I am sorry to say that the Dis-

solution of Parliament announced yesterday will very materially influence the question of the proposal to hold a Volunteer Review on Easter Monday next. Under the Volunteer Regulations that have been laid down, the Volunteer corps are not allowed to assemble for any purpose whatever between the period of the issue of a Writ and the termination of an election, at the place at which headquarters are situated; and it is possible that the proceedings connected with the election may be going on in some—very few—boroughs on Easter Monday. Moreover, if troops of the Regular Forces should take part in the Review, as was anticipated, the Volunteers would be liable to the Army Discipline Act, and would then come under the 18th of *Vict.*, c. 2, which makes it illegal for them to assemble within two miles of any city or place on the days of nomination, election, or polling. There is the possible alternative, of course, of allowing the Volunteers to assemble without any of the Regular officers or troops—that is to say, under their own commanders; but this would seem very inadvisable. But there also arose the further question whether, if the Review were held, they would not run the risk of failure by Volunteers who were electors absenting themselves for the purpose of attending the elections in their own boroughs. On the whole, in view of the legal and other difficulties, I have come to the conclusion, though with great reluctance, that it would be desirable to postpone the Review. If, however, any general desire is expressed to hold the Review at Whitsuntide, the War Office authorities will, no doubt, be ready to grant the same facilities as we were prepared to have granted with regard to the intended Review at Easter.

THE DISSOLUTION OF PARLIAMENT— PRIVATE BILLS.

MR. DILLWYN: I beg to ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer, What course is proposed to be taken with respect to the Committees on Private Bills between this and the Dissolution? I believe that in some cases the companies and the parties to those Bills have brought up witnesses at great expense; and it is desirable that some arrangement should be made by which quorums may be formed for the purpose of proceeding

with the various measures. Otherwise there will be great difficulty in getting a quorum of Members to attend these Committees.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: Before the right hon. Gentleman answers that Question, I should like to put another one to him. As I understand, the Chancellor of the Exchequer has not given any Notice this evening in regard to Public Business, and I should, therefore, like to ask him, whether he intends to make any proposal to the House with reference to what he mentioned yesterday as to the intention of the Government to appropriate some further portion of the time of the House for urgent Government Business?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: Sir, with regard to the Question of the hon. Member for Swansea (Mr. Dillwyn) I will state, in the first place, that it will be necessary to propose and pass certain Orders with regard to the suspension of Private Bills. I have in my hand the Orders which were passed on the 11th of April, 1859, when a Dissolution was imminent, and those Orders, with some modifications which will be necessary to suit the altered circumstances which have arisen since that time, will be proposed and submitted to the House in the course of a day or two. But these have reference to the resumption in the next Parliament of Private Bills which are suspended, and they do not touch the question to which the hon. Gentleman has called attention, as to what should be the proceedings of Committees at the present moment. I apprehend with regard to those, that the case of each Committee will probably differ from that of other Committees. In some cases it may be desirable to complete the inquiry which is pending; while in others it may be desirable to suspend, or not to commence, an inquiry. Probably the best way will be that each Committee should be dealt with upon the merits of the case as represented by the Chairman of the Committee. But I would call attention to a Resolution which was agreed to last Session. It is as follows:—

“That in case a Committee on any Private Bill or group of such Bills shall report their opinion to the House that any Bill or Bills not yet considered by them should not be entered upon, or that the consideration of any Bill partly considered should not be proceeded with, all further proceedings on such Bill or Bills

Colonel Stanley

shall be suspended during the present Session."

Some such Resolution as this will probably be proposed to the House. I will confer with the Chairman of Ways and Means and with the authorities of the House, and I will lose no time in making a Motion on what I know is a most important matter. With regard to the Question of the noble Lord, I said last night that I proposed to make a Motion to-day for giving Government Orders precedence on certain days during the remainder of the Session. Of course, I am anxious to interfere as little as possible with the arrangements of the House generally, and, on looking carefully into the position of the different measures which are to be brought forward, I found that there was nothing for to-day of an urgent character. The step which will have to be taken with regard to the Ways and Means Bill is merely a formal one at the end of the evening, and there is no Government Business for to-morrow which could not be well disposed of at the end of Wednesday's Sitting. Therefore, I have had no occasion to ask for either Tuesday or Wednesday of this week. With regard to Friday, however, I think it will be necessary for us to ask the House to sit at 2 o'clock on that day, in order to make progress with our Business. Next week I shall ask for Tuesday and Wednesday. I will give Notice of that.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: I should like the Chancellor of the Exchequer to clear up a difference of opinion which has arisen on a matter of some importance. I and other hon. Members understood the right hon. Gentleman to say yesterday that, not only would the House be dissolved on the 23rd instant, but that the Writs would be issued on that day. I wish to ask the right hon. Gentleman whether he has any objection to stating precisely when the Writs will issue?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: Sir, the answer which I gave yesterday was that I had stated, some little time ago, that I thought the House would rise on the 23rd instant, and that, as advised, I did not see any reason to depart from that expectation. I still think it probable that the Dissolution will take place on the 23rd; but the day when it is contemplated that the Writs should issue is Wednesday, the 24th.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL asked the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether he could afford an opportunity, before the Dissolution, for a discussion on the general situation in Afghanistan?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: No, Sir.

VACCINATION BILL.

MR. SCLATER-BOOTH: Sir, I will venture to appeal to the hon. Member for Glasgow (Dr. Cameron), who has in charge a Bill on the subject of vaccination, which stands first on the Orders of the Day for to-morrow, and which raises points of some complexity and difficulty. I would ask him, whether he thinks it expedient to proceed with the measure under existing circumstances? I can assure the hon. Gentleman that the question of the advantages and disadvantages attendant on the use of animal lymph, which have been long engaging the attention of the Local Government Board, are receiving fresh illustration by experiments now going on.

DR. CAMERON: I think it is perfectly evident that my Bill has no chance of becoming law this Session; and under the circumstances, I am afraid neither the House nor the country would care very much for any discussion which would take place, and which would lose much of its practical character, especially as I understand the Local Government Board is willing to test the proposals I have made. I will not inconvenience the House by going on with it.

AFGHANISTAN—THE WAR—EXPENSES OF MILITARY OPERATIONS.

MR. FAWCETT said, he was prevented from being in his place yesterday when the Chancellor of the Exchequer mentioned a Motion which stood in his name. At the beginning of the Session he was given to understand that the House would have an opportunity of expressing an opinion on the Afghan War. He had now received from the Chancellor of the Exchequer a communication to the effect that, should he consider it necessary to bring forward the subject of the expenses of the Afghan War, the most convenient opportunity for raising that question would be on the Report of the Budget Resolutions. He wished to know when that Report

would be taken; would it be at the Morning Sitting on Friday?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: I think, probably, that would be the most convenient time.

MOTIONS.

TAXATION (GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND).

MOTION FOR A SELECT COMMITTEE.

SIR JOSEPH M'KENNA, in rising to call the attention of the House to the unequal incidence of Imperial Taxation, and to the fact that the gross revenue raised by taxation of Great Britain is equal only to six times and a-half her Income Tax, whilst the gross revenue raised by taxation of Ireland exceeds thirteen times her Income Tax, struck on similar Schedules and on a like poundage scale to that of Great Britain; and to move—

“That a Select Committee be appointed to inquire into and report whether there is, as alleged, some and what disparity in the incidence of Imperial Taxation as it affects the several Countries of which the United Kingdom is composed; and whether, in the opinion of the Committee, the circumstances call for any and what changes in the fiscal legislation for England, Scotland, and Ireland respectively,”

said, he proposed to show within what period, and by what means, the state of things described in his Resolution had been brought about. He attributed none of the circumstances of which he complained to the *malice prepense*, so to speak, of the Ministers concerned, nor to any set designs against Ireland. The Ministers of the day had raised the Revenue as they best could, and they were probably ignorant of the terrible proportion in which they were draining the slender means of the poorer people and sparing the richer. He was not about to base any argument against the present system of taxation on the ground that it violated the Articles of Union, for the Union itself was a gigantic and cruel imposture, set up apparently to be violated whenever Parliament found it convenient to do so. But he complained that a system of taxation had been imposed on Ireland within the last 28 or 30 years in comparison with which the ostensible provisions of the Treaty of Union for the time to come would appear equitable and considerate. He would explain how the case stood.

The 7th Article of the Treaty of Union provided for the fiscal arrangement between the two Islands. It contemplated three distinct periods of post-Union existence, and it specified the process whereby, after the lapse of 20 years from the Union, the taxation of the two countries should be re-adjusted. The first period was to extend for 20 years, and no longer, from the passing of the Act of Union. The second period was then to commence. Its duration was not pre-arranged. It was to be a period of reviews and revisions, with the object of making adjustments from time to time in the system of taxation, if the circumstances of both countries rendered an adjustment necessary. He would explain presently how it had happened that the second period had never come. The third period contemplated was to date from such time as it appeared to Parliament that there was an actual assimilation of the financial condition of both Islands, so that they might be treated, for purposes of taxation, as if they both constituted one country only. Presumably this third or last period was to be looked forward to as a good time, when England was nearly divested of Debt, and when Ireland, brought up to the level of England by prosperity, could afford to contribute to every Imperial tax on luxuries or necessities without exception and without abatement. They were now presumably in that condition—that was to say, under an equal and equitable system of taxation; but they knew that such a presumption was a fallacy, for the taxation had been so devised, sparing English predilections and punishing Irish, that whilst the eighth of all assessed British incomes sufficed to pay all Imperial imposts in Great Britain, the fourth of all Irish assessed incomes did not suffice to defray Imperial imposts in Ireland. The provisions made in the Articles of Union for the taxation of Ireland for the first 20 years after that event simply amounted to this—Ireland should be liable to pay two-seventeenths of all Imperial expenses and the interest on the Irish debt of £27,000,000; and, should she not be able to do so, the deficiency should be treated as a debt of Ireland to the English Exchequer. The Article was ingeniously framed; it would appear as if Ireland could be only tied fiscally to the

Mr. Fawcett

bad bargain, if it were one, for 20 years; for exceedingly plausible provisions had been made that a new adjustment of taxation should take place at the end of 20 years, on bases which even now, wore the appearance of equity. It was provided in the 7th Article that at the end of that period the expenditure of the United Kingdom should be defrayed in such proportions as the Parliament of the United Kingdom might deem just and reasonable on a comparison either of the real value of the exports and imports, or of the value of the quantities consumed of beer, spirits, sugar, wine, tea, tobacco, and malt, or according to the aggregate income resulting from both these considerations combined; or, lastly, on a comparison of the amount of income estimated as accruing in each country from a general tax on the same kind of property. There was a perfectly simple basis of taxation; but the other provisions of that Article were not equally satisfactory. He had referred to these provisions of the Articles of Union in order that they might better understand what had been actually done. Ireland had a National Debt in 1800 of £26,841,219, against a British Debt of £420,305,944. By the end of 1816, in consequence of a debt being run up against her in the Imperial Exchequer—that was to say, before the expiration of the first 20 years from the passing of the Act of Union, and before the time contemplated for a revision of the relative tax-bearing abilities of the two countries, the English Ministers had plunged Ireland sufficiently into debt to enable them to show that a parity of indebtedness had been arrived at which entitled them to apply to Parliament for a consolidation of the two Exchequers. The contemplated period of review and re-assessment provided for by the Articles of Union was thus completely overleaped, and Ireland, without any readjustment, was plunged into the abyss of a joint indebtedness without any of those extraordinary resources which enabled England to bear her burden with ease. Ireland would, however, have been able to pay her way without such actual impoverishment as they now witnessed, if the taxes since levied on the United Kingdom had been equitably framed and made to fall on the respective countries after the fashion contemplated by the Articles of Union, and

which, notwithstanding the consolidation of the Exchequers, might be said to have practically prevailed up to 1852; but it remained for Ministers in those latter days, since 1852, to devise a system of taxation such as had never been contemplated, or, at any rate, had never been expressed by the Ministers who carried the Union, or by those who consolidated the Exchequers of the two countries in 1817. He would explain what had come to pass, by showing how it operated at this moment. The gross annual value of property and profits assessed to the Income Tax under all Schedules, for England and Wales for the year ended 5th April, 1872, was £413,223,690; for Scotland, £42,541,920; together, £455,765,610. The gross annual value under the like Schedules for Ireland amounted to £26,572,707. He did not wish to be omitted from their consideration this fact, that the incomes derived from landed property in Ireland were somewhat under-estimated as compared with the stricter mode of assessment adopted in England, where the valuation for fiscal purposes more nearly approached the rack rent than did the Irish valuation. He desired to leave nothing which could affect the case out of consideration, and he at once admitted that a valuation of the land of Ireland, on the principle applied to the English valuations, would increase somewhat the amount assessable for Income Tax; and if there were no “set off” to this, such as he would mention, it would alter the proportion of the income of Great Britain to that of Ireland, from 17 to 1, to 15 to 1. But there were, on the other hand, considerations which far outweighed the possible correction he had adverted to. The income under the head of funded property of the United Kingdom was returned under one head as £38,646,360 (Schedule G). He did not, in the figures he had already given, attribute this sum to either Great Britain or Ireland; but had he the means of dissecting it, it would be seen that the sum attributable to British income under that head would be more than 20 times the amount which appertained to Irish, and this alone would go far to counterpoise any sum which had to be allowed for in respect to an under-valuation of land in Ireland, as compared with the valuation of land in Great Britain. Another consideration to be taken into

account was that while in Great Britain there was an immense and generally prosperous wage-earning class, with vast tax-bearing capabilities, there was no corresponding class to represent factory labour in Ireland. In March, 1875, he brought the case of Ireland in respect to Imperial taxation in a somewhat different form before the House, and on that occasion he had to contend against the assumption, propagated under the influence of Dublin Castle, that Ireland was in a prosperous condition. He ventured to say then that there was merely an appearance of prosperity, for the most part illusory, and that one thing only was certain—namely, that Ireland was immensely overtaxed as compared with England. There was no need now to prove that Ireland was in a bad condition. The wretchedness and insolvency of Ireland were household words in India, Australia, Canada, and the United States; in fact in every land in which the English language was spoken. Was not that the state of things at which Ireland had arrived under the direction of an English Government? The immense disparity of wealth was visible wherever a comparison was made. The amount of interest on the Funded Debt payable in London in 1879 was £20,249,979, and that receivable in Ireland was £1,013,173. In 1875 he had compared the Returns of taxation and population for the years 1841, 1851, 1861, and 1871. They had not yet completed the decade which brought about a fresh numbering of the population. He would, therefore, have again to refer to the comparative Returns furnished, showing the taxation of the Islands respectively for 1841, 1851, 1861, and 1871. He made his case now, as he had made it in 1875, on the basis of the Treasury Return of 7th August, 1874—Parliamentary Paper, No. 407, of that year. No change in the system had been since made. And what did that Return show? It showed that between 1841 and 1871 the population had sunk from 8,175,000 to 5,412,000—that was to say, by upwards of 2,760,000 souls, and that the British Ministers and British Parliament had nevertheless raised the taxation of Ireland from £3,907,238 in 1841 to £7,086,593 in 1871; which meant, in fact, raising 75 per cent additional taxation from a population diminished by 30 per cent; whilst for the

same period the gross Revenue raised by taxation in Great Britain had not kept pace with the increase of population. He had said the taxation of Great Britain had not grown or kept pace with the increase of the population; but he would put the case much stronger. Between 1841 and 1871 the taxation of Great Britain had diminished 5*s.* 7*d.* in respect to each head of the population, and the taxation of Ireland was raised within these same dates—in annual pressure, bear in mind—16*s.* 7*d.* for every head of the population of Ireland. He admitted that Her Majesty's present Ministers were not chiefly accountable; but whatever Ministers held power were responsible for whatever injustice might be done, whether by themselves or their Predecessors, if, when pointed out, it was not redressed or redress put in motion. How had this injustice been done? The taxation of alcohol, and alcoholic or intoxicating beverages, was the most fruitful source of revenue in the United Kingdom; and he admitted very properly so. Alcohol was taxed in every form of intoxicating beverage—cider alone excepted—an exception of very little importance, and which he referred to now merely for sake of accuracy. Up to 1852 the duties on those beverages—spirits, wines, and malt drinks—had been respectively struck so that the incidence of the duties had been fairly distributed amongst the three peoples of which the United Kingdom was composed. It was due to his Scotch Friends to admit that, save for the fact that the Scottish people had more of the goods of this life, and were for the present better able to withstand the injustice, the case of Scotland, as against England, was, in the matter of the duties on alcohol, precisely similar to that of Ireland. He would illustrate how the changes had been carried out. In 1852 the duty paid in Ireland on proof spirits, home made, was at the rate of 2*s.* 8*d.* per gallon. The duty on wine was 5*s.* 9*d.* a-gallon. The wines of France—for instance, claret or champagne—paid that duty of 5*s.* 9*d.* a gallon. Since then the duty on home made spirits, that was on Irish whisky, had been raised from 2*s.* 8*d.* a gallon to 10*s.*; and the duty on clarets and champagnes had been reduced from 5*s.* 9*d.* a-gallon to 1*s.* That, however, explained only a small portion of the wrong done. The gigantic injustice was that which

had been done in relation to the popular native beverages of the two countries. The popular alcoholic beverage of England had always been, since the days of Cæsar's invasion, beer—that was to say, ale—and all brewed liquors made from malt. When the duty on whisky was 2*s.* 8*d.* a-gallon in Ireland the duty on malt was 2*s.* 8½*d.* per bushel. The quantity of proof spirit contained in the liquor brewed from a bushel of malt was 1½ gallon; but, as there had been until very lately a duty of 2*d.* a-pound also paid on the hops used in brewing, there was some approximation to equality in the taxation applied to the respective beverages of the two countries. The English ale drinker had, however, even then, much the best of it, for he consumed his alcohol at a lower rate of taxation than 2*s.* for every gallon of proof spirits which it contained, whilst the consumer of whisky, whether diluted or not, paid 2*s.* 8*d.* duty on every gallon. The disparity had, however—since 1852—been enormously increased. In 1853 the duty was raised on whisky from 2*s.* 8*d.* to 3*s.* 4*d.* per gallon, in 1854 from 3*s.* 4*d.* to 4*s.*, in 1855 from 4*s.* to 6*s.* 2*d.*, in 1858 from 6*s.* 2*d.* to 8*s.*, in 1860 from 8*s.* to 10*s.*, at which it had remained ever since. All that time there was no corresponding, nor any increase, of the duty which affected the English popular beverage. On what principle of justice, he might ask, were the tastes of the English to be consulted and legislated for, and the predilections of the Irish and Scotch to be marked out for taxation almost immeasurably in excess of the scale applied to the alcoholic stimulants in which the English indulged? If alcoholic stimulants might be lawfully consumed at all, or were proper to be consumed, there must be some forms more suitable to one country than to another. Whisky was the form in which alcohol was found most suitable to the Irish and Scotch. It no doubt had a great deal to do with climate. Arthur Young wrote thus of Ireland more than 100 years ago—

“The worst circumstances of the climate is a moisture without rain. Wet a piece of leather and lay it in a room where there is neither sun nor fire; and it will not, in summer even, be dry for a month. I have known gentlemen in Ireland deny their climate being moister than England; but if they have eyes let them open them, and see the verdure that clothes their rocks, and compare it with ours in England

where rocky soils are of a russet brown, however sweet the food for sheep. Does not their island lie more exposed to the great Atlantic? and does not the west wind blow three-fourths of the year?”

It could not, however, with truth be said that the Irish were greater lovers of alcohol than the English, and therefore desired to take it in its more concentrated form; for, notwithstanding the strength of whisky as compared to beer, the English consumed more alcohol than either the Scotch or Irish. The consumption in all forms was, for each head of the population in England and Wales, 4 gallons 72 hundredths; for each in Scotland, 3 gallons 64 hundredths; for each in Ireland, 2 gallons 49 hundredths. But owing to the English running more on beer and wine than the Irish or Scotch, they consumed the equivalent of a gallon of proof spirits on payment of an average duty of 3*s.* 10*d.*, whereas the Scotch paid an average duty of 7*s.* 1¾*d.*, and the Irish an average duty of 6*s.* 7½*d.* per gallon. He (Sir Joseph M'Kenna) would now come to his final proofs. In 1871 the gross amount raised by taxation in Great Britain was £57,534,683, whereof £8,789,485 was Income Tax, showing that the gross taxation barely exceeded six times and a-half the Income Tax; whilst the gross taxation of Ireland was £7,086,593, whereof only £538,617 was Income Tax, showing that there was a gross Imperial taxation levied off Great Britain equal to only six times and a-half her Income Tax whilst there was a gross Imperial taxation levied off Ireland equal to more than 13 times her Income Tax. He ventured to say that if the income of the wage-earning taxpayers could be added to the incomes of Great Britain, and the like done in respect to the wage-earning class in Ireland, the actual disparity would appear still greater than it did on a comparison of the assessed incomes only. He might add, in conclusion, that he had endeavoured not to treat the question as a Home Rule question; but what greater argument could be adduced in favour of Home Rule than a belief on the part of the Irish people that the present system of taxation was irreversible? He hoped Her Majesty's Government would consent to granting him the Committee for which he now moved.

MR. O'CONNOR POWER seconded the Motion. He had long regretted that

this branch of the Irish question had not received more attention from Parliament and the bulk of Irish Representatives themselves. The last days of an expiring Parliament, however, did not, perhaps, furnish the best opportunity of discussing a question of this magnitude. Still, he trusted they would succeed in attracting the attention of the electors of both Great Britain and Ireland to the subject, and that when candidates claimed the suffrages that the electors would put questions to them with respect to the present unequal taxation. The unequal incidence of Imperial taxation in Ireland had always seemed to him a great misfortune. His hon. Friend had shown that one of the evil results flowing from the Legislative Union of England with Ireland was that the latter country, which was notoriously poor, had been forced into financial partnership with England, which was notoriously a rich country. By the amalgamation of the National Debts of Ireland and Great Britain, Ireland was not only made responsible for the Debt incurred by England in prosecuting war upon the Continent, but made responsible for pre-Union Debts, and the country had suffered considerably in consequence. No wonder that his hon. Friend had been able to show that the first 17 years of the Union swelled the Irish Debt from £28,000,000 sterling to £112,000,000. The Irish Members contended that the alcohol in beer and spirits should be taxed alike; and they, therefore, called upon their Scotch fellow-citizens to join them in a united crusade against the maintenance by the English Representatives—England being the largest and most powerful of the three countries—of an injustice which pressed alike on Scotland and Ireland. He should be very glad if Her Majesty's Government were able to announce their readiness to grant the Select Committee of Inquiry that had been asked for in the Motion of his hon. Friend.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a Select Committee be appointed to inquire into and report whether there is, as alleged, some and what disparity in the incidence of Imperial Taxation as it affects the several Countries of which the United Kingdom is composed; and whether, in the opinion of the Committee, the circumstances call for any and what changes in the fiscal legislation for England, Scotland, and Ireland respectively."—(*Sir Joseph M'Kenna.*)

Mr. O' Connor Power

Mr. M'LAREN said, the matter as regarded spirits had been gone into so very carefully and elaborately by his hon. Friend who moved this Motion, that he would say very little about it, although it was a question he had studied with great attention. Referring to the Revenue accounts for the last year, he said that the duties on British spirits consumed in England amounted to £8,250,000, the duties on spirits consumed in Scotland were £3,204,000, and in Ireland £3,000,000. The result was, that Scotland and Ireland paid between them £6,200,000 for their 9,000,000 of people, while England paid £8,200,000 for about 24,000,000 of people. Scotland and Ireland, therefore, paid nearly three times as much per head as was paid by England. He thought nothing could be more unjust than that. As to the idea of beer being a more sober drink than spirits, he did not believe it was anything of the kind. He knew that some of the first physicians of the present day advocated that aged people should take half a glass of spirits in water, in place of a couple of glasses of wine, stating it would be better for their health. It was an undeniable fact that there was a very much larger amount of alcohol consumed per head in England than in Ireland or Scotland, yet England paid much less for the amount of alcohol contained in its drink. It got alcohol mixed with more water, and with some colouring matter, and called by another name than whisky—beer—upon which a less duty was paid than if that alcohol had been contained in whisky. But he had yet to learn that the beer drinkers, compared with the whisky drinkers in Scotland, were more sober. In fact, the drunkenness produced by beer seemed to assume a more savage form than anything he had ever heard of in Scotland or Ireland. He held, therefore, that there was nothing whatever in the moral aspect of the question that should make them favour beer drinking rather than whisky drinking. His hon. Friend's statement had made the question appear to the disadvantage of Scotland in one particular. He omitted to make an allowance for the great amount of smuggling that took place in Ireland—no duty, of course, being paid on the smuggled liquor—with the comparatively small amount of smuggling that took place in Scotland. The disparity was

proved by the offences within the last few years, for the number of Excise prosecutions for smuggling had been about 700 a-year in Ireland, while the number was less than 10 in Scotland. Altogether, it appeared to him (Mr. M'Laren) that a case had been made out for a full and fair inquiry. A rough-and-ready way of stating the matter was, that for every 1s. paid for the alcohol contained in malt liquors, 5s. 6d. was paid for the same quantity of alcohol contained in whisky. It came to this, that the liquor upon which 1s. of duty was paid in Scotland or Ireland might intoxicate one man, whereas the liquor upon which 1s. of duty was paid in England, if that liquor was in the shape of beer, would intoxicate five and a-half men, because there were five and a-half times the quantity of alcohol in the beer on which 1s. duty would be paid than there was in the whisky on which an equal duty would be paid. While he supported the inquiry that was proposed, he was not able to agree to the fundamental principle of the Resolution, which took the amount of Income Tax as the standard of proportion for other taxation. It might do if the Income Tax was levied exactly in the same way in all the countries; but it had been admitted by his hon. Friend that it was not levied in the same way. In England, the Income and Property Tax was levied very nearly on the rack-rental. In Ireland there was a considerable modification. The hon. Member did not say anything about how it was levied in Scotland; but the fact was, that in Scotland the Income and Property Tax was levied on the full rack-rent, and the valuation was so stringent that not only was the tenant bound to return his rack-rent annually under a penalty of £20, but the landlord got a schedule, and was also bound to make a return thus to check the tenant. The effect of that was, that year by year the taxation of Scotland in reference to income and property grew to a very large extent; but he was informed that in Ireland property in Dublin and Belfast, and other towns, was valued at an amount greatly below the real value or the rent that was paid. There had been produced that day a Return at his (Mr. M'Laren's) instance, showing the amount of the Income Tax in every county and every borough in the United Kingdom; and in looking over some of the statements

contained in it, he could not help being struck with the extraordinary discrepancies which existed. For example, Ireland, with a population of 5,500,000, was so valued that its Income Tax for the last year amounted to £117,000. Scotland, with a population of 3,500,000, paid an Income Tax amounting to £323,000. The House would remember that he was not speaking of the nominal tax, but of the actual amount raised. Scotland, like England, also paid the House Duty, whereas Ireland paid none. The House Duty of Scotland last year was £65,000. That might also be considered Income Tax, because as men's incomes increased they removed to better houses. Therefore, they might take the two together, and say that Scotland last year paid £389,000 of Income Tax, whereas Ireland only paid £117,000. It might, perhaps, give the House a more vivid idea of the disproportion than by merely naming large sums, if he mentioned that the total Income Tax of Dublin last year was £57,200; Belfast, one of the most thriving towns in the three Kingdoms, paid £25,000; Cork, £10,900; and Limerick, £3,700. The aggregate amount was £97,000. But look how unjustly Edinburgh, which he had the honour to represent, was taxed compared with these towns. It paid last year £73,693, and £24,000 for House Duty, while for the latter in Dublin and Belfast nothing was paid. The population of Edinburgh at last Census was 196,000, while Dublin had a population of 267,000. The House must remember that Dublin was a wealthy city, and swarmed with office-holders paid by the Government out of the national taxation of England and Scotland. He thoroughly agreed with the demand made by the hon. Member, that the taxation of spirits and other things should be put on the same footing in the Three Kingdoms. He would say no more than to remark that England had had the advantage not only of squeezing Ireland to a degree that was unjust, but that it had done the same thing to Scotland, and had even violated the Treaty and Act of Union in a very flagrant way. At the Union, it was agreed that Scotland should only pay £48,000 of Land Tax to the £2,000,000 of Land Tax paid by England, and that that proportion should continue to the end of time to regulate all direct taxes. Thus Scot-

land was to pay £1 for every £41 paid by England, but England had now made Scotland pay in the proportion of 1 to 9, instead of 1 to 41. So, that while England had certainly oppressed the smaller country of Ireland in the manner complained of, she had still further oppressed the still smaller country of Scotland.

MR. W. HOLMS said, that he had ventured to call the attention of the House to this subject two years ago, and had pointed out that the Revenue during the past 20 years had been derived to a much larger amount from indirect taxation and to a smaller amount from direct taxation. The working classes now paid a larger proportion than the wealthy classes, and the wealthy classes a smaller proportion than they did 20 years ago. The hon. Member for Youghal, (Sir Joseph M'Kenna), had made a very able speech, and had, no doubt, made out his case; but he (Mr. W. Holms) considered that Scotland had a similar complaint to make to that which was made for Ireland. Scotland, with a population of 3,352,000, paid £3,279,000 on spirits; while Ireland, with a population of 5,363,000, paid £3,050,000. If the position of Ireland and Scotland combined were contrasted with that of England, it would be found that England ought to pay one-third more than it did at present, or something like £8,000,000 more. In dealing with this question, it was necessary to see not only how it affected one particular class of taxation, but to look at the incidence of taxation, from whatever source that taxation might be derived; if it was shown that Ireland paid a smaller proportion than England and Scotland on one particular class of article, then the hon. Member for Youghal was bound to show how he would make up for the loss arising from adjusting that particular article of taxation. He (Mr. W. Holms) found, from the Returns issued last year, that England contributed to the Revenue 42s. per head, Scotland 43s. 4d., and Ireland 24s. Not only did Ireland produce a much smaller amount per head, but the total amount paid by Ireland was considerably less than that paid by Scotland. Scotland, having a population two-thirds less than that of Ireland, contributed £7,844,000, while Ireland only contributed £6,499,000. It appeared to him that taxation and repre-

sentation should go together. It was a question how far Ireland was represented in proportion to its taxation, and how far Scotland was represented in proportion to her taxation. If they looked at the amount contributed by Scotland, they would find that Scotland ought to have 78 Members in the House, and Ireland, according to the amount paid, should have 64 Members. Under the present condition of things, however, Ireland had 105 Members and Scotland only 60. He was willing that a Committee should be appointed to inquire into the question of the incidence of taxation; and he would be still better pleased to have an inquiry instituted as to how far taxation was represented in the House of Commons.

SIR HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON said, the subject to which the attention of the House had been called was not now brought forward for the first time, the hon. Member for Youghal (Sir Joseph M'Kenna) having himself called attention to it on a previous occasion. On this occasion, however, he (Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson) did not see that the hon. Member had been able to produce any new arguments in support of his position. The hon. Member complained, as the complaint always had been, that the incidence of taxation was unequal, and that Ireland was placed at a disadvantage as compared with the other parts of the United Kingdom, being taxed more heavily than they were in proportion to her population and resources. Going into the history of the arrangements which had taken place as between Ireland and other parts of the United Kingdom, the hon. Member had pointed out that in the old times there was a separate system of Exchequer and Accounts for Great Britain and Ireland. That system was done away with, and a general system of taxation was initiated. The liabilities contracted by Ireland under the Act of Union would, practically, have crushed her; but, as the hon. Member was aware, in the year 1815-16, the Irish Debt, resulting from the transaction, was swept away, and the Irish Exchequer merged into that of England; so that the taxation of the two countries became common. Now, that being so, it was hardly fair on the part of Irishmen to allege that they were unduly oppressed. Rather, they stood at an advantage, for England

paid into the Imperial Exchequer taxes which did not fall in the same way upon Ireland—namely, the Railway Duty, the Licence Tax, the House Duty, the Land Tax, Medical Stamps, and the Dog Tax. He was not prepared to say that if a particular class of the community could show that there was a case of unjust or oppressive taxation, it was not a subject for consideration; but he could not see how it was possible to get away from the principle which had been laid down, that the taxation should, with the exceptions to which he had referred, be universal for the whole of the United Kingdom. It had not been shown that the taxation of individuals was excessive in Ireland as compared with England and Scotland. Every tax applied equally to Englishmen and Scotchmen as to Irishmen, only that in the case of Ireland there were exemptions which were unknown to England and Scotland. Beyond that, whilst the proportion of Revenue contributed by Ireland was about one-twelfth of the total, it should not be forgotten, as another item of the account, that in regard to local reliefs, which formed a large branch of the subject, Ireland enjoyed a very considerable advantage over the other parts of the United Kingdom. In fact, those reliefs, in the case of Ireland, amounted to something like 33 per cent. The whole matter came to this—that there was no tax imposed upon Ireland the burden of which was not shared by Englishmen and Scotchmen, while there were some taxes imposed upon England and Scotland which were not borne by the Irish people. If a different system of taxation were to be adopted, in accordance with the principle of the hon. Member for Youghal's Resolution, the result would be that, on the same principle, different parts, not only of the United Kingdom, but of the same country, would demand exceptional treatment in exceptional circumstances. Ireland would not be alone in asking that she should be treated exceptionally, and they would have similar demands from the poorer districts of England and Scotland. Once they departed from the principle that each individual should pay the same amount of taxation, wherever he resided, they would have other claims than those of Ireland, equally sound on the principle of exemption advocated by the hon. Member for Youghal. The inconvenience, there-

fore, of departing from the sound principle that the same system of taxation must be applied to every individual would be manifest. Then it had been urged that, owing to the national beverage, Ireland was much more heavily taxed than beer-drinking England was. It must, however, be remembered that, although a large quantity of whisky might be made in Ireland, the bulk of it was consumed elsewhere, and that the incidence of the tax upon the beverage fell not on the manufacturer, but on the consumer.

MR. M'LAREN pointed out, that the figures which he quoted appeared in the Inland Revenue Returns just issued relating to the quantity of whisky consumed, and not merely to the quantity manufactured in Ireland and Scotland.

SIR HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON said, he was referring to the figures which appeared in another Return which had been presented in the course of the present Session, and which related to the quantity of whisky manufactured. The Motion of the hon. Member for Youghal asserted that the gross Revenue raised in Great Britain was only equal to six-and-a-half times its Income Tax, whereas that of Ireland was equal to 13 times her Income Tax. It must be remembered, however, that nothing could be more fallacious than arguments based upon the amount of the Income Tax of a particular locality. Thus, for instance, Income Tax was paid upon enormous sums in the City of London, in which the dividends of the Bank of England and the interest on Foreign Stocks were paid, although the money was actually spent elsewhere. It was, therefore, a mistake to assume that because the Income Tax of Ireland was levied upon an apparently small amount of income, the actual income of her population was equally limited. Another fact worthy of observation was, that the assessment for the Income Tax was lower in Ireland than it was in England and Scotland. On the ground, therefore, that it was essential that they should have one system of taxation applicable equally to every member of the community, he felt it to be his duty to resist this Motion.

MR. SYNAN admitted, that if the Committee asked for were appointed, it would have difficulties to contend with; but it was because of the difficulties that surrounded this question that he felt

that a Committee should be appointed to inquire into them. He considered that the hon. Baronet was historically and financially wrong in his estimate of the causes which had led to the present state of things. The amount which was settled by the Act of Union as the proportion which Ireland ought to pay of the Debt of the United Kingdom was admitted by the Committee of 1866 to be an unjust and unfair proportion. The consequence was that Ireland was unable to pay it, and in 1816 the country became bankrupt, and the Exchequer was consolidated with that of England, which was just what Ireland did not want. Coming to the question immediately before the House, he (Mr. Synan) said that the argument of the hon. Baronet, as he understood it, was that so far as individuals in Ireland were concerned they had nothing more to complain of than individuals in England or Scotland; that the taxation was either the same as in those countries, or was something in their favour. Well, but that showed a total misconception of the whole thing. What was the source of taxation? It was not in relation to individuals, but to the resources of the land and the commodities and commerce of the country. He argued that, from whatever point of view the Motion was regarded, the argument was conclusive in favour of a Committee. But, then, it had been hinted by the hon. Member for Edinburgh (Mr. M'Laren) and the hon. Member for Paisley (Mr. W. Holms), that the result of the Committee, should it be appointed, might be injurious to Ireland financially, and that taxes might be imposed upon that country to which it was not at present subject. His hon. Friend the Member for Youghal (Sir Joseph M'Kenna) was quite prepared to accept that risk. There would be no difficulty in reducing the tax upon whisky in Ireland to the level of the tax upon malt in England. It was not a differential duty; it was a positive tax, and it might be equalized over the three countries. Surely Scotland and Ireland were entitled to the same protection in respect of that manufacture as England received in regard to malt. The foundation of the present grievance was that in Ireland a tax was imposed upon a particular kind of property, which it was not imposed upon in England, and that was an injustice. Again, the taxation imposed upon Ireland was greater in pro-

portion to her ability to pay than that imposed upon England. How was it that whisky in Ireland was taxed at the rate of 10*s.* per gallon, while beer in England was taxed at 2*s.* per gallon? Was not that a fair subject of inquiry? Then, as to the relative wealth of the two countries, the taxation of Ireland was 13 times as great as that of England. It was idle to say that Ireland received local aids. She had local aids only for Imperial purposes. Then it was urged that Assessed Taxes were not imposed upon Ireland. Why were they not? Because they would yield nothing, and would not even pay the cost of collection. It was true that the Income Tax was imposed in Ireland upon a valuation of the land; but there was not a shadow of difference now between the valuation and the rent of property in Ireland, although he admitted that a few years ago there was a difference of about 20 per cent. But these were all matters for inquiry, and he hoped, therefore, the House would agree to the appointment of the Committee moved for.

MR. STORER said, he did not think a case had been made out either for Ireland or Scotland, for Ireland certainly was far less heavily taxed than England and Scotland. In England the people paid £2 5*s.* per head in taxation, and the Scotch people a little over £2 per head; while the Irish people paid only about £1 per head. The Irish Members were always asking for equality in the matter of the franchise, and also in other concerns; but he never found them asking for equality in taxation. They always found it convenient to forget what the Returns proved, that they paid no House Tax, no Assessed Taxes, no Railway Tax, &c.; also, that under Schedule B the farmers of Scotland and Ireland paid only three farthings where the English occupier paid one penny. Why that should be the case he was at a loss to conceive. The hon. Member who had just spoken objected to any reference being made to the grants in aid to Ireland; but he must be told of it. The grants in aid made from the Imperial Exchequer were a very important item, and they were increasing every year, and a reference to the Estimates would show that the great increase was in grants made to Ireland, for which, he must say, the Irish Members exhibited little gratitude either to the national taxpayers or

Mr. Synan

to the Government. He thought that hon. Members opposite had better let the matter sleep, for it was possible that, if the Committee were granted, they would have to pay more taxation than at present.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL maintained that Scotland was much more highly taxed than England, as would be shown by a reference to the statistics of the population. Proportionally, the people of Scotland paid more into the Exchequer than did the people of England; and the only apparent exception was the single case of Schedule B of the Income Tax. That, however, was not because the taxation was less; but because of different circumstances, and in no respect was Scotland favoured. He agreed that there was no ground for distinction in levying a tax on beer, as compared to that on whisky. In Scotland, no doubt, a great deal of whisky was drunk, but beer was as injurious as whisky. A working man in Scotland might get drunk once or twice a-year on whisky. In England, many a man got muddled every day on beer; and where could they find a reason in these facts for taxing one higher than the other? The truth was, that there was the large brewery interest in England, which owned the public-houses. His complaint was not that whisky was taxed too much, but that beer was taxed too little. He admitted that such an injurious drink as whisky should be taxed in a higher degree. The system of raising Revenue by this mode of taxation was eminently successful, and there was no reason why an additional tax should not be raised from beer, except that Parliament dared not impose such a tax. They did not dare to tax those monopolies that he had referred to. If Parliament only took courage, they might raise such a tax on beer as would enable them to remit the taxes on the innocent luxuries of the people which still remained taxed, such as tea and coffee and plum-pudding. In doing this, they would be acting justly to England, and would be removing an injustice from Scotland and Ireland.

SIR JOSEPH M'KENNA, in reply, contended that the Irish and Scotch were constitutionally, or by circumstances of climate and dietary, indisposed or incapacitated to drink their alcohol in the form of beer instead of spirit. The

English consumed more alcohol than the Irish or Scotch. There was no morality in getting drunk on beer as compared with getting drunk on spirit; one was as bad as the other. The hon. Baronet the Secretary to the Treasury appeared to have overlooked the fact that this was not a question about any special exemption of Ireland from certain taxes. If the position of Ireland, as compared with that of England was such as he (Sir Joseph M'Kenna) had described it, although the former was exempt from certain taxes paid by Great Britain, then so much the worse—the incidence of the taxes which she did pay were only so much the more unfair, for the grievance did not hinge on any particular tax, but on the total of all the taxes. In 1841 each member of the population of Ireland paid in taxation something over 9s., and by 1851, owing to deaths and emigration, as the result of the Famine years, that amount was raised to 12s. 2d. upon those who remained. He was at a loss to know what had occurred to Ireland since 1841 which should enable each member of her population to pay more taxes than he did in that year. Nobody was found in 1841 to assert that Ireland paid much less than she could afford to pay. But the monster injustice was done to Ireland between 1851 and 1871, when new taxes were laid on and an additional levy of 16s. 7d. a-year per head raised from her during the same period when the gross taxation was actually reduced 5s. 7d. for each head of the population of Great Britain. If a man was a strong man, he could allow a leech to remain on him for a time without sustaining any injury, but the question was how many days he could bear it. It was a question how much taxation poor Ireland could bear without reducing her to starvation. The difference of taxation in 1851 and 1871 imposed on Ireland had been, in proportion, a greater burden than the contribution which France had to pay Germany at the end of the late war. He was disappointed in being compelled to go to a division, having trusted that the Government would promise inquiry if they continued in Office, as they probably would, after the General Election.

Question put.

The House divided:—Ayes 36; Noes 58: Majority 22.—(Div. List, No. 38.)

RAILWAY SERVANTS (COMPENSATION FOR INJURY).—RESOLUTION.

MR. RAIKES, in rising to call attention to the recommendations of the Royal Commissioners on Railway Accidents, respecting Compensation to Railway Servants injured in the performance of their duty; and to move—

“That the exceptional character of the services performed and dangers incurred by Railway Servants in the discharge of their duty calls for the immediate and special attention of Her Majesty’s Government; and that this House is of opinion that a change in the Law is required, by which, notwithstanding the legal doctrine of common employment, adequate compensation shall be secured to Railway Servants in all cases of injury to which they have not personally contributed.”

said: In introducing the important Resolution which I venture to bring forward to-night, I am, I hope, fully sensible of the very great difficulty of the large question which may appear to be raised by it, as well as of the delicacy required in endeavouring to separate from that large question the particular matter to which I desire to direct the attention of this House. It is a subject which must be approached with great care, with very grave consideration, and, if I may venture to say so, with perfect temper; and although I do not find upon the Notice Paper evidence that this perfect command of temper is absolutely universal, I shall endeavour in such remarks as I have to make to address myself simply to the question of public interest, and to consider the matter as if no such thing existed on the face of the earth as either the hon. Member for Hythe (Sir Edward Watkin), or the Amendment of which he has given Notice. The special grounds which, as it appears to me, entitle this House and those who have studied the question to separate the case of the railway servants from the ordinary *employés* in other pursuits are briefly these—The first of them is, that the Railway Companies, whose liability is our present consideration, are virtually possessed of an enormous monopoly—the greatest monopoly which has ever existed in this country. Their possession of that monopoly is, I believe, entirely for the public advantage, and that is not a matter on which I desire to provoke any public controversy. I shall be one of the first to acknowledge that the way in which they have administered

the great interests entrusted to their charge has been satisfactory, and that they have been actuated quite as much by public as by private motives in the performance of their obligations. But, in reality, the Railway Companies of this country are the possessors of a practical monopoly of the carrying trade, both in regard to passengers and goods, and that fact appears to me to place them in a perfectly different position from any other trader who does not fulfil the same conditions. When we come to examine the origin of this monopoly, we find that in every particular case it has been created by statute. The Railway Companies are the creatures of Parliament. The property which they possess, the powers which they exercise, the rights which they enjoy, the profits which they receive, are, all of them, created, regulated, and directed by the action of the Legislature. I do not know that there is any other commercial enterprize in this Empire which is at all to be compared with them in this respect, unless you take, perhaps, the case of some of the Gas and Tramway Companies. No doubt, there are other public companies which exercise similar rights under statute. No doubt, there are Water Companies and other bodies which enjoy the same powers; but it is not the universal rule that these Gas Companies or Water Companies are created by the action of Parliament. We are, all of us, familiar with Companies of that description, which are not in any way based upon Acts of Parliament; and although the rule may be that they come to Parliament for compulsory powers, which it is convenient for them to have, it cannot be said that the water enterprize or the gas enterprize of this country depends, as the railway enterprize does, wholly on the sanction and initiative of Parliament. Well, Sir, I think that having stated these two distinctive characteristics of the railway enterprize of this country, I shall have made out my case for regarding it from a somewhat different point of view from that of other employers of labour, whose trades have grown up with the growth of the nation, and have been practised from the earliest days, not merely of our history, but of all civilization. I think there is, however, a more important consideration still behind. If it were to be shown that any other body possessed the same mo-

monopoly, and a monopoly created in the same manner, it would, I think, be exceedingly difficult for any such body—and I do not know of one that could put in the same claim—it would be exceedingly difficult for such a body to occupy the same position in regard to the public safety as that which is occupied by our Railway Companies. The Railway Companies are the custodians of a great deal of removable property. Her Majesty's subjects travel in every part of the Empire in enormous numbers by their means. They take, I should be the first to confess, extraordinary and most successful precautions to protect the lives and limbs of those of whom they have the care; but the fact is, I think, indisputable that they are more concerned in preserving the lives and limbs of Her Majesty's subjects than any other industry that exists in the country. I shall be told, perhaps, that mines are much more frequently the cause of death and injury to the persons employed in them than railways; but, so far as mines are concerned, they affect only the persons employed. They do not affect the lives or the personal safety of persons who are not in actual employment in them. Therefore, the position which I wish to take up to-night is, that the change of the law I am desirous of recommending is not merely a matter of the interest and the advantage of the railway servants, but that it is, in a very large degree, a matter of public interest, and that public interest is very greatly concerned in the better and more effectual protection of the lives and limbs of the servants of the Railway Companies. It is very easy to regard this question either from the point of view of a railway director or a railway servant, and nothing can be more convenient than to take either of those views. But I do not ask the House to approach the matter from one point of view or the other. If I were merely endeavouring to make out a case—and I think a very strong case might be made out—from the point of view of the interests of the railway servants, I should not, at all events, satisfy myself. What I wish this House to see in the course of the discussion is that this is a matter not merely in the interests of the railway servants, but of the interest of the public, which is inseparable from the due protection and security of those who serve them on railways. Well, Sir, the particular Re-

port to which I desire to draw attention is the Report of the Royal Commissioners on Railway Accidents, which was issued in the year 1877. And the recommendation to which I wish to draw attention is, that in which they point out that, in spite of the doctrine of common employment, a case to their satisfaction has been made out for granting compensation for injury to railway servants in such cases as those in which the injuries might be occasioned by persons exercising delegated authority. I ask for particular attention to the words "delegated authority," because in those words lies the whole gist of the matter. The Commissioners, in 1877, made a general Report, and I am bound to say that one of the Commissioners, Mr. Harrison, who, I believe, was placed on the Commission as the special representative of the Railway Companies, and to whose entire fitness for the office the railway servants themselves bear full testimony—Mr. Harrison dissented from this part of the Report. The Commissioners were inclined to find in the condition of the railway servants a special ground of hardship in the doctrine of common employment, and they had put the matter, so far as that claim was concerned, on the ground of the remoteness of the connection between employer and employed. I think Mr. Harrison, in his Report, has shown that this is a ground which applies to all other important industries, and, in fact, to the service of all Companies. But there was another Report, a Report by Mr. Galt, who also was a Member of the Royal Commission, and who, having concurred in this particular recommendation to which I call attention, added a supplementary Report which covered all the ground, and in which occur these very remarkable words. He says—

"There is another point of view from which we may consider this subject—that of the public interest, apart from those of the railway servant. The interests of the Companies, no doubt, are, to a limited extent, identical with those of the public. It would not be to their interest to neglect the means of safety to such an extent as that the amount paid for compensation would exceed the sum necessary for the safe management of their traffic; but, on the other hand, it is obviously their interest to avoid the heavy expense they would incur in making such changes conducive to safety in their management as have been recommended, where the cost of such changes would exceed the sum paid for compensation. The nearer the interests of the Companies can be approximated to those of the

public, the management of the Companies will be proportionately better, and their liability to compensation as regards their servants must naturally have a tendency towards the attainment of that object. It may, no doubt, be said that compensation to servants, including the compensation to passengers in such cases as I have suggested, would fall very far short of the sum that would be required to effect the improvements recommended by the inspecting officers of the Board of Trade. That, no doubt, is the case; but still it would be a step in the right direction, and would, to some extent, lessen the divergence of interests now existing between the Companies and the public."

Now, Sir, I think it will be clear that the view which I have endeavoured, as well as I could, to put before the House is one very much better stated by Mr. Galt in his supplementary Report. He takes the ground that the public interest is closely identified with the improvement of the existing relations between the railway servants and their employers, and that these, therefore, possess a claim to consideration. Lord De La Warr has also published a separate Report. Since that time Lord De La Warr has been very active in making legislative proposals on this question. In the other House of Parliament Lord De La Warr has, on more than one occasion, propounded a Bill for dealing with all *employés* on the basis of the recommendation of the Royal Commissioners—namely, that of delegated authority. He introduced a Bill into the House of Lords last year. There is a Bill propounded by the same noble Lord before the House of Lords this year. There was a Bill before this House last year, brought in by the hon. Member for Hastings (Mr. T. Brassey) which substantially affirmed the same principle, although it was expressed in slightly different language. I admit that the difficulty of the position has not been greatly reduced by the introduction of these two measures, and I will tell the House why. The Government, last year, introduced a Bill dealing with the general liability of employers. That Bill was introduced into this House. It was based, I believe, mainly upon the recommendations of a Committee of this House which sat in the previous year, although it does not embody the views of the Chairman of the Committee, the right hon. Gentleman the Member for London University (Mr. Lowe), who proposed, in his Report, a very much bolder, and, I think, a more satisfactory mode of

dealing with the question than that which was adopted by the Committee. But the Government introduced their measure, and their measure was that a liability should rest upon public Companies or upon employers generally for the acts of any superintending official as distinguished from the acts of any persons possessing "delegated authority." People not acquainted with the subject may say they fail to grasp the full difference between the two positions; but I think it will be apparent to anybody as soon as the subject is explained. The object was to meet the case of all employments, and I am not prepared to say that the Government could have gone further in dealing with the case of many or most employments. It is exceedingly difficult to introduce any change into recognized law, and particularly in regard to a system which has come to be one of the conditions of our commercial enterprise, and which must affect all the industries of the land. I do not blame the Government for having stopped short at enforcing the liability of employers at the point of a superintending official when they came to deal with *employés* generally. On the other hand, I am disposed to think that Lord De La Warr and the hon. Member for Hastings were right as far as the railway interest was concerned, although I cannot fail to see the difficulty of applying their principle to all commercial undertakings generally. I think that while the principle of Lord De La Warr and the hon. Member for Hastings might be thoroughly applicable to the case of railway servants alone, embodying as it does, in a legitimate form, the recommendation of the Royal Commissioners, I should not be prepared to say that it would be well for the commercial enterprise of the Kingdom at large if such a measure were made the basis of a general change of the law. Therefore, it is without any intentional disrespect to the hon. and learned Member for Louth (Mr. Sullivan), that I have been particularly anxious to bring the case of the railway servants specially before the House, because I think that if we take action upon the recommendations of the Railway Accidents Commission under the special circumstances to which I have adverted, it may be comparatively easy to deal with the question as regards the railway servants. In this instance, you would be supported by the

recommendation of the Commissioners, while I admit that it would be a matter of extraordinary difficulty to proceed on the same lines in regard to the liability of employers generally. I have been pressed to postpone the consideration of this question until the general question of employers' liability could be considered, and therefore it is that I have been particularly anxious to avail myself of this opportunity of pointing out how far I think this particular interest is to be severed from other interests. Having indicated, then, what seems to me to be the confusion engendered by the rival projects, I would ask the House to consider for a moment the Memorials presented by the railway servants to the Royal Commission, upon which the Royal Commissioners proceeded to come to the conclusion which I have stated. There were two Memorials before the Royal Commissioners. The first was one presented by the inspectors, engine-drivers, firemen, guards, shunters, pointsmen, porters, and platelayers employed on British railways; and, among other things, it says—

“These Returns, which are by the Companies classed under the latter head, we contend are in many instances put down to erroneous causes.”

Perhaps, before I come to this, I had better state that there are Returns, issued by the Board of Trade, which classify the deaths caused to railway servants as well as to passengers, according to the circumstances of each particular case, and state whether the persons injured or killed were in any way responsible for the accident. There is, however, a question between the *employés*, who have presented this Memorial, and the Railway Companies who employ them, as to how far the Returns presented by the Companies, returning as they do only a small portion of deaths and injuries as being occasioned by causes beyond the control of the persons killed or injured, are absolutely correct. I do not think there is any intention on the part of the railway servants to impute to the Railway Companies any desire to misrepresent the facts, or to give inaccurate Returns. But, in dealing with any question of this sort, it is quite clear that there may be differences of opinion as to the circumstances which led to a particular death; and it is not, I think, much to be wondered at that

many cases should be put down by the Railway Companies as having been caused by their servants' default, which the servants, on the other hand, think were caused by the default of the Companies. For instance, there are cases of death which have occurred among railway servants where the death did not occur until some time subsequent to the accident which occasioned it. If death takes place at once, a Coroner's jury sits, an inquest is held, a verdict is returned, and a man is reported to have been killed, either by his own fault or the fault of somebody else, as the case may be. But if the man is only injured, he may linger for months before he absolutely dies; but the death is due equally to the effects of the accident. Of such deaths no notice appears in these Returns. It is exceedingly probable, therefore, that without the smallest wish on the part of the Railway Companies to misrepresent the facts, there may be a considerable percentage of deaths and of injury which may have been caused by circumstances over which the parties most concerned had no control, although; in the eye of the Company, they were not occasioned by any fault on their part. I will now read an extract from the Memorial. The Memorialists say—

“These Returns, which are by the Companies classed under the latter head, we contend are in many instances put down to erroneous causes, and that in the majority of cases they are occasioned—1, by excessive hours of labour; 2, by the non-enforcement of certain of the Companies' rules ostensibly made for our protection; 3, by non-adaptation of the most approved appliances conducive to safety in the working of railways; 4, by the want of proper accommodations in working the traffic; 5, by the insufficient number of men employed.”

Well, Sir, as I have said, there is a second Memorial. The second Memorial was presented from the railway servants generally. In that Memorial it is stated—

“By the Return of accidents to railway servants published by the Board of Trade, it is shown that 765 railway servants were killed and 3,618 were injured in the year 1875, and we venture to assert that of this number a very large proportion were so killed or injured from causes within the power of the Companies to prevent. Yet the sufferers have no legal claim for compensation, nor are the Railway Companies held responsible by the law for, or compelled to remove the causes of such accidents. We feel convinced that until a due responsibility for the safety of the servants be placed on the Railway

Companies, by making them liable for the loss occasioned to their servants by preventable accidents, there will be little diminution in the number of railway servants yearly killed or injured. We, therefore, beg that the Commission will recommend to Parliament such an alteration in the law relating to the liability of employers for injuries to their servants as will make Railway Companies justly responsible to their servants."

I am very sorry, Sir, to be obliged to address the House at this length upon this question; but it is one of very great interest and of very great importance to the real welfare of the country. Therefore, I will venture to give the House two extracts—two only, and they are not very long ones—from the evidence of the railway servants who were examined before the Commissioners. The evidence of James Bridgeman is to be found at page 67 of the Royal Commission. Bridgeman was an engine-driver on the Rhymney line, and I give this extract in order to show what the railway servants say with respect to the danger to themselves occasioned by excessive labour. James Bridgeman, an engine-driver on the Rhymney line, said—

"I have been four years in the employment of the Company; on day duty a fair average of our ordinary hours of labour is from 13 to 17 or 18 hours, and at night 14 hours. The longest time I have worked in one week was 109 hours; that was in six days."

Almost as bad as the case of a Member of Parliament.

"I did not work on Sunday. That was not an exceptional case. In winter it is a continual thing, because there are so many delays, and we have such inclines to work from, snow, and other things, which block us up. We say to the boys who come to call us to go out on duty—'We shall not go out to-day,' and they say we must go out, and if we refuse we stand the chance of being discharged. I have worked on an average 17 hours a-day; my wife and my wife's sister have been one on each side of me, holding me up and shaking me, and trying to get me to eat my supper, and perhaps I have not been two hours in bed. Sometimes I have been less than an hour in bed when the boy has come to call me up again. In the winter time it is dark when we start in the morning, and we have the same work to do as we have when we start in the summer at daylight, and the same miles to run. I have fallen to sleep when going along the road. We have sometimes to stand for 20 hours."

Well, Sir, I think this gives us a graphic picture of what may be understood by overwork, and I think it is not a difficult matter to understand now how danger

may be incurred to the public generally when it is possible to call on a man to do that amount of work. The next case is, perhaps, even a more painful one; it is the case of Frederick Harcombe. Frederick Harcombe said—

"I am goods guard on the Taff Vale Railway. I have to take on traffic at different sidings, and leave it at various places according to invoices. Our hours vary to a great extent; sometimes we have to work 20 hours at a stretch. I shall take the work of last week, which would be a favourable week as regards finishing work early. On Monday, the 23rd August, I was on duty at 3.25 in the morning and left off at 8.10 in the evening; Tuesday, 6.30 a.m. to 3.50 p.m.; Wednesday, 4.40 a.m. to 1.30 the following morning; Thursday, 12.30 p.m. to 2.15 a.m.; Friday, no work; Saturday 4 a.m. to 8 p.m. The last day's work was a bit easier than general. It has been sometimes 11 or 12 o'clock when I have arrived at the docks. I have a deal of active work at the stations and sidings; the shunting, coupling, and uncoupling at stations I do all myself, as the brakesman as a regular duty has to go back 800 yards to stop a following train. The week I have given is a fair sample of ordinary work; another might be a little heavier. In working these long hours, 16, 18, or 20 hours, one has a difficulty in keeping awake, nor should I be able if I had not such responsible duties to perform. We have formed deputations on different occasions to our superiors to tell them our duties could be so arranged that our hours of work would be more regular day by day; I told Mr. Fisher that I had been at work excessively long hours, and that I required a rest. Our general proposition is that we ought not to work more than 10 or 12 hours a-day. On that single trip to Merthyr on Thursday I made 18 hours and some odd minutes. If it could be so arranged that we should only go a single trip a-day these long hours would be avoided. It is not fair to make us work 18 hours one day and 6 or 8 hours the next, nor getting rest for one day to work 20 hours the next. I could refer to cases when the work was much heavier than I have stated. I have worked from the time I went on duty till the time I went off, without a break, 23 hours and 40 minutes. The Company should have more men, and not overwork the men they have. I have seen many young men come and stop a few days and then go away as if they had enough of it. I do not think you can mention a line in the United Kingdom where there are more accidents to the men employed than on ours, especially in shunting, there being such a lot of work. There is a rule which prohibits us from getting on a train while it is in motion in shunting, but I have been told by our traffic superintendent that the rules are only a matter of form. There is a rule that if a servant meets with an accident through disobedience of the Company's rules he shall not be entitled to receive any support from the accident fund, but I never knew any objection raised where the accident happened through fly-shunting."

The particular reason why I call attention to this case is that Frederick Har-

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combe, who gave this evidence before the Royal Commission, was discharged by the Company in whose service he was; and, I believe, although he tried some other five Railway Companies, he found it impossible to obtain employment in his profession.

SIR EDWARD WATKIN: I rise to Order. Will the hon. Gentleman give his authority for making that last statement?

MR. RAIKES: I can only say that it was so stated by one of the witnesses before the Royal Commission, and I shall be happy to furnish the hon. Member with my authority when I have an opportunity of referring to it. This may, perhaps, account for the fact that there were not a greater number of witnesses of this class examined before this particular Commission. But I do not wish even the hon. Member for Hythe to understand that I am condemning the Railway Companies for not fixing regular hours, as this witness thinks they should. Every man must be called on at times to work extra hours. But, at the same time, the public have a fair right to ask the Railway Companies to take special care not to work men, as far as they can help it, beyond the power of human endurance, and render them liable to occasional accidents, and cause death to the public or injury to themselves thereby. Of course, we know that a railway servant's life is one of very great danger, and must remain one of very great danger in spite of anything which we can do, from circumstances over which the Companies can have no control. Take the case of John Chiddy, which was brought before the House some years ago. John Chiddy was a plate-layer on the Bristol and Exeter line, and while at his work he saw a piece of rock had fallen across the line and a train approaching. The train would inevitably have been upset, but he gallantly rushed to the spot, and succeeded in removing the obstruction and in saving the train, although in doing so he sacrificed his own life. No one can say that the occurrence was the fault of the Company, and I have no doubt that there are many cases in which railway servants have been prepared to make great exertions in the interests of their employers without any hope of compensation or reward. There is another case which I may mention, the case of a man well

known in the city in which I have lived for a great part of my life. When I was a boy there was a serious accident at the Dee Bridge in Chester. One half of the bridge came down with the train in 1846 or 1847. The driver of the train escaped with one van. He flew along the line to the station about a mile off, having given information there, he reversed the engine and crossed the river on the other half of the broken bridge in order to give the alarm on the other side. Deeds of this nature are as heroic as anything that can occur in history. But no one will say that if this man had lost his life the Railway Company would have been in any sense responsible. We hear much of recklessness and carelessness on the part of railway servants by which they frequently lose their lives. But in many instances the disposition thus characterized is very nearly akin to the very noblest qualities which dignify human nature. I have now to ask the House to bear in mind the Reports of two previous important authorities who have considered this question. There was a Royal Commission appointed in 1865 to consider the question of Railway Accidents, and a Committee of this House sat in 1870 to consider the same question. Both inquiries contributed in an important degree to the information of the public, but both differed from the Royal Commission of 1877 in affirming the very important principle of a maximum of liability, which, in their opinion, ought to be incurred by the Railway Companies. It always appeared to me—I do not want to discuss the question at length—that Railway Companies are exceedingly hardly dealt with in the matter of unlimited damages under Lord Campbell's Act. I certainly cannot see the justice of the principle as it now operates. Take the case of two men called to the Bar. They might both be men of the highest character and the highest talent. Both are travelling in the same train. They might both be Members of this House going down into the country by the Great Western Railway to address their constituents at a General Election. One of these men might have devoted his great abilities to the service of mankind in particular as an advocate, the other might have devoted his abilities to the service of mankind in general as a pamphleteer or publicist. These two

men travel in the same train and sit side by side in the same carriage. Both in the same calamity might be killed, and the Railway Company might have to pay to the representatives of the one who was earning a professional income of £10,000 a-year a sum of £100,000, while the representatives of the other man, although he was of equal ability, would not get a shilling. Again, in case one of these men happened to be a bachelor, the Railway Company might kill him without being called upon to pay anything in the shape of damages; whereas if the other man happened to be a married man, his family would recover whatever a jury might be pleased to assess. I mention this to show the great inequality and injustice of the law in imposing almost unlimited liability upon the Railway Companies so far as passengers are concerned. Well Sir, the Royal Commission of 1865, and the Committee of 1870, recommended that there should be a maximum of liability for injury done or life lost in the case of passengers, and I find that the hon. Member for Hastings, in the Bill which he introduced last year, adopted that principle with regard to railway servants, fixing the limit at the sum of £200. There is another basis on which we are entitled to go, and that is the case of the workmen's trains. The law has sanctioned the principle of fixing in regard to workmen's trains a maximum of liability, and I think it is fixed in most cases at £100. The hon. Member for Hythe will correct me if I am stating the matter in any way inaccurately; but I think that the workmen's trains are run at a maximum liability of £100 in case of an accident. [Sir EDWARD WATKIN: On the Metropolitan.] So that the principle of a maximum liability has been affirmed by Parliament. There are three ways suggested for dealing with the question. There is the simplest and easiest, which is to leave it alone. The second is to adopt the principle laid down by the Royal Commission, and not merely to adopt the principle, but to put it in practice by the Bills of Lord De La Warr and the hon. Member for Hastings; but the danger of that is the danger inseparable from excessive litigation and the injury necessarily caused to the recognized principle of common employment in other industries, which must be produced

if one particular class of public servants is entitled to go into a Court of Law to obtain redress when other classes of servants are not equally entitled. I quite see the difficulty in both the first and the second of these courses. But then there is a third mode, and that is the mode which the hon. Member for Hythe calls attention in the second and perhaps the more valuable part of his Amendment—and that is the mode of insuring. Now, there are a great many Railway Companies who, although hon. Members may not know it, are very much concerned in introducing into their Acts most excellent clauses for the establishment of a superannuation and accident fund. One of these clauses, which I have in my hand, says that the directors of the Company may, if they think fit, establish and maintain an accident and life insurance fund, payable by temporary or periodical allowance in a gross sum to such of the Company's servants and workmen as may be temporarily or permanently disabled by accident. I think we have here the germ of much useful legislation; but it does not in my opinion go far enough, and it is permissive. It does not say that the Company shall, but that the Company may establish this insurance fund for accidents resulting in injury or death. In establishing these funds, if they are to be in any sense successful they must be secured by the cordial co-operation of the men, and a great number of the men dislike the clause, because they are already insured in other ways. They do not desire to avail themselves of the benefit of such a clause, because it would interfere with the arrangements they have made for their own security and would involve them in a double not like these clauses, and the Companies payment. That being so, the men do cannot enforce them. They are valuable, however, as indicating a wish to go forward in a right direction. What I desire to put to the House on this occasion is this—it appears to me that the principle on which the Royal Commissioners would act and upon which the hon. Member for Hastings has proposed to act is a sound one. In the case of Companies so peculiarly constituted and possessing such peculiar privileges as Railway Companies, special legislation is not only permissible, but even desirable. I think that in view

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of the public safety, it is incumbent on Parliament to take such steps for the protection of railway servants as may give greater security to the travelling public. I certainly do think that, seeing the exceptional nature of the dangers they incur and the services they perform, railway servants possess a claim for the consideration of the Government and of this House such as cannot in an equal degree be advanced on behalf of any other class. That being so, I would ask this House, bearing in mind the fact that this system of insurance has already in many cases been adopted, bearing in mind the high authority which has sanctioned the principle of the maximum of liability, bearing in mind that that maximum liability is already the established rule in the case of passengers by workmen's trains where the particular sum to be paid is assessed not by a jury, but by an arbitrator appointed by the Board of Trade, bearing in mind all these facts, it seems to me that a case is fairly made out for establishing a system by which railway servants, in cases where they are not shown to have contributed to loss of life or injury to limb by their own act—or their representatives, in fatal cases—should be entitled to receive from the Company a certain sum to be fixed at a maximum by Parliament, and to be assessed in cases of injury by a competent arbitrator in such a way as is provided in the case of workmen's trains, and that in cases of injury they should be able to obtain this compensation from the Company where it has been established that they have not themselves conduced to their own injury. But that is not all. From the Returns presented by the Board of Trade, and submitted to the Royal Commissioners, I find that the number of railway servants killed in the six years preceding 1878 were, in 1872, 644 killed, and 1,398 injured; 1873, 773 killed, and 1,171 injured; 1875, 765 killed, and an appalling total of 3,618 injured; 1876, 673 killed, and 2,600 injured; and 1877, 642 killed, and 2,163 injured. I confess that that Return shows that during the last two years there was a considerable decrease both in death and injury, owing probably to the laudable efforts made by the Railway Companies to prevent accident, and the excellent result of the appointment of the Royal Commissioners. Well, Sir, if we take

the case of the year 1875, which is the only year I have here where the amounts are broken up, I find that out of 765 persons who were killed, the Railway Companies returned themselves as responsible for only 39, the rest being attributed to causes within the control of the sufferers; and 3,618 injured, of whom they returned only 514 as having been injured from causes beyond the control of the persons injured. Although I venture to call in question the perfect accuracy of these figures, disclaiming at the same time any disposition to impute a desire on the part of the Railway Companies to give inaccurate Returns, I may at all events say that the figures of the Companies are good against themselves; and if they say that out of this enormous number of killed and injured there were only 39 for whom they could be held at all responsible where death resulted, and only 514 out of 3,618 cases of injury, then I think we may fairly arrive at what would be the net result, supposing such a system of enforced insurance existed as that which I venture to propose. Supposing you fix the maximum liability for the killing of a railway servant at £200, and suppose you take the number of cases in the course of a year at even a higher figure than that which is set forth in this Return—suppose you say 50 instead of 39, it would cost the Companies £10,000 a-year. Taking 500 as the average number of railway servants injured by causes beyond their own control and striking a rough balance, you may say they would recover half the amount of the maximum or £100 a-piece, which is, I take it, a good deal above what the actual amount would be—suppose that a liability of £100 was incurred in the case of each of the 500 servants, you would have an annual responsibility of £50,000 under that head. If you add that £50,000 to the £10,000 for which the Companies would be responsible on account of deaths, you will arrive at a total annual charge of £60,000, which would represent the direct liability of the Railway Companies in such cases. But I do not wish to stop here. I would stop here as far as the liability of the Railway Companies is concerned; but I do not desire to stop here as a means of encouraging thereby saving and care in the railway servants themselves, because I think if you made a system of this sort the centre of a

group of clauses to be introduced into every Railway Bill, and if you said—"Where you kill or injure a man you shall pay a sum so fixed and ascertained," and if you surrounded the servants themselves with a legal machinery which would enable men to insure themselves against these railway accidents, by which they could provide against such a calamity as that which befel the poor man Chiddy, you would encourage the men in the greatest possible degree to take care of themselves. If you could establish such a system, by which, without an expensive source of proceeding, and without having recourse to hungry attorneys, you would provide a short and expeditious remedy in all cases of death and injury; if you use that as the centre of a system by which you encourage habits of thrift, economy, and providence, I think you would go a long way towards solving one of the most difficult problems with which we have to deal. Such is the nature of my proposal. I venture to offer these suggestions in all humility to the House. There are Gentlemen here whose knowledge of railway matters must always greatly exceed my own, and there are Gentlemen here who have given this subject great attention, not only from the directors' point of view, but from that of public duty. They may differ from me in opinion, but I hope they will be satisfied that I have not brought forward this question in any spirit of hostility to any commercial interest or undertaking. I have brought it forward, because I believe that a great public duty should be discharged by this House before the House ceases to sit; and I do sincerely trust that whether or not the House will adopt the proposal I venture to submit to it on this occasion, it will, at least, form the basis of an adequate consideration of what I believe to be one of our greatest social wants, and which I am certain must in every part of the House demand our warmest sympathy. I beg, Sir, now to move the Resolution which stands in my name on the Paper.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That the exceptional character of the services performed and dangers incurred by Railway Servants in the discharge of their duty calls for the immediate and special attention of Her Majesty's Government; and that this House is of opinion that a change in the Law is required, by which, notwithstanding the legal doctrine of common employment, adequate com-

pensation shall be secured to Railway Servants in all cases of injury to which they have not personally contributed."—(*Mr. Raikes.*)

SIR EDWARD WATKIN, in moving, as an Amendment—

"That while it might, on the eve of a General Election, serve party purposes in some boroughs to single out Railway industry for exceptional legislation, such a course would be contrary to precedent and be unsupported by the facts relating to accidents attending mechanical and other industrial employments, and that the question of accidents arising in the conduct of all the industries of the Country, whether from personal carelessness, defective control, or other causes, and the consequent premature death of and injury to probably 100,000 persons annually, demands the grave attention of Her Majesty's Government, with a view to the adoption by Parliament of some general and adequate system of insurance, to the funds for which both the capitalist and the workman should contribute in just proportions,"

said, he had listened with very great attention to the hon. Gentleman the Member for Chester (*Mr. Raikes*), and certainly did not perceive that he either proved or attempted to prove the foundation of the proposition of this Resolution—namely, the exceptional and peculiar dangers and difficulties attending the working of railways. But if the working of railways was so exceptional and so dangerous, or whether it was so or not, the hon. Gentleman said all this called for the immediate attention of Her Majesty's Government. Now, if he remembered rightly, the Railway Accidents Commission reported in February, 1877. It was strange that the hon. Member's anxiety to deal with this which he called a great question should only have awakened itself in his breast on the eve of a General Election. He (*Sir Edward Watkins*) was not like the hon. Gentleman the Chairman of Committees. He was simply a member of the hard-working world. He was not a lawyer. The best years of his life, from the beginning of railways till now, had been spent in railway work. He thought if anyone would go among the bodies of railway working men he had to employ, it would be seen that he had neglected nothing which could in any way promote the good of the railway working man for whose sobriety, intelligence, and zeal, he had the highest respect. And with regard to injuries and death caused by the neglect of a man's fellow-servant in a common employment, he had never looked at the Act of Parliament, but merely considered what was

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just and right and had always given compensation to the injured man, or to his family. The Railway Commissioners recommended that a Company should be "liable for the negligence of those to whom it delegated its authority as a master," but they did not go further than that. They "did not propose that railway Companies should be responsible to their servants, for the negligence of those who were in fact, as well as in law, fellow servants." The Railway Accidents Commissioners also recommended that the time for bringing actions should be limited. The hon. Gentleman, however, went further, and answered his own argument by differing with their Report. He (Sir Edward Watkin) had endeavoured to ascertain from Her Majesty's Government whether they were in favour of a general system of insurance applied to all industries or not. He had failed to learn from the hon. Member for Chester whether he was in favour of such an insurance or not. The hon. Member for Stafford (Mr. Macdonald) was of opinion that insurance in some cases inflicted very great difficulty, if not intolerable wrong. If he read the Amendment of the hon. Member for Stafford right we ought never to insure our property, for if we did we should be tempted to burn the property down; we ought never to insure lives, because lives would then be taken upon the shortest possible notice; and we ought not to insure ships, for no doubt the tendency of rotten ships was to go to the bottom. The hon. Member for Chester had failed in endeavouring to show that railway shareholders should be specially singled out for the infliction of a new and exceptional liability. The hon. Member, if he knew anything of industrial works, must know there were far more dangerous employments than railway employment. Many also where the human system was attacked by noxious elements. But, having rather a weak case, he tried to buttress it up by saying that railways were enormous monopolies. What that proposition had to do with the question he (Sir Edward Watkin) could not comprehend. He knew very well that there were only two or three towns where there were not two or more competing railways. There was no railway which was not competed with by roads, canals, and tramways. These railways, said the hon.

Member, were a special, the only special creation of Parliament. He began to think he was dreaming when the hon. Member said that. What were the canals, the great enterprizes of the last century, but the creation of Parliament? What were the great roads of the country, the tramways or the ordinary roads, but the creation of Parliament? In fact, every enterprize which demanded the compulsory expropriation of private rights and private property was of necessity the creation of Parliament. Coming back to the question of public safety, he found that in the course of the year 277 persons were killed by accident in the streets of London, being 10 times as many as the whole number of railway passengers who were killed on all the railways in the Kingdom by causes beyond their own control. What the hon. Member desired to do was to inflict a tax of £60,000 per annum upon railway proprietors for the support of the families of those railway *employés* who were killed through the negligence of their fellow-servants. He maintained that this matter of the deaths by accident of railway *employés* was merely the fringe of the real question, which should include all casualties and fatalities necessarily arising out of our vast industries. While the proposal of the hon. Member would not affect the cases of one in 100 who were killed in the course of their work in carrying on those industries, his own proposal would deal with them all. The railway proprietors of the Three Kingdoms employed directly and indirectly about 400,000 persons. With reference to the two cases quoted by the hon. Member which occurred on railways in South Wales, he should like to ask the hon. Member whether those were fair samples of the evidence given before the Commission? The memorials alluded to by the hon. Member, also, as he must have known, were presented by a small section of the railway *employés* only. It must be remembered that it was to the interest of the railway employer to treat his servants well. A railway could not stop. It must go on in all weather and in all circumstances. In other enterprizes a strike could endure; on our railways it could not be thought of; and he considered that our railway servants were not only among the best paid, but amongst the most kindly considered of

the working classes. Turning to the larger subject, if the hon. Member would examine the Report of the Registrar General of Births and Deaths, he would find that of the 18,500 persons who met with violent deaths every year, only some 1,283 were killed in connection with railways in any way, whether as passengers, or as being employed in the workshops, or in any and every other way. It was no less strange than true that correcting the figures by population, this ghastly total presented the same volume year after year. Accident leading to "violent death" seemed to be an all but constant quantity, an element, therefore, which must be taken into account always in calculating the hopes and chances of life. And it was probable that for one person who died by accident, 20 were more or less injured. Thus the appalling figure of 400,000 would represent the annual accident liability of this great industrial country. Against these figures he would place the 6,445 persons who died from what the Registrar called "mechanical injuries" other than those received in connection with railways and mines; also the 2,789 who died from "chemical injuries; also the 5,708 who died from "asphyxia; and the 1,974 who died from "falls." They had heard a good deal with regard to the danger of railway travelling; but it was a remarkable circumstance that the deaths resulting from horse conveyance for the year amounted to 1,522, while 1,043 persons were killed by what the Registrar classed as "fractures," apart from death by fracture on railways and mines. Although 61 persons were killed by agricultural machinery, the hon. Member had not brought forward any proposal for the protection of such persons. The figures showed that railway travelling was the safest mode of conveyance, and that railway servants enjoyed a greater immunity from accidents than many other *employés*. He trusted that the House would be of opinion that he had established a fair case against the Motion of the hon. Member. The groundwork of his whole proposition had been disproved. It appeared to him that the great value of insurance was — first, that it made the risk run a definite risk; secondly, that it was perfectly fair; and, thirdly, that by its being universal, it would give satisfaction to all. A high authority—Lord Shand, an

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eminent Scotch Judge—had expressed an opinion on this subject which conclusively proved that the Employers' Liability Bill was nothing more nor less than an attempt, whether for political or humanitarian purposes, to deal with a very small part of a very great question. Lord Shand said that the great majority of accidents that occurred were what were popularly called unavoidable accidents, or accidents which were naturally incident to the employment, and which were often caused by the negligence of the unhappy sufferer, who was, however, not the less entitled to sympathy on that account. None of the legislative measures proposed, he said, would in the least degree meet this, which he believed to be the largest class of accidents. There appeared to be one remedy which, in Lord Shand's opinion, was the only one which could be resorted to, and that was a system of insurance to be contributed to by both employers and workmen to guard against the contingencies of perilous employments. These were words of wisdom, which he would recommend to the consideration of the House. But the House would not have forgotten the decisive letters which were given to the public through the Press, on the whole subject, by one of our greatest lawyers, the Lord Justice Bramwell. The hon. Member for Chester scarcely did justice to the great class of employers in this country. The Railway Companies as a rule—he admitted that there were exceptions—the great colliery owners as a rule, the great manufacturers of metals as a rule adopted a system of insurance, to which they and their *employés* contributed, to provide for times of sickness and for funerals and accidents; and one of the great ironworks, the "Staveley," had received and distributed, since 1867, a total sum for insurance amounting to no less than £59,918. It was unjust to the great employers of labour to say that they neglected the just rights, or the wants, and sufferings of their people, and if one single interest, and that a defenceless body, was selected on the eve of a General Election for attack, cause should be shown why it should be so treated. Did the Government sympathize with that attack? He wished the hon. Member for Chester would have treated them to the political economy of the question. He would, however, venture to remind

the House of the difference between a definite and an indefinite risk. The one was insurable, and therefore entered into the cost and the price of the thing done or produced. Thus the consumer paid it. But the other was uninsurable, and therefore was a tax upon capital. True, the hon. Member for Chester proposed to limit the compensation in case of death to £200. He (Sir Edward Watkin) did not know whether that would either satisfy the hon. Member for Stafford, or the railway servants at Chester. Why should not Her Majesty's Government aid those who had tried their hand at aiding themselves, who by agreement with their employers had established those insurance funds for a day of distress? If they frankly accepted the principle of insurance as laid down in his Amendment, then he admitted they would have a very good thing to go to the country with. In no other way, in his opinion, could they deal adequately with the question. The hon. Member had hinted rather than said something about great monopolies and great corporations. He would, however, be surprised to hear that there was a railway *employé* for every shareholder, and that the ordinary dividend of the ordinary stockholder was little more than the average sum paid to principal mechanics and signalmen on railways. He believed that a system of insurance, such as he had spoken of, would willingly be joined in by railway *employés*, and he commended the system to the consideration of Her Majesty's Government. There was no greater question of the day to be solved. If they took it in hand they would, he believed, find the employers of labour ready to help them in establishing a just and wise system, which would redound to their credit and be a great national benefit. He begged to move the Amendment of which he had given Notice.

MR. KNOWLES seconded the Amendment.

Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "while it might, on the eve of a General Election, serve party purposes in such boroughs to single out Railway industry for exceptional legislation, such a course would be contrary to precedent and be unsupported by the facts relating to accidents attending mechanical and other industrial employments, and that the question of accidents arising in the conduct of

all the industries of the Country, whether from personal carelessness, defective control, or other causes, and the constant premature death of and injury to probably 100,000 persons annually, demands the grave attention of Her Majesty's Government, with a view to the adoption by Parliament of some general and adequate system of insurance, to the funds for which both the capitalist and the workman should contribute in just proportions,"—(Sir Edward Watkin,)—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

MR. HALL, in supporting the Motion of his hon. Friend the Member for Chester (Mr. Raikes), said, he did so, not because he believed the Railway Companies to be defenceless bodies, but because he believed this to be a very important branch of a very difficult subject, and one which ought to be dealt with by Her Majesty's Government. Whether the interesting plan sketched out by his hon. Friend was likely to commend itself to the House he could not say; but he thought it was one which offered a chance of showing the wisest way to go, and one which would be most acceptable to railway *employés* themselves. He had never heard that railway servants desired more than to be relieved from the disability of being unable to claim compensation for injury received in the course of the service. The law had been so strained of late years that it was now held that a railway servant was not only responsible for his own acts, but was unable to obtain compensation for any act of a fellow-servant, whereby he sustained injury, provided the act was the result of negligence and was not wilfully committed. That was the injustice which was complained of. The Courts of Scotland had never interpreted the law so strictly against the workmen as the Courts in England; but in the year 1856 the House of Lords ruled that the same principle applied to both countries. The hon. Member for Hythe (Sir Edward Watkin) asked why were the railway servants singled out—why were they not to deal with the whole question? The hon. Member for Hythe was pained that nothing was to be done for agricultural labourers and others. As to the interest which the hon. Member for Stafford (Mr. Macdonald) looked after, it was doubtful whether the mining industry would exist at all if the doctrine of common employ-

ment were abolished. Yet the abolition of the doctrine of common employment would throw upon the shareholders the whole consequences of the men's carelessness. He was far from saying that miners had no case; and he was not grudging them legislation on a just basis. But he wished to show that, in asking for too much, the miners ought not to be surprised if Parliament did not allow the claims of others, who did not ask for too much, to be prejudiced as a consequence of the action of the miners. He believed the railway servants would be perfectly content with the doctrine of Common employment, if it could be so narrowed as to exclude those whose actions they were unable to control, and the consequences of whose actions it was out of their power to evade. He could not understand why a private employer should be liable to a servant, while the company went scot free. He could not understand on what principle of justice it was that, if a man worked for a private employer, and in carrying out his orders he met with an accident, he knew to whom he had to go for compensation; while on the other hand, if the same man worked for a Company and met with an accident he found his masters vanish, to re-appear in the humble garb of fellow-workmen. This was a parody of justice, and he only wondered it had lasted so long. It was no answer to say that the Railway Companies subscribed to this fund and to that fund. No doubt, the railway directors were very generous, and, no doubt, there was wisdom in their generosity. But the law knew nothing of generosity. The law ought to see that when railway officials asked for only that which was just, they should receive it without delay.

Notice taken, that 40 Members were not present; House counted, and 40 Members being found present,

MR. D. DAVIES said, it must be understood his sympathies were with the railway servants. He owed his position, to a great extent, to railway men, and he always took their part when he could. But, in legislating on this question, there would be danger of doing the railway servants injury. It was well known that some Railway Companies were very liberal; but if Companies had to pay compensation when they were found to be in fault, there would be so much litigation and expense that the

Companies would not, in other cases, give so much compensation voluntarily as they did at present. A large number of men were injured and killed without it being either their own fault or that of the Company. Shunters slipped and were run over; platelayers stepped aside to avoid one train and were killed by another. If Companies were exposed to litigation in other cases, they would show less sympathy in these. It was hardly fair to quote the Taff Vale Company's line, as the hon. Member for Chester (Mr. Raikes) had done. It was one of the best-worked lines in the country; it had a smaller percentage of accidents than other lines in proportion to the amount of traffic, and in 45 years it had never killed a passenger, until the unfortunate accident at Pontypriid a few months ago. If men worked long hours, it was but occasionally and in exceptional circumstances. A storm kept ships out of port; a calm brought in a number of steamers which required coaling with expedition. Men who had been idle were called on to make a prolonged effort, and they were glad enough to do it to make up for lost time; but, as a rule, the men did not work more than 10 or 12 hours at a stretch. He should like something to be done, but it must be in a direction different from that proposed. As the Report of the Commissioners was three years old, it was rather extraordinary that the hon. Member for Chester had not found an earlier opportunity of calling attention to it. There were 19 accidents for which a Company was not to blame, for one in which it was; and it would be unfortunate if the securing of compensation in one case risked the loss or diminution of it in the 19.

Notice taken, that 40 Members were not present; House counted, and 40 Members not being present,

House adjourned at a quarter
after Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Wednesday, 10th March, 1880.

MINUTES.]—SELECT COMMITTEES—*Report*—
Co-operative Stores [No. 111]; Public Accounts [No. 113]; Contagious Diseases Acts [No. 114].

Mr. Hall

SUPPLY—considered in Committee—War in South Africa (Vote of Credit) (Supplementary) £1,225,200—Committee R.P.

Resolutions [March 8] reported.

WAYS AND MEANS—considered in Committee—£8,322,177 Consolidated Fund.

PUBLIC BILLS—Ordered—First Reading—Army Discipline and Regulation (Annual) * [106]; Rating of Machinery * [108]; Parliamentary Elections and Corrupt Practices (No. 2) [107].

Second Reading—Drainage and Improvement of Lands (Ireland) Provisional Order * [91]; South Western (of London) District Post Office [90]; Consolidated Fund (No. 1).

Committee—Report—Municipal Corporations (Property Qualification Abolition)*[43]; India Stock (Powers of Attorney)* [93]; East India Loan (East Indian Railway Debentures)* [99]; Common Law Procedure and Judicature Acts Amendment * [80]; Valuation (Metropolis) Act (1869) Amendment [98].

Considered as amended—Blind and Deaf Mute Children [41].

Third Reading—Hypothec Abolition (Scotland) [34], and passed.

Withdrawn—Vaccination [9]; Patents for Inventions [92]; Irish Church Act (1869) Amendment [100]; Commons Act (1876) Amendment * [61].

PRIVATE BUSINESS.

PRIVATE BILLS.—RESOLUTION.

MR. RAIKES stated that the object of the Resolution he was about to move was to enable Private Bills to be taken up in the next Parliament in the stage in which the present would leave them. There might, for instance, be a large and important Bill before a Select Committee which must require consideration for six or seven days, and would not have been disposed of before the Prorogation. If some Resolution of this kind were not passed, all the work, in the instance he had mentioned, would, if undertaken now by a Committee, have to be gone through again. Under these circumstances, he thought it would be a matter of convenience to ask the House to adopt this Resolution, and the Private Bill Committees could then exercise their own discretion as to what Bills they thought they would be able to get through, and what work it would be impossible to complete. They could then report accordingly to the House.

Motion made, and Question,

“That in case the Committee on any Private Bill, or Group of such Bills, shall report their opinion to the House, that any Bill or Bills not yet considered by them should not be entered upon, or that the consideration of any Bill already partly considered should not be proceeded

with, all further proceedings upon such Bills shall be suspended during the present Session.”
—(The Chairman of Ways and Means,) put, and agreed to.

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

VACCINATION BILL—[BILL 9.]

(Dr. Cameron, Earl Percy, Mr. Lyon Playfair, Dr. Lush, Dr. Ward.)

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

DR. CAMERON, in moving that the Order for the Second Reading of the Bill be discharged, said, he believed that a discussion on the Bill at the present moment would be productive of very small effect. The country was not in a frame of mind to care much about the question, and the House was not in a condition to pay much attention to its provisions. Besides, the Local Government Board had thought fit to institute some experiments since he brought the question forward, to see how far the provisions of the Bill would work, and the result of them could be considered at a future time. He now begged to move that the Order be discharged.

Motion agreed to.

Order discharged; Bill withdrawn.

PATENTS FOR INVENTIONS BILL.

(Mr. Anderson, Mr. Mundella, Mr. Dalrymple, Mr. Alexander Brown.)

[BILL 92.] SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

MR. ANDERSON said, he considered it exceedingly desirable, notwithstanding the short period which the Session had to last, to move the second reading of this Bill, because he thought it well to have certain views placed before the House now, as it was quite possible one might not have another opportunity of bringing these views forward. They were all going into the battle, and none knew what the result of that battle might be, regarding any one of them. The measure he proposed was most absolutely necessary for the well-being of the country. Their manufactures had been declining for some time. Other countries had been treading very fast upon their heels, and not only overtaking them,

but in some cases passing before them. A great deal of this was owing to the much greater liberality shown in other countries to patentees, and the much greater freedom with which they could obtain protection for their discoveries. A cheap and liberal Patent Law would stimulate inventive genius in a way that they had hitherto failed to do. Every Session they had had Patent Law Amendment Bills before them. The Government had brought in a number of these. While they had been successively improved, the second being better than the first, and the third better than the second, they failed to grasp the difficulties of the position, and the real need of the manufacturers of the country to have a thoroughly liberal Patent Law. The provisions of all the Government Bills had treated inventors and patentees as persons who ought to be checked and kept in order, and who ought to get as little benefit as possible from their inventions. Not only had they kept up the charges for patents very much higher than they ought to be; but where they had attempted to reduce them, the reductions they proposed were altogether insufficient to put the Patent Law here on anything like the same basis that it was in other countries. He could give the rates at which patents were obtained in many other countries; but he would only trouble the House with the rates paid in those countries which were their immediate competitors, and which were damaging them most. In Germany, for instance, an inventor could get a patent for 30s. Three years afterwards he had to pay up to £16 10s.; after seven years, his payment would have reached £71 10s.; and at the end of 12 years he had paid £169 10s. This was the dearest of all the Patent Laws except their own. The House would observe, however, that the heavy cost was thrown on the later stages. The cost at the earlier stages was extremely small. In Belgium, which was one of their most pressing competitors, and was treading fast on their heels, an inventor could obtain a patent for 8s. At the end of three years he had to pay £4, at the end of seven years £14, and by the end of 12 years he would only have paid £36 8s. altogether. The United States was still more liberal. In America an inventor could get a patent for 35 dollars—that was, £7—and this was all he would have paid at the

end of 12 years. In Great Britain, on the other hand, even were the proposals of the Government agreed to, £12 10s. would have to be paid by an inventor in the initial stage. At the end of the third year, before it was possible for anybody to get any benefit from it, another payment—no less than £50—had to be made. By the end of the seven years the unfortunate patentee, who had barely time to get anything out of his invention, would actually have expended in Government charges £162 10s.; and at the end of 12 years, even under the proposed Government reductions, he would have paid £262 10s. This operated most prejudicially on poor inventors. But, worse than that, the Government proposed to compel a man to publish all the particulars of his patent before he knew whether he would get a patent or not. There was nothing more likely than this to crush patentees, and to drive them out of the country. This proposal was in itself enough to condemn the last Government Bill, and had prevented it ever receiving any encouragement or favour in the House. A patentee incurred endless expense in experiments in testing everything, and in getting an invention before the public, so that it was absolutely impossible to pay high patent charges in the earlier stages. The Bill which he (Mr. Anderson) had introduced modified the charges very much, bringing down the initial charge of a patent to £10, which was still a great deal higher rate than was paid in America or Belgium. He proposed to abolish all further payment at the third year, and only at the end of the seventh to charge £25, and at the end of the fourteenth £50. But, in truth, patentees did not so much object to high charges in the later stages, but the abolition of the third year's payment and the reduction of the initial charges were imperative. Another proposal of the Bill was to remedy the bad management of the Patent Office. In place of unpaid Commissioners, who did not do the work, the Bill proposed that there should be three paid Commissioners. No unpaid work was likely to be well done. Many hon. Members, even of this House, probably because they were not paid for the work, went away and did not do it. In business, unpaid work was certainly bad work, and the Patent Office proved this. The work was badly done, the Office was badly organized, and

it would never be better until it was handed over to paid Commissioners. That, and the reduction of the fees for patents, and the extension of the duration of a patent from 14 to 21 years, were the reforms which were demanded by inventors. The Government had conceded the necessity of an extension of the time. He would not dwell further on that than to say that he thought the extension should apply equally to patents that were now running, so that a patent should not be cut off when it came to the end of the 14 years, by the fact that at the time it was got the law did not allow a further period. These were all the provisions of this Bill, and he hoped the House would give a second reading to it, in order to affirm the principle that the Law of Patents should be so modified that it would to the utmost stimulate the inventive genius of the country, so as to enable their manufacturing industry to keep its place, or regain what it had lost—for it had lost a good deal. To retrieve that place two things were wanted—the one a liberal Patent Law, so that they might have the benefit of the best possible machinery and appliances; and the other, proper technical education to their work-people, so that they might be able to bring the utmost skill to bear upon their manufactures. He hoped to see these two things secured by the House. This Bill, if adopted, would settle the question of patent legislation for a great many years to come. He begged to move that the Bill be now read a second time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Mr. Anderson.*)

MR. FRESHFIELD would not say that he objected to the Bill; but he contended that no good would result by reading it a second time, considering the present condition of the House. The subject was one which deserved a great deal more consideration and discussion than it could possibly receive now; and he thought it would be a great misfortune if the principle of the measure were supposed to be approved by Parliament. Under the circumstances, the Order ought to be discharged.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir JOHN HOLKER) trusted the hon. Gentleman who had introduced the Bill would not press the second reading to a divi-

sion. The matter was one of the greatest possible importance; and if it was to receive consideration at all, it ought to be at the hands of a fuller House than that which they had that day. He had read the hon. Gentleman's Bill with considerable care. In the first place, the hon. Member proposed to abolish the present Commissioners, and to substitute in their place paid Commissioners, one of whom would be appointed by the Lord Chancellor, and the rest by the Board of Trade. He (the Attorney General) had not heard that there had been any complaint as to the manner in which the present Commissioners of Patents had performed their duties. There might be complaint of the working of the present system, that too many patents were granted, that the fees were too high, and that inventive industry would be encouraged if they were lower; but he had not understood that there was any complaint as to the way in which the Commissioners performed their duties. The question had been under the consideration of Her Majesty's Government for some time, and there had been no reluctance shown on their part to improve the Patent Laws, if they could be improved. Session after Session a Bill had been introduced by the Government. There was one last Session, and he believed if it had been improved in the direction proposed by the hon. Member for Glasgow (Mr. Anderson), it would have been an excellent Bill. It was not the fault of the Government that it had not been passed. There was other Business which the House thought of more importance, and, in the circumstances, it could not be got through. The Government had, however, come to the conclusion that it was not desirable to have paid Commissioners, and, therefore, it was impossible for him, as representing the Government, to accept the second reading of a Bill amongst whose provisions this proposal stood. The Bill went on to propose that Letters Patent should be granted for a period of 21 years. No doubt, there had been a proposition in the Government Bill to a similar effect; but, after mature consideration, he could not, without very considerable discussion, and without gathering the opinion of a full House of hon. Members thoroughly acquainted with this important subject, sanction any Bill which contained any such provision as

this. Another provision of the Bill was that the stamp duties should be very considerably reduced. That was an alteration to which he could not consent without consultation with the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Whatever might be said for reductions being made in the fees in the earlier stages of patents, there was no doubt that, under the present system, patents were granted for all kinds of frivolous and ridiculous ideas. If hon. Gentlemen only saw the extraordinary applications which were made to the Law Officers of the Patent Office, they would be filled with wonder at the absurd notions which entered into the heads of people who called themselves inventors. For these reasons, he could not support the second reading of this Bill. He knew of nothing of more importance than that they should have a good system of Patent Law. It would be a great encouragement to invention, and the manufacturing interests of this country would reap from that an enormous benefit. But, just because of this, it seemed to him this was a subject which should be brought forward by the Government. The Government had shown the disposition to do this Session after Session, and it was not their fault if none of them had passed. There was a Bill which he had hoped to introduce this Session. The Session, it appeared, was about to come to a speedy termination, and, in certain respects, an unexpected termination. He should do his utmost, if the present Government was in power when Parliament again assembled, as in all probability they would be, to modify that Bill as far as possible in the desired direction, and, if it passed, he believed it would do much good.

MR. DILLWYN said, he had listened to the remarks of the hon. and learned Attorney General with much satisfaction. He had objected to the Bill which was brought forward being proceeded with late at night. He also condemned the extension of the term to 21 years, as that period would tend to exclude manufacturers and others from the benefit of inventions. He thought it would be well to have some alteration in the machinery of the Office; but whether the Commissioners should be paid or not he would not give an opinion upon. He also thought that the fees in the earlier stages should be reduced. It certainly would be a great mistake to read the Bill a second time

now, as it would create the erroneous impression that it was the deliberate opinion of the House. This House could not give a deliberate opinion on anything for the remainder of its life. If he was in the new Parliament, he would support the views on this question enunciated by the Attorney General.

MR. RYLANDS said, he gave the Government credit for many good intentions, which, however, they had never given effect to. An endeavour had been made to throw the blame of that upon the House; but he held the House had a right to hold the Government responsible, when certain home questions were pressing for solution, for the non-fulfilment of their undertakings. He had no doubt that if the Government had brought in a Bill on the moderate lines indicated by the hon. and learned Gentleman, and dealing with the points to which he had so clearly called attention, then the Bill would have been fairly and fully considered. But there had been no disposition on the part of the Government to lay the Bill before the House. If they chose to bring such a Bill on late at night, they might succeed in passing it without discussion; but the House was entitled to a full discussion, and could not accept any such Bill without it. He joined with the hon. and learned Gentleman in the hope that when the new Parliament assembled this question would be taken up and treated with the consideration it deserved; but, with all his admiration for the ability of the hon. and learned Gentleman, he could not hope that the Bill would be in his charge; but if that should be the case, he hoped that the undertaking given to-day would be followed by the introduction of a Patent Law giving general satisfaction.

MR. GREGORY thought no Bill would be satisfactory which did not take into account the recommendations of the Select Committee which reported on the question some few years ago. He thought power might be given to patentees to grant licences to other persons for the manufacture of their inventions.

MR. FRASER-MACKINTOSH said, that the subject was of the greatest importance, and as it was impossible that it could receive adequate discussion in the present condition of the House, he would move as an Amendment, that the Bill be read a second time that day month.

Amendment proposed, to leave out the word "now," and at the end of the Question to add the words "upon this day month."—(*Mr. Fraser-Mackintosh.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question."

MR. ANDERSON said, that certain hon. Members had based their objections to the second reading of the Bill mainly on the state of the House and the impossibility of having a full discussion on anything. But if that objection applied to this Bill, it applied to every other; and he hoped the Government would take it into consideration, and would not bring forward any important Government Bills, and ask an attenuated House to read them. If they were not to discuss any more important Bills, they might as well go home to their constituencies at once. The moving of the second reading of this Bill had been useful, if only in getting the views of the Attorney General more distinctly stated than they ever were before. If the hon. and learned Gentleman had not heard any complaints about the Patent Office, he must have shut his ears. There was a prolonged discussion last year in the Society of Arts regarding the deficiencies of the Patent Office, where there was no sufficient register, and where there was a great want of proper organization. He had introduced this Bill, because the successive Bills of the Government had been bad Bills. No doubt, the hon. and learned Gentleman had made improvements upon every succeeding one; but they had never been satisfactory, because they looked upon inventors and patentees as malefactors, who must be looked after and checked. It was said that ridiculous things were patented. But if the fees were paid, this did no harm to anybody except the patentees themselves. The interest of inventors and the public were the same and that was that the inventive genius of the country should be stimulated to the utmost. The principles of this Bill were those which inventors agreed should be embraced in the Government Bill. He was much pleased with what the Attorney General had said about reducing the charges for patents in the initial stages. It was because the Government Bill had not proposed to reduce the charges at the initial stages that he had brought forward this Bill. The hon.

and learned Gentleman still proposed a considerable charge at the end of the third year; but this was most unfair, and never would be satisfactory, as an inventor could not by that time get much benefit from his invention. Inventors would not have the same objection to maintaining considerable charges at the later stages. There ought to be no charge of any magnitude prior to the seventh year, so that the inventor might have a chance of having some benefit from his patent before he was called on to pay a large amount on account of it. None of the Government Bills had dealt with inventors in a sufficiently liberal spirit. For this reason he had brought forward this Bill, but there was no hope of passing it at this period of the Session. Whether he would have opportunity to introduce it in any other, was a very uncertain thing. He was glad, however, that the Attorney General had shown a more liberal spirit in his speech than he had before, and there was some hope that when the Government Bill he promised in the next Session did come forward, it would be an improvement on all the preceding ones. If the hon. and learned Gentleman wanted it to be satisfactory, it must go in the direction of this Bill. He would not divide the House upon it, as in the then state of the House the division would be a most unsatisfactory one.

MR. MUNDELLA regretted that he had not the advantage of hearing the speech of the hon. and learned Attorney General; but he had no idea that the Bill would have come on so soon, as it stood low down in the Paper. He had, himself, tried in two Parliaments to pass a reasonable measure, and he had served upon a Committee which had sat to consider the Patent question. That Committee made a most important Report as to the amendments required in the Patent Laws. Another Parliament was now about to be dissolved, and nothing whatever had been done with this Patent question. He believed that when the question came to be better understood, it would be found that there was no more important question affecting our manufacturing industry. He could answer for it himself that Englishmen had again and again, in the last 10 years, left this country with their inventions, solely because they had not the means to patent them here; and if they ven-

tured to put them in the hands of a capitalist, they would leave themselves at his mercy. Why, last year he received a letter from a very able and a very superior man, who thanked him for the part he had taken in trying to amend the Patent Laws, and said—"I am going with my inventions to a country where I shall get protection at a reasonable price." He was going to America. He (Mr. Mundella) knew that since then that man had been very successful as an inventor. He sold one of his inventions, and with the proceeds he took out patents in the United States. In England the English workman was discouraged on all hands by the Patent Laws. When he (Mr. Mundella) was in active business himself, he was the proprietor of at least 20 patents, and in most of them he was associated with working men. He had paid a working man as much as £2,000 or £3,000 for his share of patents. One of the inventions practically revolutionized the business in which he was engaged. He, in conjunction with the senior Member for Bristol (Mr. S. Morley), paid several thousand pounds to a working man whom they took into partnership. He had seen scores of workmen who had been sacrificed and soured because they were unable to bring out their inventions to advantage, and they had, therefore, become practically a dead letter. What was wanted was a cheap and simple Patent Law, and it was an absolute necessity, if they were to maintain the superiority of the manufactures of this country. He believed that it was in very rare cases indeed that the manufacturer himself was an inventor. In all his experience in connection with one of the largest industries of the country, and one which had given the largest scope to the exercise of mechanical ingenuity, he had never known but two instances in which the manufacturer himself had been an inventor. In nearly every case it was the man who stood before the loom and who brought his brains to work upon the loom who had been the means of improving it, and to deny him a fair share of proprietary right in his own inventions was to deal very hardly with him. He had known instances where an inventor put his little invention in a box and ran across to France, where he could dispose of it, after securing a patent for it at a cost of £2. As a rule, a work-

Mr. Mundella

man generally spent the last of his hoard in perfecting his invention. He wanted a patent, and the cost of that patent was the first thing to entail a difficulty. He knew that it was hopeless to discuss these questions at that time of the day, at the end of an expiring Parliament. He had stood up in that House for the last 10 years urging the House to take the matter in hand, and he had seconded the Motion for the appointment of the original Committee that sat on the Patent Laws. He believed that the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General had brought in four or five Bills of his own, and he was bound to say that every succeeding one was a little better than its predecessor. The first was as bad as it could be, but the second was a little better; and they improved as they went on. The hon. and learned Gentleman had now made a speech that was a little more liberal than anything that had preceded it; and if the hon. and learned Gentleman occupied his present position in May, although he (Mr. Mundella) hoped he would be disappointed in his expectations, he trusted the hon. and learned Gentleman would bring in a Patent Bill that would stimulate the inventiveness of the workmen of the country and give them an opportunity of protecting their inventions and bringing them before the public when they were perfected. By the permission of his hon. Friend the Member for Glasgow, he begged to move that the Order be discharged.

MR. SPEAKER said, there was an Amendment already before the House, and it must be withdrawn before any other Amendment could be put.

Amendment and Motion, by leave, *withdrawn*.

Bill withdrawn.

IRISH CHURCH ACT (1869) AMENDMENT BILL.—[BILL 100.]

(*Mr. Plunket, Sir Arthur Guinness, Mr. Maurice Brooks, Mr. Ewart, Mr. Kavanagh.*)

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

MR. PLUNKET, in moving that the Order for the Second Reading of the Bill be discharged, explained, that after consulting with his hon. Friends, whose names appeared on the back of the Bill,

he had come to the conclusion that it would not be for the convenience of the House, and certainly it would not be in the interests of their proposals, that they should attempt to take a division upon the question at present. But he desired to call the attention of the House to the real character of the proposals of the Bill of which he had charge, because he thought that there was a good deal of misapprehension abroad on the subject. Some of the opposition which was threatened to it in that House was, he could not help thinking, threatened under some degree of misapprehension, and therefore he trusted that when a new House of Commons was returned, and, in the words of the Irish poet, "beaming all over with smiles," the proposals of this Bill, which would certainly be brought forward at the earliest possible opportunity in a new Parliament, might have a better time of it in all its stages than the present measure had had in its initial stages during the present Session. He desired now very briefly to call attention to the true character of the measure. It contained a very modest proposal with the object of undoing a great wrong which had been inflicted upon certain persons. He wished to say that, although the title of the Bill was the Irish Church Act Amendment Bill, it did not in any way challenge any of the general principles contained in the Irish Church Act of 1869, or propose directly or indirectly to re-endow the Irish Church. Its object was simply to give redress to certain individuals, clergymen of that Church, who, in his opinion, and he believed in the opinion of every fair and honest man who had considered this question, sustained a grievous wrong and injury when the Irish Church Act came suddenly upon them. He wished further to say that the Bill applied only to certain clergymen who were either minor incumbents or curates in the Irish Church on the 1st day of January, 1871. It applied only to those who, under the Irish Church Act, had already received annuities calculated at a less amount than £250 a-year. Therefore, while it excluded every clergyman who might have come into the Irish Church since the 1st of January, 1871, and every clergyman who had received a greater annuity than £250 a-year, it included all the clergy under the Irish Church Act, who were, on the 1st of January, 1871,

either incumbents or curates of the Irish Church. Now, the principle upon which the Bill was founded was a very small one, and it was this—the average income of the incumbents of the Irish Church previous to disestablishment had been ascertained to have been something over £250 a-year, and there were in the Irish Church at the time of disestablishment 550 incumbents whose means were under that sum. All these men had accepted these small incumbencies with the prospect of having their incomes augmented to £200 a-year at least, through the operation of certain Acts which had been passed for the purpose of augmenting small incumbencies in Ireland. But, besides that, they had a prospect of other benefits, which would bring their incomes up to £250 a-year. There was also a large number of curates, all of whom had entered the service of the Irish Church with the prospect of obtaining preferment. It must be remembered that as the patronage of almost all benefices in Ireland was in the hands of the Bishops, it had become the established custom that all the Clergy, with very few exceptions, should obtain promotion. The Irish Church Act came suddenly upon them, and put an end to the prospects of the minor incumbents, without giving them any compensation whatever. This was the main contention of the Bill. But besides that main contention, these minor incumbents and curates alleged that there were funds in the hands of the Irish Church Commissioners on which they had a special claim. This fund was the result of a special tax on the wealthier incumbents for the augmentation of the salaries of their poorer brethren, and was naturally regarded by the minor incumbents as belonging to themselves. It was estimated as amounting to between £250,000 and £300,000. This claim was put forward on general grounds by the incumbents, and especially because it had not been noticed or acknowledged by the Irish Church Commissioners. The exact amount of the money which was the subject of this claim had been marked for the purposes of it, and although he could not state the precise amount, it could be easily ascertained. Calculations had been made by competent authorities, who had an opportunity of investigating the matter, and he believed that it would be found the whole sum required to compensate these gentlemen

would not exceed £300,000, and he did not believe it would cost more than £250,000. He wished it to be distinctly understood that this claim was put forward to redress personal wrongs, and was in no way intended as a re-endowment of the Church, either directly or indirectly. The effect of the disendowment had been very heavy upon those whom the Bill sought to assist, and the matter was one of urgency, inasmuch as they had already devoted some of the Church Surplus to other matters, and they had been informed that a scheme for dealing with the whole of it would, before long, be submitted. He wished, however, in dealing with the question, to deal with each question upon its merits, and to see that, as under the old arrangements, the stipends of these clergymen should be raised to £250 a-year. They would, therefore, have to find out what the present income of each was, in order to arrive at a satisfactory conclusion as to the amount to be added, and he had provided in the Bill that in each case the clergyman should apply to the Commissioners, state his case, and prove it to their satisfaction, and only to the extent of his case would he get anything whatever. Again, whatever money he received would not go to the Church, but simply to redress his personal wrongs. Anyone who knew what had happened in Ireland since the passing of the Church Act would admit that there were cases of grievous hardship. He would ask any unprejudiced man to put the case in this way. Supposing his own son or brother had been brought up to do duty in the Church, with the full belief that the very moderate measure it offered would be reached, and supposing that by the disestablishment and disendowment of the Church that measure had been very much reduced, would they consider that fairness had been done? Many had, in fact, entered the Church, believing that their income would reach £250 a-year, but suddenly the Act was sprung upon them, and they and their family had to exist upon, perhaps, £100, £110, or at the outside £120 a-year. The additional sum he was now asking should be paid to them would make all the difference between penury, not far removed from actual destitution, and comparative ease. He appealed, in the name of fair play and of honesty and justice, that the relief should be given. It was very small, and

could be granted without any serious injury to the Surplus Fund. The case was one which very justly required redress, and he trusted that when the Bill was introduced in the next Parliament the House of Commons would be willing to sanction its passing into law. By so doing, the House would be redressing a real grievance and a great wrong which was done to certain individuals, but which, he could not believe, was ever contemplated or foreseen by the promoters of the Irish Church Disestablishment Act. He begged to move that the Order for the second reading of the Bill be read and discharged.

MR. RYLANDS, while sympathizing with the feelings which the hon. and learned Member (Mr. Plunket) held towards the clergymen of the Irish Church, said that, unfortunately, it was not alone amongst the Irish clergy, but also amongst the clergymen of the Established Church of England there were many cases of great hardship. There were many of the working clergymen of the English Church who had small incomes, large families, disappointed expectations, and difficulties of every kind to contend with. The House must try, if possible, to withdraw their minds from those appeals which had been so earnestly put before them by the hon. and learned Member (Mr. Plunket), which appeals would be perfectly unanswerable, if they were made with regard to the obtaining of assistance from other quarters. He wished to point out why he had been unable to give his support to the Bill of the hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for the University of Dublin. This was an attempt to re-open a question which was settled 11 years ago—a question which was settled, after careful deliberation by Parliament, by a measure which was brought in after the most minute examination of all the claims which might arise under the circumstances of disestablishment. When a measure of that great magnitude, a measure not only involving and affecting the interests of the Church which was about to be disestablished, but also affecting the interests of every class in Ireland, had been passed, it seemed to him most extraordinary that, after a delay of certainly 11 years, they should have the hon. and learned Gentleman proposing to the House that this great settlement

Mr. Plunket

should be disturbed, and that new terms should be given to certain members of the Irish Church affected by the measure. If the matter was one upon which the opinion of the House ought to have been taken, it ought to have been introduced immediately after the disestablishment of the Irish Church. It was quite clear that the curates in Ireland were in a position, at that time, to know exactly how their interests would be affected. There was no doubt whatever that those gentlemen would see that their prospects, with regard to promotion, were considerably impaired by the change in their position in the Church. If the gentlemen who made the present claims had placed them before the House at an early period, they might have been considered. In 1869 the question of the disestablishment of the Irish Church was settled under such conditions that it rendered it unwise, after a lapse of 11 years, to re-open it in the way now suggested. If that settlement had been a niggardly one, supposing the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Greenwich had dealt with the Irish Church in a harsh manner, the disestablishment might have been carried out under conditions which would have very seriously injured the position and prospects of the members of the Irish Church. But they knew that the right hon. Gentleman approached the question in a spirit of the greatest sympathy for the Irish Church; they knew that his great anxiety was that there should be no injustice done to any individual member of that Church, and he proposed an arrangement which had proved, as it came to be worked out, a munificent settlement of any claims which the Irish clergymen might have upon Parliament. He (Mr. Rylands) did not expect that the hon. and learned Gentleman would have gone so fully into the subject upon this occasion. Had he known that such was the hon. and learned Member's intention, he would have been prepared with facts and figures, which he did not now happen to have with him. But with regard to the main facts, there would be no dispute at all. That it was estimated that a certain amount would be payable to the Church Body of the Irish Church, and that that amount was exceeded by a very large sum indeed, would not be disputed by the hon. and learned Member. But, in the working out of the

settlement, very great unfairness occurred. It was clearly understood that those clergymen of the Irish Church who were to receive their annuities and commutations should remain in the actual service of the Irish Church, but in many cases this was not so. Then, again, the number of curates was augmented during the expiring days of the Establishment in a manner which was perfectly marvellous. There had never been such a revival of curacy in the history of the Church; for, at that time, clergymen who had hitherto worked without curates strangely enough found the necessity of employing one or more curates. Curates were even ordained within three days of the period at which the Act came into operation. That there was an appointment of a very considerable number of curates—a number far in excess of the average number of curates employed in the Irish Church before the disestablishment was contemplated—would not be disputed by the hon. and learned Member. In the Act it was stipulated that any gentleman appointed before the 1st of January, 1871, was to be entitled to a commutation of his annual income. He believed he was correct in saying that before disestablishment was contemplated there were not more than 500 curates in the Irish Church. What, however, was the case on the 1st of January, 1871? The number of curates had increased to 900. Dissenting ministers, who had been officiating as Dissenting ministers up to the middle of the year 1870, went into the Church, and were ordained within three days of the Act coming into operation, and thus became entitled to a commutation. That was a straining of the intention of the Act. All the curates had received from the Church Fund a very considerable commutation, and he believed that the curates who were imported into the Church of Ireland, as he had described, were imported entirely with the view of their getting the advantage of the commutation of salaries. Many of those gentlemen were now receiving about £200 a-year, and, therefore, they would come under the Bill of the hon. and learned Member, and they would receive an increase to their salaries. The settlement effected by the right hon. Member for Greenwich (Mr. Gladstone) was not only a full and fair one, but a very handsome one, and,

therefore, he (Mr. Rylands) considered that the question ought not now to be re-opened. If there were a number of gentlemen within the Church who were not placed in the position the hon. and learned Gentleman wished, a fund ought to be provided from some other source than from the Church Commissioners.

MAJOR NOLAN said, it was always a difficult task to oppose a Bill of this kind; but he must point out that last year the hon. and learned Member estimated the cost of the transaction at £500,000, whereas he now thought it would be covered by an expenditure of £250,000. There were, however, 550 gentlemen who were dissatisfied, and he did not think that the estimate of the hon. and learned Member would be sufficient to cover the cost of his project. He could imagine that it would at least amount to £800,000, and that would have a considerable bearing upon the Irish Church Surplus Fund. With that amount they could assist 10,000 small tenants to become proprietors; and, besides that, he feared that the Bill would cause the Surplus which remained to be dealt with in a very loose manner. He thought the Church Party had been very liberally dealt with by the Commissioners. No doubt, there were a few cases of hardship; but he did not believe that they numbered anything like 500 as stated. He thought, before they legislated, they ought to have before them a Return of the cases in detail.

MR. ERRINGTON said, the Irish Church Act was considered by the House to be a fair settlement, and the matter ought not to be re-opened. As for the Special Fund referred to by the hon. and learned Gentleman, its existence cut both ways, for such a large sum could not have been overlooked at the time of the passing of the Act, and the claims of the minor incumbents should have been inquired into at the time.

Motion agreed to.

Order discharged; Bill withdrawn.

SUPPLY—COMMITTEE.

SUPPLY—considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

WAR IN SOUTH AFRICA (VOTE OF CREDIT.)

Motion made, and Question proposed,

“That a Supplementary sum, not exceeding £1,225,200, be granted to Her Majesty, beyond

Mr. Rylands

the ordinary Grants of Parliament, towards defraying the Expenditure which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1880, in consequence of the War in South Africa.”

MR. RYLANDS said, he thought the Vote was a very large one. It would bring up the Supplementary Votes for this particular purpose to about £4,500,000 in excess of the ordinary charge for the Forces employed in South Africa. The cost of the troops employed during the last two or three years had been charged to the Military and Naval Estimates, and very large sums of money had been voted by Parliament for maintaining the Forces in South Africa. He had no doubt that the ordinary charge would amount to some millions; but he was not in a position to arrive at a very accurate conclusion, because it had gone on rapidly increasing. Three years ago the ordinary expenditure amounted to £1,000,000, and he had very little doubt that it had increased now to probably £2,000,000 or £3,000,000 a-year; and in addition to the charges borne on the ordinary Estimates, Parliament was now called upon to vote a Supplementary Charge which, as he had said, would bring up the Supplementary Votes for this Service to £4,500,000. He wished to know whether Her Majesty's Government had any reasonable expectation of obtaining from the South African Colonies any considerable portion of these charges? In the last Session of Parliament he brought the question under the notice of the House, and he received from the Secretary of State for the Colonies, and from the Chancellor of the Exchequer, very positive assurances that strong representations had already been made to the Colonial Government, and that Her Majesty's Government intended to obtain from the Colonial Government a considerable portion of the charges to which this country had been put in consequence of the South African War. So far as he had been able to see, the pressure upon the Colonial Government had not been very strong, and so far as the House was concerned, hon. Members were entirely ignorant as to what the Government had a right to demand. That was not at all a satisfactory position for the House to occupy. He did not know whether the Chancellor of the Exchequer in his Budget Speech intended

to give them any information as to the amount of money they might expect to obtain from the South African Colonies. Possibly they might have some information on the point from the right hon. Gentleman to-morrow; but he thought the Committee ought not to vote the large sum of money now asked for without taking an opportunity, which he ventured to take now, of stating that the House and the country were in a very unsatisfactory position in regard to that great expenditure. He believed that, sooner or later, that expenditure would become a charge upon the British taxpayer. He was very much afraid that there was not much prospect of getting any large sum of money from the Colony, and he was also afraid that this sum of money, large as it was, that they were now voting, would not be the final demand made upon them. Even at the present time the money expended upon these South African Wars was not absolutely known. In point of fact, they had a large number of British troops in the South African Colonies at that moment who would have to be paid for, and there was every reason to believe that Her Majesty's Government had not taken those steps which he thought it was important to take in order to secure this country from being called upon to bear the burdens which were now being thrown upon it. Unless the Secretary to the Treasury was able to give some little information on these matters, he thought the House ought not to be called upon to pass the Vote in entire ignorance of what the Government were doing, and what the amount was they expected to receive in connection with the claim they had upon the South African Colonies.

MR. COURTNEY said, that before the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury rose to reply to the hon. Member for Burnley (Mr. Rylands), he wished to make one or two observations on this Vote. In the first place, it appeared to him that there was a question of Order involved in the matter. This was a Supplementary Vote of Credit in amplification of a Vote of Credit already passed to meet the expenses of the Zulu War. But in this Supplementary Vote there would be found not only additional expenses in relation to the Zulu War, for which the original Vote of Credit was given, but two sums amounting to £500,000 of money for a

separate expenditure in South Africa quite apart from the circumstances which led to the original Vote connected with the services for quelling the rebellion in Griqualand West. Surely that had nothing to do with the war in South Africa, for which the original Vote of Credit was granted. He submitted, as a matter of Order, that the Supplementary Vote ought to be kept entirely separate and distinct from any new source of expenditure. It was of the utmost importance that the expenditure in connection with the different wars should be kept separate. Then again, the Vote not only included charges for the War in Griqualand West, but also for the occupation of the Transvaal and the Expedition against Secocoeni. The House ought, he thought, to have fuller details as to how the expenditure was distributed among these different items—the Griqualand War, the occupation of the Transvaal, the Expedition against Secocoeni, and the Zulu War. More details were certainly necessary, because there had already been not only a Supplementary Vote of Credit, but a Supplementary Estimate of £200,000 in addition to the sum charged in the Army Estimates in connection with the Expedition against Secocoeni. These were, undoubtedly, matters that required explanation, although it was not necessary or desirable at that stage that the House should enter into any critical examination of the policy of their action in the Transvaal or of the Expedition against Secocoeni. The Secretary to the Treasury could not be expected to explain that policy; but, at the same time, it was the duty of the Committee to insist upon having a more detailed explanation of the reason why these totally distinct sources of Expenditure were mixed up together, and why, under cover of an old Vote of Credit, they had now a Supplementary Vote which included entirely new and separate charges.

THE CHAIRMAN said, it would, perhaps be as well that he should reply to the point of Order which had been raised by the hon. Member for Liskeard (Mr. Courtney). He might state to the Committee that, no doubt, the practice in presenting the Estimates to the House was to take each of them separately; but he was not aware of any Rule of the House which prevented these Estimates

from being presented together collectively, notwithstanding that the usual practice was to submit them as separate Estimates. If the items to which attention had been called were entirely extraneous matter, the Committee would be entitled to have them presented separately, under the head of Supplementary Estimates for South Africa. However, as they all related to South Africa, it did not appear to him that it was a breach of Order to include them in one Vote.

LORD FREDERICK CAVENDISH was of opinion that the course now adopted, if not absolutely out of Order, was exceedingly inconvenient. No one could have any doubt that it would be much more convenient if Parliament were informed in a more regular manner what amount of money was to be devoted to the expense of each of these wars. He did not suppose anyone could conceive that there was such a close connection between the occupation of the Transvaal and the Expedition against Secocoeni and the Zulu War as to make it desirable that the expenditure should be mixed up in this manner. He scarcely thought the Secretary to the Treasury would say that the Expedition against Secocoeni and the occupation of the Transvaal were the same thing as the Zulu War; therefore, it was desirable that the charges for each should be kept distinct and separate.

GENERAL SIR GEORGE BALFOUR submitted that there were four distinct operations included in these Estimates—namely, the War in Griqualand West, which, he believed, occurred before the Zulu War; then the Zulu War; next, the occupation of the Transvaal; and lastly, the Expedition against Secocoeni. The House had a right to ask for a separate Vote for each, with a full and detailed account of the expenditure. It was, he thought, impossible to expect that the small sum included in the Vote for these operations against Secocoeni could possibly be sufficient; and, therefore, each transaction should be separated. The best way would be to vote the sums separately, with separate and distinct amounts in each Vote—to grant the money for Griqualand in one Vote, for the Zulu War in another, for the Transvaal in another, and for the Expedition against Secocoeni in another. He could not understand how, when the expendi-

ture for these distinct services came to be examined by the Auditor General, it exhibited that for each, when lumped together as if all the money now asked for related to one operation. He had always complained of that mode, so frequently practised, of lumping together under one head the expenditure voted for distinct services; and he had endeavoured on more than one occasion to point out the defective manner in which the Government asked for money from the House of Commons. When they prepared their Estimates for questionable purposes, instead of explaining each item in detail, the Government invariably arranged so that the Auditor General should put it altogether, in as brief a form as practicable, often as one mass, so that it became impossible for the House to distinguish what each charge was really for. He did not oppose the voting of this money now. It had, no doubt, been expended, and the Government must have it; but the Committee ought to vote it in separate items—for the War in Griqualand West, the Zulu War, the occupation of the Transvaal, and the Expedition against Secocoeni. The Government would, in that case, be obliged to render an account of the different items expended. One other remark he must make, and that was, that there were great doubts in his mind as to the power or authority of Lord Chelmsford making an advance of £200,000 for operations in Griqualand with which he had no concern.

THE CHAIRMAN said, he understood the hon. and gallant Gentleman to ask whether the sums should not be put separately? They could be put separately, if the Government thought proper to withdraw the present Vote and submit each item separately.

SIR HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON could assure the hon. Member for Burnley that, had he known in reality that his right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer was prepared to give an explanation of this Vote in his Budget Statement to-morrow, he would not have been justified in forestalling the statement which his right hon. Friend proposed to make on that occasion. Attention had been called to the fact that a separate sum appeared in the Vote for the war in Griqualand West which ought to have appeared in a separate Estimate. He could only say that the

first intention was to produce it as a separate Estimate. He did not know how it came to be altered; but it certainly had been altered before it came down to the House. It was a separate item and a separate sum, and it had been included in the present Vote by an unintentional mistake on the part of the printers. The mistake was, however, discovered too late to allow of its being altered; and it was considered by those who had the preparation of the Estimates, that as all these sums had, after great trouble and only very recently, been ascertained as sums which should be entirely credited to the service of the particular year they were now dealing with, it was thought advisable that the whole of them should be included in one Supplementary Estimate, seeing that they all related to transactions in South Africa. It was only after certain officers had been sent out for the investigation of the accounts in South Africa that the Government had been able to arrive at something like a knowledge of the expenditure. The sums seemed to be fairly charged, although they were for occurrences in different parts of South Africa, and they had been brought into this one Account. In regard to the question put by the hon. Member for Burnley, whether the Government were disposed to adhere to what they had already foreshadowed in making a demand upon the Colonial Government for some return of the expenditure in South Africa which had already been incurred, he believed his right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer would be able to satisfy the House upon that point to-morrow. The intention was not to allow the Colonial Government to escape without contributing to the expenditure, but to adhere to the original determination. Of course, it would be extremely difficult to make arrangements definitely until the whole business was concluded; but that they were in progress, and that there was a certain hope, or rather an absolute certainty, of this country receiving some considerable portion of the expenditure from the Colonies he thought he might fairly say. Under these circumstances, he hoped the Committee would be satisfied to allow any further information to be deferred until the Statement of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, which would be made to-morrow. He believed that that State-

ment would be entirely satisfactory to the House.

MR. COURTNEY said, the Secretary to the Treasury had really omitted to notice what was really the most important point raised in the discussion, and that was, that they were putting into the Supplementary Vote of Credit four different springs of expenditure which were really separate from each other. He admitted that the same policy underlaid all this expenditure; but they were as distinct and separate branches of expenditure as the Cyprus occupation and an expedition to Egypt and Constantinople, or a war in Burmah and a war in Afghanistan. "South Africa" was a large geographical expression, and although he believed that the same policy had produced all these wars, they were totally distinct and separate wars, and, as a matter of finance, ought to be brought before the House separately and with separate explanations. This was especially the case when they were dealing with a Supplementary Vote, which was a continuation of an original Vote confined to the war in Zululand. The present Vote introduced the war in Griqualand West, and two other matters—the occupation of the Transvaal and the Expedition against Secocoeni—two widely different matters. He thought there ought to be a separate statement in respect to each of these items, and they ought to have been introduced separately. He would strongly recommend the Secretary to the Treasury to withdraw the Vote, and to put separate Votes before the Committee.

GENERAL SIR GEORGE BALFOUR wished to add a few words to the statement which had been made by the hon. Member for Liskeard (Mr. Courtney). He believed that the expenditure in connection with the war in Griqualand West was incurred in 1878-9—in a year quite distinct from the Zulu War. The Transvaal expenditure was incurred partly in 1878-9 and partly in 1879-80, the main part having been in 1878-9; but the expenditure in connection with the Expedition against Secocoeni was incurred entirely in the year 1879-80, and the expenditure for the Zulu War was also incurred in 1879-80. Thus, they were dealing with entirely different dates as well as with entirely different operations, and all he asked the Secretary to the Treasury was to

arrange that the Estimates for money should appear in a proper manner, divided into dates, and for the distinct services. He had no doubt that the House would grant the Vote, because the money must be paid, and the sooner the Exchequer got it the better accounting would follow; but the House ought not to sanction this loose method of mixing up the expenditure for different purposes and for different periods.

SIR HENRY HOLLAND wished to point out, in reference to the observations which had been made by the hon. Member for Liskeard (Mr. Courtney), that the operations against Secocoeni and the occupation of the Transvaal were not by any means as disconnected as appeared to be supposed. Secocoeni had invaded the Transvaal and defeated the Boers, and for that reason, and because they believed that the disturbances would injure their interests and excite the Natives in their own Colonies they occupied the Transvaal. After they had occupied the Transvaal, finding that Secocoeni did not yield to their remonstrances, they made an expedition against him, so that the two operations were, in point of fact, very closely connected.

MR. W. HOLMS asked, whether any portion whatever of the expenditure upon South Africa had already been paid by the Colonies?

SIR HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON : None.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN inquired, whether any portion of the item of £903,000, connected with the Army Services, belonged to any of these other operations, or was wholly required for the Zulu War—the Expedition against Cetewayo?

SIR HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON said the item of £903,000 for the Army was mainly on account of the Zulu War. [Mr. CHAMBERLAIN : Not entirely.] He was unable to answer whether it was entirely or not. He believed it was mainly on that account. He might add that there was much force in what the hon. Member for Liskeard said as to the propriety of submitting these items under separate heads. But he trusted the Committee would consent to pass the Vote in the form in which it now appeared; and, to-morrow, his right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer would fully explain all the circumstances attending the expenditure. It was the object of the Treasury, as far as possible, when

the expenditure of money was brought to their knowledge, to have it brought to account within the financial year. Therefore, if they were to postpone any part of the Vote, there might be some difficulty in bringing it forward again so as to bring it in the account for the year. He therefore hoped that on this occasion the Committee would allow the Vote to pass in the form in which it had been introduced. He was quite certain that his right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer would deal with the question when he came to submit his Financial Statement to-morrow. At the present moment, if the Vote were not passed now, there would be some difficulty in bringing the expenditure into the account in which it really ought to appear.

MR. DILLWYN said, the explanation which had been given would not appear upon the Reports of the House; and it was very important that all these Estimates should be brought before the House and duly recorded in proper form. It was frequently charged against them that they did not attend quite enough to the order and regularity of their proceedings. He would suggest to the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury that he should respond to the appeal of the hon. Member for Liskeard (Mr. Courtney), and withdraw the Vote for a couple of days. It need only be delayed for a day or two. The Committee had no wish to delay the Government Business, or to obstruct; but they wished to have the Estimates, constantly increasing as they were, brought before them in a proper shape, so that they could be recorded on the Books of the House in a manner which would explain the purpose for which they were brought forward, and why they were wanted. It was manifestly wrong to lump them together. If they passed the Vote in the form in which it now appeared, the explanation which had been given by the Secretary to the Treasury would not be known, and the public would only see the confusion that had occurred. He did not think there would be any objection to the delay of a couple of days.

SIR HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON thought the best course he could take would be to lay an explanation on the Table at once, defining what the separate items of the Vote were for, as had been suggested. The hon. Member for Swansea (Mr. Dillwyn) said there would really be a

delay for a few days; but the hon. Member knew very well that at this moment, and at this period of the Session, a delay in Ways and Means practically meant a continuance of the Session for two or three days longer than the day fixed for its final Sitting. It was only because the Government were so pressed for time that he had been induced to make a suggestion to the Committee, which, under ordinary circumstances, he would not have made. He would endeavour to place on the Records of the House the facts mentioned by the hon. Member for Swansea; but that might be done without doing that which would practically delay them for a time, even if not fatally, in getting this Vote in the present year.

LORD FREDERICK CAVENDISH asked the Secretary to the Treasury if it was absolutely necessary to take the Vote that day? His belief was that this Vote would not finish the Supplementary Estimates. To-morrow they would have to take a Vote for Excess in the Expenditure of the past year; and there was no reason why the Vote should not also be brought on to-morrow. With respect to the arrangements of the Secretary to the Treasury to lay on the Table a Schedule explaining the Expenditure in more detail, he did not think that arrangement would provide what was wished for. When they came to the Appropriation Bill, which they must sooner or later, it would be impossible to take into consideration any Schedule of that nature if the entire sum expended upon these four Services was not exceeded. If the sums now asked for were taken, as they clearly ought to be, as four different Votes, it would be impossible to exceed the sum included in any one of the Services without coming to Parliament again. He asked the Secretary to the Treasury, again, whether it was absolutely necessary to take the Vote to-day, and whether, if it were taken to-morrow, it would be in plenty of time?

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE thought there could be no objection on the part of the Secretary to the Treasury to postpone the consideration of the Vote, if they were to understand that there were other Votes to be introduced to-morrow. If that were so, there would not be the delay of a single day in postponing the Vote until to-morrow. Was that the fact? As the Secretary to the Treasury

did not rise, he presumed that the statement was correct; and he would, therefore, move that the debate be now adjourned, in order that the Vote might be introduced in a different form to-morrow. Perhaps the most regular course would be to move that the Chairman report Progress, and ask leave to sit again.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(*Sir Charles W. Dilke.*)

MR. RYLANDS said, there was one point which added much force to the argument which had been used in favour of having this Vote placed in separate items. He wished to point out to the Committee that sub-head "D" was one of a very remarkable character. It was in aid of the expenditure in suppressing the rebellion in Griqualand West. It was quite clear that if that Vote had come before the House in its proper form, and at its proper time, it would have afforded the House an opportunity of discussing the policy which led to that particular war. But it now appeared that the money was paid out of the Treasury Chest by Lord Chelmsford, and the House of Commons had had no special knowledge of the expenditure. It came before the House now in a general Vote of Credit, because the Auditor General refused to pass it, and the Treasury had now come to the conclusion that it was not right to charge it against the Vote of Credit for 1878-9. He thought they would be setting a bad precedent if they allowed a Vote to be passed under such circumstances without having it fully explained.

SIR HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON said, that if it was the general wish of the Committee to adjourn the consideration of the Vote until to-morrow he would not object; but he hoped it would be on the distinct understanding that the Committee would pass the Vote when it came before them to-morrow, because it would be very disadvantageous to the Treasury to have any further delay. Therefore, he trusted that if he withdrew the Vote now the Committee would consider it to-morrow with the view of passing it.

MR. RYLANDS presumed that the Votes would be put upon the Table to-morrow in a distinct form. He had no objection to the Vote being passed; but

when it was again placed on the Table it should be under separate and distinct heads. "D" and "E" should be special Votes, and should not come under the general head of operations in South Africa. If the hon. Gentleman would agree to lay these Supplementary Estimates on the Table in this form, he (Mr. Rylands) believed there would be no objection to their being passed. Of course, it would be necessary to include the dates when the expenditure was incurred.

SIR HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON said, he would endeavour, as far as possible, to meet the views of the Committee; but the time was short, and he might not be able to do so in every respect. He would certainly do all he could to meet the views of the Committee.

Question put, and *agreed to*.

House resumed.

Committee report Progress; to sit again *To-morrow*.

SOUTH-WESTERN (OF LONDON) DISTRICT POST OFFICE BILL.

(*Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson, Lord John Manners.*)

[BILL 90.] SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson.*)

In reply to Sir CHARLES W. DILKE,

SIR HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON said, that the site of the new Office would be at Buckingham Gate, and that the Bill contained powers for altering streets in the vicinity, so as to give facilities of ingress and egress from the Office.

Motion *agreed to*.

Bill read a second time, and *committed for To-morrow*.

SUPPLY—REPORT.

Resolutions [March 8] *reported*.

MR. RAMSAY complained of the small amount of the grant for medical relief to Scotland as compared with the allowance to England. He thought that the matter should really be re-considered; indeed, his contention was that it had never, in the proper sense of the

word, been considered at all. What he complained of was that while they were asked to vote some £280,000 for medical relief in aid of the ratepayers of England, they in Scotland only received a grant of some £10,600. He maintained that everyone who had at all considered the circumstances—the proportion that Scotland bore to England, either in respect of population or taxation—must admit that the grant for Scotland was very inadequate. Such a system imposed a burden on the poorer ratepayers of Scotland from which the richer ratepayers of England were relieved. The ground on which justice was refused to Scotland in this matter was that the Scotch people were not willing to conform to the same rules as were laid down in England in regard to medical relief; but that was an entire misapprehension. Except the power which the Medical Boards had of dismissing their medical officers, there was no condition attached to the grant in England other than those attached to the grant in Scotland.

SIR HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON said, that the subject, so far as he was concerned, would not be lost sight of. He could not promise, even if he happened to be in his present position next Parliament, that he would consent to all that had been laid down. The difficulty under which they had always laboured had reference to Scotland being placed under identical positions with regard to the grant as England. The subject, however, would recur in the next Parliament.

GENERAL SIR GEORGE BALFOUR also maintained that the ratepayers had great reason to complain with regard to the grant. He submitted that Scotland had complied with all the requirements of the Treasury in regard to medical officers, except as to their removal. That, however, could be easily settled if there was a feeling on the part of the Treasury to place Scotland, in regard to medical allowances, on equal terms with England. The fact was, a large body of men in Scotland were deprived of a fair remuneration for their services because a bad Poor Law would not be accepted for Scotland. The conditions thus exacted from them were of a character that the Government ought to be ashamed of, and when the Scotch Members went back to their own country

Mr. Rylands

they would not fail to make known to the people of Scotland the manner in which they were treated. The truth was, he was not surprised to find Irishmen anxious for Home Rule. England seemed to feel a total indifference with regard to the neighbouring countries, whose interests were neglected because the Members who represented England were far more numerous and influential than the Members who represented Scotland and Ireland. It was thus that bad feeling sprang up, and that a certain movement of the Irish Members which had been denounced by the Prime Minister had been brought about—he referred to the existing system of partiality and entire want of consideration for the neighbouring country Scotland which at present obtained. He was very sorry to find that the Secretary to the Treasury, instead of listening to him, was carrying on a private conversation, and totally disregarding all he was saying; but that was only of a piece with the rest of the proceedings of the Government. ["Oh, oh!"] If the hon. Gentleman who shouted "Oh, oh!" was an Irish or a Scotch Member, he would feel the iron entering his soul at such treatment. It made the Scotch and Irish Members indignant when they found they could not get justice.

MR. C. S. PARKER observed, that the hon. Members who cheered ironically would have done better to draw the attention of the hon. Gentleman (Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson) to the discourtesy he was committing by turning his back upon his hon. and gallant Friend while he was speaking, and engaging in a private conversation. He did hope that they would have some assurance that the Government intended to increase the grant, otherwise the Scotch Members would be under the necessity of representing to their constituents that they were quite unable to obtain anything like justice.

SIR HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON asked the indulgence of the House while he explained that he had intended no discourtesy to the hon. and gallant Member for Kincardineshire (Sir George Balfour); but that, having already exhausted his own right to speak on this particular Vote, he had taken advantage of the opportunity to discuss an important Scotch question with another Scotch Member. If, however, he had

known the hon. and gallant Member was so touchy he would have been more careful.

MR. VANS AGNEW wished also to explain that the conversation in which he had engaged with the Secretary to the Treasury while the hon. and gallant Member for Kincardineshire (Sir George Balfour) was speaking simply amounted to this—that he had been privately expressing to the hon. Baronet, whose ear he had obtained, the same views in regard to this Scotch question which his hon. and gallant Friend had been expressing publicly.

Resolutions agreed to.

Ordered, That the Resolution which, upon the 2nd day of this instant March, was reported from the Committee of Supply, and then agreed to by the House, be read, as followeth:—"That a number of Land Forces, not exceeding 131,859, all ranks, be maintained for the service of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, at Home and Abroad, excluding Her Majesty's Indian Possessions, during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1881."

Ordered, That leave be given to bring in a Bill to provide during twelve months for the Discipline and Regulation of the Army.

Bill *ordered* to be brought in by Colonel STANLEY, Mr. WILLIAM HENRY SMITH, and The JUDGE ADVOCATE GENERAL.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 106.]

VALUATION (METROPOLIS) ACT (1869) AMENDMENT BILL—[BILL 98.]

(*Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.*)

COMMITTEE.

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Clause 1 (Returns to be sent back to and retained by the surveyor of taxes).

GENERAL SIR GEORGE BALFOUR asked if the hon. Gentleman intended to introduce any clause into the Bill to guard against any increase in the water rates taking place until some settlement was come to, as to the future supply of water to the Metropolis?

SIR HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON said, the question referred to by the hon. and gallant Gentleman was raised the other day in the House, and his right hon. Friend the Home Secretary then stated that the subject was one of great magnitude, and could hardly be dealt with by a clause in the present Bill. The present measure was introduced for a wholly different object. The Government had

been obliged to sanction the non-payment of penalties, or rather not to enforce penalties for incomplete returns under the provisions of the Act, on the ground that the same amount of secrecy applied to these returns as to those which were sent in in regard to the Income Tax. The Bill was simply to remedy that state of things, and to enable the authorities in future to secure the provisions of the Act in regard to returns being complied with. He (Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson) did not for one moment under-rate the importance of the subject referred to by the hon. and gallant Member for Kincardineshire; but it must be dealt with in a separate measure, and not in a Bill of this nature.

Clause agreed to.

Remaining clauses agreed to.

House resumed.

Bill reported, without Amendment; to be read the third time To-morrow.

HYPOTHEC ABOLITION (SCOTLAND)

BILL.—[BILL 34.]

(Mr. Vans Agnew, Mr. Baillie Hamilton, Sir George Douglas.)

THIRD READING.

Order for Third Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read the third time."—(Mr. Vans Agnew.)

MR. RAMSAY said, he had no wish to oppose the Bill; but he regretted exceedingly to find that the hon. Member (Mr. Vans Agnew) had got the Bill passed through Committee without Amendment the previous morning, at a time he did not expect it to pass in that form. What he regretted was, that the hon. Gentleman himself, and Scotch Members generally, considered the Bill susceptible of, and requiring amendment, and, notwithstanding, they were asked to pass the Bill in its present form. He did not think this was right, although he sympathized with the hon. Member in his desire to have the Bill passed through this stage, so that it might go into the other House. It was right, he thought, to take notice of the fact that the Bill was being sent admittedly in an imperfect form to the other House, and he desired to record his protest against any such practice.

Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson

MR. VANS AGNEW begged to say a word or two in explanation. The Bill, he remarked, stood for Committee on the day on which they were informed of the approaching Dissolution; and as there was no difference of opinion among Scotch Members in regard to its principle, and no alteration wanted except as to the wording of some clauses, it was considered that such alterations might easily be effected in "another place." He had been in communication with the Lord Advocate and other hon. Members; and with their concurrence he was advised, if possible, to take the opportunity he had of passing the Bill through Committee. The count-out the previous evening showed that it would have been dangerous to postpone the Bill even for one day. He hoped the hon. Member opposite would not consider that he had tried to take any advantage over Members in this matter. He had consulted him as to the Amendments that might be desirable, and these were found to be mere matters of detail. He trusted, therefore, the House would consent to the third reading.

GENERAL SIR GEORGE BALFOUR bore testimony to the desire of the hon. Member for Wigtownshire (Mr. Vans Agnew) for making the alterations referred to. The clauses of the Bill were chiefly taken from those which he (Sir George Balfour) had submitted to the House in order to remove the desire which existed to protect the interests of landlords. He had done his best to make them as clear as possible, and, towards this end, had obtained the services of a professional gentleman, the late Mr. Neil Caird, whose early death was so much regretted. Indeed, if he compared the Bill with some Bills drafted by the Government—especially the Army Discipline and Regulation Bill—it was perfection itself. Whatever course might be pursued towards it in the House of Lords, he thanked the hon. Member for drawing up such a Bill as would abolish hypothec, and would admit of improvements in the present Act being introduced before it came into operation; and he thanked the hon. Member for Falkirk (Mr. Ramsay) for assenting to its third reading.

Motion agreed to.

Bill read the third time, and passed.

MOTIONS.

PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS AND
CORRUPT PRACTICES (No. 2) BILL.

LEAVE. FIRST READING.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir JOHN HOLKER), in moving for leave to bring in a Bill to amend the Law relating to the Conveyance of Voters to the Poll, and to continue the Acts relating to the Prevention of Corrupt Practices at Parliamentary Elections, and the Acts relating to Election Petitions, said, he thought he ought very shortly to explain the provisions of the Bill which he desired to introduce. The House would be aware that a Bill was brought in last Session to carry out, to a great extent, the recommendations of a Committee which sat on the subject in 1875. The principal recommendation of the Committee was that, for the future, Election Petitions should be tried before two Judges instead of one, and that no one should be found guilty of any corrupt practice except on trial before two Judges. That recommendation, after a good deal of consideration by the Government, was adopted, and was introduced into a Bill last Session, which passed into a Act, which also continued the penalties for various corrupt practices till December, 1880. It was thought desirable to introduce a Bill this Session to continue the Corrupt Practices Act for another year, and also to continue the Election Petitions Act, so that Election Petitions would be tried before two Judges. That was an enactment which, so far as he knew, had given every satisfaction to hon. Gentlemen. There was another provision in the Bill which he desired to introduce of some importance. By the 36th section of the Representation of the People Act it was provided that it should not be lawful for any candidate, or anyone on his behalf, at an election for any borough, unless in widely-scattered boroughs, to pay any sum on account of the conveyance of voters to the poll, and payments so made were declared to be illegal and corrupt. A good deal of difficulty had arisen under this section of the Act. In the first place, it was by no means clear what constituted a payment of money in respect to the conveyance of voters to the poll. It had always been considered

that money might not be paid, but a cab might be hired and a voter taken along with the hirer; and, although it was said to be an illegal payment under the Act of 1854, it was impossible to find out what the penalty for the payment was. They had, therefore, a payment declared to be illegal, but no penalty attached to it. The consequence was that this provision had been utterly disregarded, and had, in fact, become a dead letter. He thought it very undesirable that the law should remain in that unsatisfactory state. It should be made clear one way or the other. The Government, having considered the subject carefully, thought it would be a strong measure to make the conveyance of voters to the poll—which was in itself an innocent act—a corrupt practice denounced by the Act; and if it was not desirable to make it a corrupt practice, the only other course was to repeal that provision of the Act. The Government had, therefore, come to the conclusion to repeal that provision, and to make it no longer illegal, either in boroughs or counties, to take voters to the poll in cabs. These were the objects of the Bill which he hoped the House would give him leave to introduce.

MR. HIBBERT agreed with what had been said by the Attorney General with regard to the working of the clause referred to; but he (Mr. Hibbert) must draw attention to the fact that the clause, as originally proposed by him, was different from that passed by the House, owing to the alteration made by the Government then in Office. The alterations, in fact, made it unworkable. He did not mean to say that the repeal of the clause might not be a good thing; but, at the same time, he must withhold his judgment with respect to the present proposition. He contended that it would have been much better to have made the clause more stringent than to have repealed it. They ought to strive, as much as possible, to limit the expense of elections, and that was one of his objects in proposing the clause.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE observed, that he himself had frequently brought the subject before the House, and he had quite expected that the Government would take the course they now proposed. It was not the course that recommended itself to him personally, for he agreed that it would have been far

better to have put a stop to the practice in question altogether. He felt, however, that the Government could not have carried a proposal of that character. That being so, the Government was driven to do what it now proposed, for nothing could be worse than to leave the country in its present state of uncertainty.

MR. DODSON complained that this Bill had not been introduced at the very commencement of the Session, particularly as it was now obvious from the Prime Minister's manifesto that the Government intended only to pass the Irish relief measures before the Dissolution. Except for the repeal of a particular clause, he could see no reason for the Bill at all, as the Corrupt Practices Act would remain in force until December, 1880. So far as he was concerned, he wished it to be understood that he reserved his judgment.

MR. RYLANDS cordially supported the views of the Attorney General, and thanked him for having dealt with the subject in the Bill he was about to introduce. It was monstrous that that should be immoral in boroughs which was legal and proper in counties. It was, in fact, impossible to prevent the employment of conveyances, and the Government proposed the best way out of the difficulty. He should give the Bill his hearty support.

MR. COLMAN said, he thought it was highly desirable that the important question dealt with by the Bill of the hon. and learned Attorney General should be settled before the next Election. He wished, however, to impress upon the hon. and learned Gentleman the necessity of taking care that the Returns of the election expenses gave a full account of expenses incurred under the head of conveying voters to the poll. He could not forget that little word "etcetera," frequently applied in election accounts, and it was one of the worst words that could be used. It left a wide door open for corruption; and he therefore hoped the hon. and learned Gentleman would take care that there was a full and special Return of all the expenses incurred for the conveyance of voters under distinct and separate heads.

MR. RAMSAY said, that the increase of election expenses was to be deprecated by those who sat on his side of the House. He could not understand

why the relief of the conscience of a candidate should be more regarded than the relief of the conscience of a conscientious agent. The proposition of the Attorney General, he held, would have the effect of making this practice of using conveyances universal; and he regretted that any measure should be favoured by Government which would have the effect of increasing the legal expenses consequent on an election. He, therefore, protested against the general principle, and especially against any such measure at the present time.

MR. STANTON hoped the Attorney General would take into consideration the propriety of making legal the issue of railway tickets for the conveyance of voters to the poll.

MR. MORGAN LLOYD regretted that the employment of cabs was to be legalized in boroughs, because their use was not necessary in small boroughs, and would encourage a corrupt use of them. If necessary, an exception might be made in the case of large boroughs or boroughs with large areas.

MR. H. SAMUELSON suggested that the difficulty in the way of prohibition might be met by making it illegal to receive payment for the conveyance of voters.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir JOHN HOLKER), in reply, said, the effect of the Bill would be to legalize the payment of expenses for conveying voters to the poll, whether by railway, cab, or omnibus. The boroughs of large areas like East Retford and Shoreham were excepted from prohibition under the present law; but, as conveyance was now to be made legal, it would not be necessary to insert any exceptions.

Motion agreed to.

Bill to amend the Law relating to the Conveyance of Voters to the Poll, and to continue the Acts relating to the prevention of Corrupt Practices at Parliamentary Elections, and the Acts relating to Election Petitions, *ordered to be brought in by Mr. ATTORNEY GENERAL and Mr. SOLICITOR GENERAL.*

Bill presented, and read the first time. [Bill 107.]

RATING OF MACHINERY BILL.

On Motion of Mr. BIRLEY, Bill to remove doubts as to the liability of Machinery to be rated to the relief of the Poor and other local rates, *ordered to be brought in by Mr. BIRLEY, Mr. HIBBERT, and Mr. RIPLEY.*

Bill presented, and read the first time. [Bill 108.]

Sir Charles W. Dilke

ORDER OF THE DAY.

WAYS AND MEANS.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Resolved, That, towards making good the Supply granted to Her Majesty for the Service of the year ending on the 31st day of March 1881, the sum of £8,322,177, be granted out of the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom.

Resolution to be reported *To-morrow* ;

Committee to sit again *To-morrow*.

House adjourned at a quarter before Five o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Thursday, 11th March, 1880.

MINUTES.]—PRIVATE BILL—*First Reading*—Katz Naturalization.

PUBLIC BILLS—*First Reading*—Hypothec Abolition (Scotland) * (34).

Second Reading—Beer Dealers Retail Licenses (27).

Second Reading—*Referred to Select Committee*—Ancient Monuments (20).

Committee—Companies Acts Amendment (9-35).

Third Reading—Local Courts of Bankruptcy (Ireland) * (11); Indian Salaries and Allowances* (22), and *passed*.

PARLIAMENTARY REPORTING—THE HOUSE OF LORDS.

Report from the Select Committee (with the proceedings of the Committee) made; and to be *printed*.

COMPANIES ACTS AMENDMENT BILL.

(*The Lord Aberdare.*)

(NO. 9.) COMMITTEE.

Order of the Day for the House to be put into Committee, read.

Moved, "That the House do now resolve itself into Committee upon the said Bill."—(*The Lord Aberdare.*)

LORD DENMAN moved, as an Amendment, that the House resolve itself into Committee on the Bill that day six months. The Bill was cumbrous, and he believed it would be unworkable. He believed that it was for a reduction of capital. If he was wrong, he hoped he should be set right.

Amendment *moved*, to leave out ("now") and add at the end of the Motion ("this day six months").—(*The Lord Denman.*)

THE EARL OF REDESDALE (CHAIRMAN OF COMMITTEES) wished to know what the money that was retained under the Bill was to be invested in? He thought some greater safeguard should be introduced to provide for future calls, seeing that those who chose to reduce their capital would still be shareholders with respect to more than half of it.

LORD ABERDARE replied, that there was a provision in the Bill by which the money retained on a reduction of capital should be invested in securities at £3 per cent and not exceeding £4, and he suggested that it might be invested by trustees. He contended that under the operation of the Bill no increased danger to creditors of Companies need be apprehended by those who shared in the objections of the Chairman of Committees and the noble Lord who moved the Amendment.

LORD SELBORNE was unable to see why a shareholder, who desired to retain his position unaltered, should have it altered by obliging him to accept interest at a fixed maximum or minimum rate, instead of receiving a dividend rateably with the other shareholders, on the full amount paid up by him, in respect of his share of capital.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR intimated that he certainly should not oppose the Motion for going into Committee, as the Bill appeared to have the approval of high authorities in the City of London, though he had never been able to see how the end sought to be accomplished was worthy of the complicated machinery set up by the clauses.

On question, that ("now") stand part of the motion, *resolved in the affirmative*; House in Committee accordingly; amendments made; the Report thereof to be received on *Tuesday* next; and Bill to be *printed* as amended. (No. 35.)

ANCIENT MONUMENTS BILL.

(*The Earl Stanhope.*)

(NO. 20.) SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading, read.

EARL STANHOPE, in moving that the Bill be now read a second time,

said, he thought he was expressing the feeling of all their Lordships in deploring the destruction of ancient monuments. Of late years the Castle of Banbury, and many other ancient monuments, had been entirely destroyed, together with many old castles in different parts of the country, and this, not for the purpose of removing obstructions, or for any important and useful purpose, but merely to obtain the stone to mend roads or repair cottages. He reminded the House that the ancient monuments were really the unwritten history of this country; and it was suggested that to prevent their further destruction and entire disappearance the owner of the land should, in the first place, before destroying them, offer them for sale, and that the Trustees of the British Museum, who were to be Commissioners for the purpose, should be empowered to buy them under certain conditions. The Bill, or similar Bills, had six times passed a second reading in the House of Commons, had been once examined in Committee, and had once been referred to a Select Committee of the other House, which had recommended certain modifications, which had been adopted in the present Bill. During the discussions on the measure in the House of Commons, the hon. Member for Maidstone (Sir John Lubbock) had given a number of examples of the destruction of interesting ancient monuments. Of course, if owners chose to retain and take charge of the ancient monuments on their estates, they could do so. His own opinion was that the Bill would cause all proprietors to preserve their historical monuments. Some objections had been urged against the proposal on the ground of expense; but he was at a loss to perceive how any great expenses could be incurred, because all that these ancient monuments required was to be let alone. On the receipt of a communication as to the wishes of the Government in that respect, the Trustees of the British Museum had, on the 27th July, 1878, resolved to become the Commissioners under the Bill. Annexed to the Bill was a Schedule containing a list of the monuments to which the Bill would apply, which had been carefully revised by the Societies of Antiquaries of London and Scotland, and by the Royal Society of Arts in Ireland. Under the 3rd clause the Commissioners would have power to apply the

Bill to any monument which might appear to them to be of national interest, and which was not in a park, garden, or pleasure ground of a private owner; but this power was guarded by subsequent clauses in the Bill. He ventured, as the son of a former President of the Antiquarian Society, to impress upon the House the importance of adopting this measure.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2^a."
—(*The Earl Stanhope*.)

THE DUKE OF SOMERSET said, that the Trustees of the British Museum were not a proper body to have charge of these ancient monuments. They had not the means to protect these interesting relics of antiquity. In this Bill a monument had little reference to history. The Bill applied to cairns, dykes, and mounds, which were pre-historic, and of most of them nothing was known. Even Caesar's Camp was doubtful. The Schedule of the Bill was imperfect in what it contained and in what it omitted, and the proposed machinery of the measure very unsatisfactory. He did not approve the appointment of the Trustees of the British Museum as the Commissioners. On these grounds, he suggested that the Bill ought to be referred to a Select Committee.

EARL DE LA WARR quite agreed with the noble Duke that this Bill should be referred to a Select Committee. There was a Schedule of places in the Bill; but the provisions of the measure might be applied to any monument which, in the opinion of the Commissioners, ought to be taken care of. The owner of a small property which was not a park, garden, or pleasure garden, might have a monument in which he took much interest, and the Commissioners would be able to interfere with it against his will. He was quite at a loss to know why that should be so. A monument was as much a man's property as any other kind of property; and because it was ancient, was that a reason why he should be subjected to restrictions as to what he should do with it? In short, an owner would have to deal with his property as if he were a sort of trustee of it. He thought that an owner of an ancient monument was much in the same position as the owners of a picture by an old master.

Earl Stanhope

EARL GRANVILLE understood that this Bill had received the approval of the Trustees of the British Museum. However that might be, it was quite clear that the Government had been in communication with those Trustees, and no doubt they would make excellent arrangements for the purpose of carrying out the objects of the Bill.

THE EARL OF REDESDALE (CHAIRMAN OF COMMITTEES) said, that he thought the Bill should not be passed in its present shape. The rule was that when it was proposed that an owner's property was interfered with he was allowed to be heard upon the question before Parliament; but this Bill contained the strange proposition that a man's property might be interfered with whether he liked it or not. He hoped their Lordships would not adopt the course now proposed by this measure. Curiously enough, a county with which he was connected—Northumberland—was not included in the Bill; yet in that county there were the remains of the Roman Wall, of all things in this country the most interesting, and not yet included in the Schedule. There were many other omissions. They should not pass this Bill, merely because it must be passed, in a hurry, and he hoped it would go to a Select Committee.

THE EARL OF CARNARVON wished to say a word or two in favour of the Bill, and upon the shape in which it had been brought before the House. He must point out that the interference allowed with any man's property had been pared down to the smallest possible quantity. As originally framed, Commissioners were named in the Bill who were not the Trustees of the British Museum. Her Majesty's Government suggested that those Trustees should be the Commissioners, in order that the latter might be responsible to the Executive. He accepted that proposition as it came from Her Majesty's Government, though he did not himself think that the Trustees of the British Museum were the best body to act as Commissioners under the Bill. He should have liked as Commissioners a body like the Inclosure Commissioners, with members named by the Antiquarian Societies of the Three Kingdoms. The Commissioners would not be able to expend monies without the sanction of Parliament. There was no doubt that most interesting monuments

had been, and were being, destroyed through ignorance, the sordid love of money, and every conceivable folly. In many cases woful and wanton mischief had been done, which it was the duty of Parliament and of an enlightened Government to restrain. His noble Friend (Lord Houghton) was fully justified in what he said as to the necessity of an early interference. Many most curious monuments had already disappeared, and many more were disappearing. In a year or two there would be a loss to the country of most valuable remains. These cases of destruction or disappearance it was the duty of the Government to restrain. In this they had an example in the course followed by other Governments. In Holland, monuments which were almost unique had been preserved in this way. The Danish Government had also taken steps in the same direction, and for years and years past the French Government had taken similar measures; and if they had sometimes failed it was owing to the disturbed state of affairs in that country. We had, indeed, ourselves done something towards the same object, though he could not recall under what Government. There had been a great outcry that the rights of property were being interfered with; but he did not think there was force in that contention in the case of the Bill before their Lordships. A few years ago—about 10 years ago, he thought—when Sir Henry Layard was the First Commissioner of Public Works, he had been requested by the Society of Antiquaries to take up the question of preserving the ancient monuments of this country. He hoped that his noble Friend would not press his objections. The subject had been very carefully considered in "another place," though he would not on that ground claim that the Bill should escape scrutiny by their Lordships. He could not desire that it should not be examined there; but he thought that the measure could be passed with perfect safety. If the Bill was referred to a Select Committee it would inevitably be destroyed.

THE DUKE OF RICHMOND AND GORDON said, it was not his desire to send this Bill to inevitable destruction; but he submitted that it ought to be referred to a Select Committee. It was just one of those measures, dealing as it did with property in so summary a

way, which ought to receive such consideration as would be given by a Select Committee. It was unlike other modes of dealing with property, in that there was no provision for giving notice to the persons affected, except in the Schedule to the Bill. There was no notice to anyone that any part of his property was to be interfered with. Until he read the Schedule of the Bill, he was unaware that part of his property was intended to be dealt with. It was, however, unreasonable to say that there was any intention of getting rid of the Bill, when it was said that it should be referred to a Select Committee. But he objected to the manner in which monuments were proposed to be dealt with. His noble Friend (the Earl of Carnarvon) had himself objected to the Trustees of the British Museum being the Commissioners, and had mentioned another body and representatives of learned Societies instead; and if the Bill should be referred to the Select Committee he would be able to recommend to them what he now suggested. He must say that he could not conceive how it would be possible for the Trustees of the British Museum to take possession of and preserve the fort on the hill of Roath. He thought it undesirable that such an extreme measure as that before their Lordships should be resorted to, and he hoped that his noble Friend would accede to the proposal of the noble Duke (the Duke of Somerset).

LORD O'HAGAN, as one of the Trustees of the British Museum, believed that the duties which were cast on them by the Bill would be well and adequately fulfilled. They had consented to undertake those duties; and, upon their consent, it had been approved by the Treasury. It was a mistake to suppose that, under it, any man's property could be taken or meddled with against his will. Whatever was done must be done by voluntary agreement. He referred to several sections to establish this; and also to show that machinery and means were provided to carry out its object, which, in his (Lord O'Hagan's) opinion, was of high public importance. The monuments which it sought to preserve were not merely private property. In one aspect, the nation had a great interest in them which it was entitled to protect. He feared that the loss of this Bill would endanger very many of them

in this country and in Ireland also; and the reference of it to a Select Committee, at this time and under existing circumstances, would effectually defeat it, and postpone, for an indefinite period, provisions which were at present a most urgent necessity.

Motion agreed to; Bill read 2^a accordingly.

THE DUKE OF SOMERSET moved that the Bill be referred to a Select Committee.

EARL STANHOPE said, that he was not able to accede to the Motion of the noble Duke, as he wished to point out that it was not meant that any person's property should be taken absolutely; but that if the owners of an ancient monument should be inclined to destroy it they should be required to offer it for sale to the Commissioners at a reasonable price.

THE DUKE OF RICHMOND AND GORDON said, that he objected to the power proposed to be given to the Trustees of the British Museum. They might come on to his property and interfere with his method of taking care of any ancient remains, and say that some other method should be followed.

THE EARL OF REDESDALE (CHAIRMAN of COMMITTEES) supported the Motion, and he would observe that the Bill came up from the other House on the 26th of February, and it was not till the 6th or 7th instant when Notice was given of the second reading.

On Question, *resolved in the affirmative*; Bill referred to a Select Committee accordingly.

BEER DEALERS RETAIL LICENSES

BILL—(No. 27.)

(*The Earl Stanhope.*)

SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading, read.

EARL STANHOPE, in moving that the Bill be now read a second time, said, he should have only two or three remarks to make upon it. At present, it was extremely easy to obtain from the magistrates licences for beer sold by retail for consumption off the premises. A man who wanted a licence obtained a wholesale beer dealer's licence from the Excise authorities as a matter

The Duke of Richmond and Gordon

of course, and then went before the magistrates, who had no power to refuse him unless it could be proved that he bore a bad character, or that his house was not duly qualified by law. The object of the Act with reference to the sale of beer for consumption off the premises was to enable brewers to dispose also of their beer by retail; but, in recent years, small shopkeepers had taken advantage of the law, especially in some of the Northern counties, and in the Metropolitan area. He found that in Bradford there were, in 1872, 11 shops for the sale of beer off the premises, while, in 1876, there were 418; and in a certain village in Durham every shop had obtained power to sell beer in this manner. Such a number was far beyond what could be necessary, and he feared the system led to secret drinking, especially amongst women. A vast number of committees of magistrates, both in town and country districts, recommended such a change as this Bill proposed. The Bill had been before the other House and had received the approval of both parties, and had also received the sanction of Her Majesty's Government. It really consisted of but two enacting clauses. The first gave power to the magistrates to refuse or grant a licence according to the merits of each case. The second provided that licences should be granted at the annual licensing meeting of magistrates, instead of at the special sessions. The object was to let the public know when to apply, and also that it might receive a more full consideration than it might otherwise do from the magistrates interested. Really this seemed a proposal so very moderate, and so much demanded in the interests of temperance and good order itself, that he could hardly think any serious objection would be offered to it. He might add that the reason grocers' licences were not included in the Bill was that there would have been no chance of carrying the Bill during the present Parliament if it had been so weighted.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2^a."
 —(*The Earl Stanhope.*)

LORD ABERDARE said, this question was in itself a small one, but it involved a large general one, which was whether the whole of the licences for the sale of intoxicating drinks should be

under the jurisdiction of the magistrates? He appealed to the Government not to deal with the question in this piecemeal way. Suppose this Bill passed, anyone would be able to obtain a bottle of brandy or spirit of any kind from a house not directly under the jurisdiction of the magistrate; but if he required a bottle of ale there would be no alternative for him but to go the public-house, because the beer dealer could not sell less than a dozen bottles, and he would not be likely to submit to the discretion of a magistrate for a retail licence. The very object of this licence was to enable people to buy beer in small quantities at other places than at the public-house. It might be shown that there were evils attending the sale; but the evidence given before the Committee of their Lordships' House, which sat two Sessions ago, resulted in their expressing their opinion that it was not expedient to grant the power, which was asked for by this Bill, to the magistrates; and he could see no reason why the objects it was desired to accomplish by this measure could not be realized by other means. For instance, they might confine this licence to persons holding a wine and spirit licence. At present, licences to sell beer off the premises could be obtained by taking out a wholesale licence at a cost of £3 6s. 1½d., and a retail licence at a cost of £1 2s. 0½d., or a total of £4 8s. 2½d.; but the question arose whether this sum was sufficiently large to insure his carrying out the requirements? He must satisfy the magistrate that the house was of a certain annual value; that he had not been guilty of any offence against good order; that he was a person of good character, and another condition which he did not at that moment remember. These matters being satisfactory, the magistrate was bound to grant the licence. The result of the Act of 1872 had, no doubt, been to restrict public-house licences, and the effect of that restriction had been to create a very large number of these outdoor licences, and he did not deny that there might be circumstances in connection with some of them that were to be regretted. What they had to consider was the remedy; and he would suggest whether it might not be possible to attach these licences to other licences. The spirit dealer's licence was £10 10s., and his wine licence £10 10s. In all, a

person in that trade had to pay a total of about £29 a-year, and that gave a large security for the good conduct of his business. The Committee which sat upon the subject of temperance expressed a very strong opinion against these licences being left to the discretion of the magistrates, and one objection was that it raised fresh vested interests. It certainly appeared a strong proposition that a measure of this kind, if it were good, should leave out spirits and confine itself to beer; and he earnestly appealed to the Government to reserve to themselves the power of considering the whole question at a future time.

VISCOUNT MIDDLETON felt compelled to give his hearty support to this Bill. He would not follow his noble Friend into details. He felt that the Bill was founded on sound principles, and it attained its object in a reasonable way. Certainly, no one having any experience on the subject could doubt that there was a real need for some change. Magistrates had no power to refuse these licences even in cases in which they were satisfied it was unadvisable to grant them. He might appeal to those who were conversant with the subject whether they were not frequently called upon to grant these licences when the number was already far too great? He might mention that in more than one fatal case which had come under his notice as the result of drunkenness the drink had been obtained, not from a licensed public-house, but from a place holding a licence to sell off the premises. He had also taken some trouble to make inquiries of the police, and they confirmed him in the view that these houses were not subject to the control to which public-houses were subject. He did not think much could be said in regard to the arbitrary decisions of magistrates in cases of this kind. For his part, he was under the impression that the tendency of magistrates was to leniency, and that they were not generally desirous of putting the law in force in all its severity. They might, therefore, safely be trusted with the powers with which it was proposed to invest them under this Bill, and it was important that these powers should be identical with respect to the two classes of houses.

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY was bound to say that, though this was a very small Bill, it raised a very large issue.

Lord Aberdare

At present there was a very wide distinction between licences to sell liquor to be drunk on the premises and those which authorized the sale of liquor to be consumed off the premises. Licences for the sale on the premises were only granted at the discretion of the magistrates; but with regard to the sale of intoxicating liquors off the premises, the magistrates could only refuse the licence on statutory grounds. Either the house must not be of the necessary annual value, or the applicant must have been guilty of some offence against good order, or the character of the applicant must be proved to be bad. There was, therefore, a clear distinction between these two kinds of licences. Those on the premises being granted on the discretion of the magistrates, they were thereby become monopolies. There were, no doubt, some advantages connected with monopolies; but it must be remembered that there were also drawbacks. The noble Earl had mentioned that he had not included grocers' licences in the Bill. No doubt he had good reasons for not including them in the provisions of the Bill. But this showed the necessity for considering fairly the suggestion of his noble Friend, that these licences should be dealt with as a whole by the Government. The whole question had been very carefully considered by the Committee on Intemperance, and with especial reference to grocers' licences. They commenced their inquiry with a general feeling that something must be done to restrict the sale of intoxicating liquors by grocers; but the evidence did not bear out the assertion that any such change was desirable. The present measure was in opposition to the conclusion of the Committee; and he certainly thought any change of the kind proposed should be undertaken on the responsibility of the Government. It was also very important that it should be dealt with as a whole. It had been admitted that the object of the Bill was to introduce the thin edge of the wedge in order, after putting a stop to the sale of beer to be drunk on the premises, to withhold the licences for the sale of spirits to be drunk off the premises. The noble Earl had referred to the subject of secret drinking. He supposed a secret drinker was one who took his drink in his own house, an open drinker being one who took it at the public-house. He confessed he sympathized with the

former. The question was, were they prepared to allow only the richer classes to be able to obtain intoxicating liquors in other places than the public-house; were they going to force the poorer classes into the public-house? The Bill had certainly received very little attention. It was only by accident, the other evening, that he was made aware that such an important measure was being carried through their Lordships' House. It had passed the House of Commons with very little discussion, and he hoped it would not be read a second time.

EARL BEAUCHAMP said, he thought the noble Earl had ascribed something to this Bill which it did not possess. It was simply carrying one step further the legislation of 1872-3. By that Act certain parties, who before that time were not called upon to obtain a magistrate's certificate before obtaining the licences, were compelled to do so.

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY denied that this was so.

EARL BEAUCHAMP said, he might be wrong in that contention; but the noble Earl said it was wrong in principle that the poor should be compelled to go to the public-house if they wanted a bottle of beer, while the rich were enabled to obtain what they wished without having recourse to the public-house. He certainly did not understand the Bill in that sense. He did not see anything in it to prevent the continuance of the present system, the only promise being that it should be properly managed. The measure was in no sense a large one; and, if passed, would enable the magistrates to exercise a discretion in the issuing of the licences in question which they now did not possess. They had always exercised the powers intrusted to them with wisdom and moderation; and he did not think their Lordships would regret increasing the powers and the discretion they possessed at the present time. He supported the Bill.

LORD DENMAN also supported the Bill. He had always held that the Act of 1872 would prove mischievous, because it violated the principle that everyone who sold alcoholic liquors should be under the control of the magistrates. Supposing a woman was supplied from a village beerhouse when thoroughly drunk—and such cases frequently came before magistrates—surely the licence

of such a place should be taken away. The Bill could do no possible harm.

Motion agreed to; Bill read 2^a accordingly, and committed to a Committee of the Whole House To-morrow.

KATZ NATURALIZATION BILL.

A Bill to naturalize Hermann Katz, and to grant to and confer upon him all the rights, privileges, and capacities of a natural born subject of Her Majesty the Queen—Was presented (on petition), and read 1^a.

House adjourned at a quarter past Seven o'clock, till To-morrow, half past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Thursday, 11th March, 1880.

MINUTES.]—NEW MEMBER SWORN—William Amhurst Tyssen Amherst, esquire, for Norfolk County (Western Division).

SUPPLY—considered in Committee—Supplementary, £1,225,200, War in South Africa; Civil Services (Excesses) 1878-9.

WAYS AND MEANS—considered in Committee—The FINANCIAL STATEMENT.

Resolutions [March 10] reported.

PUBLIC BILLS—First Reading—Local Courts of Bankruptcy (Ireland) * [110].

Second Reading—Army Discipline and Regulation (Annual) [106]; Parliamentary Elections and Corrupt Practices (No. 2) [107].

Select Committee—Report—Chartered Banks (Colonial) * [No. 115].

Committee—South Western (of London) District Post Office [90] discharged.

Committee—Report—Consolidated Fund (No. 1)*. Report—Chartered Banks (Colonial) * [4-109].

Considered as amended—Common Law Procedure and Judicature Acts Amendment * [80].

Considered as amended—Third Reading—Municipal Corporations (Property Qualification Abolition) * [43], and passed.

Third Reading—India Stock (Powers of Attorney) * [93]; East India Loan (East Indian Railway Debentures) * [99]; Valuation (Metropolis) Act (1869) Amendment [98]; Blind and Deaf Mute Children * [41], and passed. Withdrawn—County Courts * [6].

PRIVATE BUSINESS.

PRIVATE BILLS.—RESOLUTIONS.

MR. RAIKES, in moving a series of Standing Orders for the suspension until the new Parliament of Private Bills or

Bills to confirm any Provisional Order or Certificate, stated that similar Standing Orders were passed in 1859, when the General Election occurred in the middle of the Session. The object was to suspend the progress of Private Bills now before the House, so that they might be taken up in the new House of Commons. He had, in framing the Resolution, carefully followed the Standing Order passed in 1859, except in regard to Provisional Orders. As such Orders were now treated as Private Bills he had included them, and also the Certificates relating to Provisional Orders for the inclosure of Commons, which had certain preliminaries to go through before they could be brought before the House.

Standing Orders for the Suspension of Private Bills, or Bills to confirm any Provisional Order or Certificate,—

1. *Ordered*, That the Promoters of every Private Bill which has been introduced into this House, or brought from the House of Lords in the present Session of Parliament, shall have leave to suspend any further proceeding thereupon, in order to proceed with the same Bill in the next Session of Parliament.

2. That the Promoters of every such Bill shall give notice in the Private Bill Office, not later than the day prior to the close of the present Session, of their intention to suspend any further proceedings thereon; or, in the case of Bills which shall have been suspended on the Report of a Committee, or which, having passed this House, shall then be pending in the House of Lords, of their intention to proceed with the same Bill in this House in the next Session.

3. That an Alphabetical List of all such Bills, with a statement of the stage at which the same were suspended, shall be prepared by the Private Bill Office, and printed.

4. That not later than three clear days after the next meeting of Parliament, every Bill which has been introduced into this House shall be deposited in the Private Bill Office, in the form required by Standing Order No. 201, with a declaration signed by the Agent annexed thereto, stating that the Bill is the same, in every respect, as the Bill with respect to which proceedings have been so suspended, at the last stage of its proceeding in the House, in the present Session; and, where any sum of money has been deposited, that such deposit has not been withdrawn, together with a certificate of that fact from the proper officer of the Chancery Division of the High Court of Justice in England or Ireland, or the Court of Exchequer in Scotland, as the case may be.

5. That such Bills, indorsed by one of the Clerks in the Private Bill Office, as having been duly deposited with such declarations and certificates annexed, be laid by one of the Clerks of that Office upon the Table of the House, in the next Session of Parliament, in the order in which they shall stand upon such List, but not exceeding 50 Bills on any one day.

6. That in respect of every Bill so laid upon the Table, the Petition for the Bill, and the order of leave to bring in the same in the present Session, shall be read, and thereupon such Bill shall be read a first time; and a second time (if the Bill shall have been read a second time previously to its being suspended); and if such Bill shall have been reported by any Committee in the present Session, the Order for referring the Bill to a Committee shall be dispensed with, and the Bill ordered to lie upon the Table, or to be read a third time, as the case may be.

7. That in case any Bill brought from the House of Lords in the present Session, upon which the proceedings shall have been suspended in this House, shall be brought from the House of Lords in the next Session of Parliament, the Agent for such Bill shall deposit in the Private Bill Office, prior to the first reading thereof, a declaration, stating that the Bill is the same, in every respect, as the Bill which was brought from the House of Lords in the present Session; and where any sum of money has been deposited, that such deposit has not been withdrawn, together with a certificate of that fact from the proper officer; and so soon as one of the Clerks in the Private Bill Office has certified that such deposit has been duly made, the Bill shall be read a first time, and be further proceeded with in the same manner as Bills introduced into this House during the present Session.

8. That all Petitions presented in the present Session against Private Bills, or against any Bill to confirm any Provisional Order or Certificate, and which stood referred to the Committees on such Bills, shall stand referred to the Committees on the same Bills, in the next Session of Parliament.

9. That no Petitioners shall be heard before the Committee on such Bills, unless their Petition shall have been presented within the time limited in the present Session.

10. That in case the time limited for presenting Petitions against any such Bills shall not have expired at the close of the present Session, Petitioners may be heard before the Committee on such Bill, provided their Petition be presented previous to, or not later than, seven clear days after the next meeting of Parliament.

11. That all Instructions to Committees on Private Bills in the present Session, which shall be suspended previously to their being reported by any Committee, be Instructions to the Committees on the same Bills in the next Session.

12. That no new Fees be charged in respect of any stage of a Bill upon which Fees have already been incurred during the present Session.

13. That all Standing Orders complied with in respect of any Public Bill introduced, or intended to be introduced, during the present Session, shall be held applicable to any Bill for the same objects introduced in the next Session, and where the Examiner has already reported upon the compliance with the Standing Orders in respect of any such Bill, he shall only further Report whether any new Standing Orders are applicable.

14. Bills to confirm any Provisional Order or Certificate introduced into this House, or brought from the House of Lords, in the present Ses-

sion, shall be suspended, in order to be proceeded with in the next Session of Parliament.

15. That with regard to any such Bills the Order of Leave in the present Session shall be read, and thereupon the Bill shall be read a first time and a second time (if the Bill shall have been read a second time during the present Session); and if such Bill shall have been reported by any Committee in the present Session, the Order for referring the Bill to a Committee shall be dispensed with, and the Bill ordered to lie upon the Table, or to be read a third time, as the case may be.

16. That all applications made, and Certificates given, and all other proceedings taken with reference to any Bill introduced, or intended to be introduced in the present Session for confirming any Provisional Order in respect to the Inclosure of Commons, under "The Commons Act, 1876," shall be deemed to apply to any Bill introduced for the same object in the next Session.

17. That Standing Order 39 be suspended, and that the time for depositing Duplicates of any Documents relating to any Provisional Order or Certificate be extended to not later than seven clear days after the next meeting of Parliament.

18. That the said Orders be Standing Orders of this House, and be printed.—(*The Chairman of Ways and Means.*)

QUESTIONS.

NAVY—BURSTING OF THE "THUNDERER" GUN.

MR. H. SAMUELSON asked the Comptroller General of the Ordnance, Whether it is the case that, in the recent destructive trial of the "Thunderer" gun, crusher gauges incapable of registering pressures below thirty-six tons to the square inch were used, in consequence of which the actual pressure which burst the gun has not been ascertained; and, if so, why that course was adopted?

LORD EUSTACE CECIL: Yes, Sir; it is perfectly true that crusher gauges were set to mark a pressure of not less than 36 tons. There is every reason to believe from the careful examination of one of the crusher gauges after the explosion, which, although broken, registered a pressure of 40 tons, that the point of greatest pressure exceeded 36 tons. It is doubtful whether, in any circumstances, the actual pressure which burst the gun could have been accurately ascertained.

OUT-DOOR OFFICERS OF CUSTOMS.

MR. J. R. YORKE (for Mr. WAIT) asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer,

Whether his attention has been directed to the different position as respects payment in which the out-door Officers of Customs at the outports are placed, in comparison with the same Officers at London and Liverpool; whether the qualification test is the same; whether the duties and responsibilities are identical; and, whether he can hold out any prospect that the present inequality will be redressed?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER, in reply, said, the question had been on several occasions under the consideration of the Treasury. The duties of these officers in the two places were generally similar in kind; but in London there was a larger area, and the officer was put to greater expense in consequence of the higher rates, and the distance he had to travel. He could not, therefore, hold out any prospect of an alteration being made.

AFGHANISTAN—MILITARY OPERATIONS—LOSS OF BAGGAGE ANIMALS.

DR. CAMERON asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether he can inform the House what was the extent of the loss of baggage animals on the North West frontier of India between the opening of the Afghan campaign in November 1878 and the month of April 1879; and, whether he will state to the House, whether any, and, if so, what arrangements have been made to compensate the owners in Scinde and the Punjab of such animals as were requisitioned and died when taken away for military purposes from agricultural and other labours?

MR. E. STANHOPE: Sir, I believe that the number of camels which died or disappeared in the winter of 1878-9 was 31,000. We have not yet very complete information on the subject; but we know that full compensation was ordered to be paid on the spot for animals actually certified to have been killed by the enemy. As regards all others the fullest inquiry possible under the circumstances was ordered to be made before the claim was submitted, the Superintendent of Transport and the Commissariat Officer noting on each claim, and giving an opinion as to the amount to be allowed.

AFGHANISTAN—THE GOVERNOR OF CANDAHAR.

MR. ONSLOW asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether there is any truth in the telegraphic information from the correspondent of the "Times" to the effect that "the Government has presented a battery of six-pounder guns, with harness, and 2,000 smooth-bore Enfields to Sirdar Shere Ali, the Governor of Candahar;" whether His Excellency the Viceroy has any intention of presenting to other Sirdars in Afghanistan, supposed for the time being to be friendly to us, guns and rifles, and to what extent; and, whether Her Majesty's Government has considered the advisability of allowing His Excellency the Viceroy the power of giving arms to temporary native rulers without the previous sanction of the Secretary of State in Council of Her Majesty's Government?

MR. E. STANHOPE: Sir, I am afraid that we have no information on this subject, and do not, therefore, know whether it is true. No communication has been made to us about it. But I may add that the whole policy to be adopted towards Afghanistan is the subject of constant communication between the Viceroy and the Secretary of State.

NAVY—THE COASTGUARD.

MR. SULLIVAN asked the First Lord of the Admiralty, Whether it is intended to grant to chief officers of coast guard the same privileges as regards pay and pension as that granted to warrant officers in the Navy, with whom they hold similar rank in the service?

MR. W. H. SMITH, in reply, said, the whole subject had been under the careful consideration of the Admiralty, and that the conclusion which had been arrived at was that it was not desirable to make any alteration in the existing regulations.

IRELAND—THE MULLINGAR ASSIZES.

MR. SULLIVAN asked the Chief Secretary for Ireland, If, having regard to the evidence and conduct of the police and the Crown witnesses on the trial of Michael Kelly, Luke Brown, and Simon Brown at the last Mullingar Assizes, and the acquittal of the prisoners, it is his intention to direct a prosecution for perjury against certain of the Crown witnesses referred to?

MR. J. LOWTHER in reply, said, he could not reply to the Question as he should like, because he had not the complete documents before him. If the hon. and learned Gentleman would kindly postpone the Question, he might be able to give him an answer on the following day. He would also ask that the Question of the hon. and learned Gentleman which followed next on the Paper should also be postponed.

MR. SULLIVAN begged to postpone his Question at the request of the right hon. Gentleman.

MERCANTILE MARINE—THE "LOUISA FLETCHER" OF LIVERPOOL (UNSEAWORTHINESS).

MR. FINIGAN (for Mr. BIGGAR) asked the President of the Board of Trade, Whether he is now in a position to order a prosecution of the owners of the "Louisa Fletcher" for attempting to send that vessel to sea in an unseaworthy state; and, whether he ordered a proper survey of the "Maha-Buleshwar" at Falmouth with a view to the prosecution of the owner of that vessel, if deemed to be liable for a similar offence against the Law?

VISCOUNT SANDON: Sir, I have consulted my legal adviser as I announced, and I am advised that the owners of the *Louisa Fletcher* cannot be prosecuted in this case, information having been received that before she left London she had just been surveyed by Lloyd's, and continued in her class, and that before she left Plymouth the defect in the rudder, which had arisen at sea, was put right, to the satisfaction of the local surveyors. The matters connected with the state of the fore-castle do not come within the category of unseaworthiness, so that it is at once apparent that there is no case for a prosecution. With regard to the case of the *Maha-Buleshwar*, at Falmouth, I had no opportunity of ordering any survey, as the ship was towed off to sea before the facts were brought to my notice. I am advised, therefore, that I could not prosecute in this case. I think it only due to all concerned that the Papers in these two cases should be laid upon the Table.

THE SALE OF DUPLICATES IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

MR. MUNDELLA asked the Right Honourable Member for Cambridge Uni-

versity, If it is true, as stated in the "Standard" of 9th March, that the Trustees of the British Museum propose to sell by auction in the month of April a large and valuable collection of duplicate prints, many of them original works of the great engravers; and, if so, why it is that the Trustees do not avail themselves of the powers conferred upon them two years ago to distribute such duplicates amongst the museums of the great provincial towns, which contribute so largely by taxation to the maintenance of the British Museum?

MR. SPENCER WALPOLE, in reply, said, there were old Acts of Parliament of the 7th Geo. III., in which express power was given to the Trustees of the British Museum to sell duplicates in the collection for the purpose of purchasing other prints. That power had very rarely been exercised—never, he believed, or, at least, hardly ever, except for special purposes with the concurrence of the Treasury; but the occasion which had arisen for resorting to that power was a somewhat peculiar one. A few weeks ago an offer was made to the Trustees of a very important collection of drawings and illustrations of Old London, showing the character and growth of the Metropolis. That offer was made at a very much larger sum than the amount which was granted annually for prints; and there were, therefore, only two other ways in which the purchase could be effected. There might have been an application for a special grant; but it could not have been obtained in the present year owing to the requirements of the Treasury; and, consequently, the only other alternative was either to forego the purchase of this very valuable and interesting collection, or to make it by the sale of such duplicates as they had in the Museum, which the Trustees resolved to do rather than let the proffered prize slip from their hands.

PARLIAMENTARY REPORTING—THE REPORTERS' GALLERY.

MR. HIBBERT asked the First Lord of the Admiralty, Whether it is the intention of the Government to propose a small Vote in Supply, in order to give effect to the urgent recommendations of the Committee on Parliamentary Reporting, as to the desirableness of providing increased accommodation in the

Reporters' Gallery of the House of Commons for the representatives of provincial newspapers?

MR. W. H. SMITH, in reply, said, that the Government thought it would be the better course to leave this question to the consideration of the new Parliament. It was not the intention of the Government to propose any Vote in relation to the subject this Session.

SCOTCH FISHERIES COMMISSION—LOANS.

MR. GRANT DUFF asked the Secretary to the Treasury, with reference to his reply to the late Member for Elginshire in the year 1878, Whether Her Majesty's Government has now been able to come to any conclusions as to the Recommendations made in the Supplementary Report of the Scottish Fisheries Commission regarding the improvement of Harbours upon the East Coast; whether they are able to agree with the Recommendations of the Commission or with any of them, and, if so, with which; and, further, whether they see their way to encouraging local effort for harbour improvement in any way not suggested by the Commission; and, if so, how?

SIR HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON: Sir, the Scotch Fisheries Commissioners recommended—1. That the conditions on which the existing grant for the improvement of harbours on the East Coast was given should be made more stringent. 2. That Government should confine its action to granting loans to the local authorities through the Public Works Loan Commissioners. They recommended increased stringency in raising the local contributions from one-third to two-thirds of the cost; and that dues should be charged and applied for the improvement of the harbour. I myself agree in the recommendations that the loans should be through the Public Works Loan Commissioners, and that dues should be levied. And I think that evidence of the co-operation of the locality should be shown by a fair local contribution. When such effort is shown I shall be prepared to recommend the loan in aid should be granted.

THE DISTRESS IN IRELAND—THE SEEDS (IRELAND) ACT.

MAJOR NOLAN asked the Chief Secretary for Ireland, If the Local Go-

vernment Board have received information as to the amount of seed which the guardians of the scheduled unions propose to sell to each occupier of land; if the Local Government Board are satisfied that all the scheduled unions are prepared to grant a sufficient supply of seed to fulfil the purpose of the Seed Act and to enable all occupiers under £15 a-year to sow a sufficient breadth of land; and, if the Local Government Board are not satisfied with the maximum limits which the guardians have in some unions placed on the issue of seed, do the Local Government Board intend to take steps to extend those limits?

MR. J. LOWTHER: Sir, the Local Government Board has no desire to needlessly interfere with the Guardians in the exercise of their duties. In some cases, however, complaints have been made to the Board that the supply of seed was not adequate, and in those instances inquiry will be made. The general principle, however, acted upon is that on the Guardians will fall the responsibility of carrying out the Act. I understand that 140 Unions have expressed their willingness to put the Act into operation.

THE DESPATCH OF INDIAN TROOPS TO MALTA—THE RETURN OF COSTS.

MR. MUNDELLA asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Why a Return, ordered by the House on the 27th of March last, as to the cost of bringing the Indian Troops to Europe in 1878, has not yet been furnished to this House; and, whether he will cause such Return to be forthwith laid upon the Table and printed and circulated?

COLONEL STANLEY, in reply, said, that as his name was attached to the Return, perhaps he might be allowed to answer the Question. The figures ordered by the House in the Return referred to reached this country, he thought, in June last year; but doubts were expressed as to their correctness, and it was, therefore, necessary to make communications to the Indian Government on the subject. The figures were about to be presented to the House the other day, but appeared to require still further correction, and a telegram had been despatched to India asking that the figures might be verified as soon as possible. That was the reason why the

Return had not been presented. With regard to the second part of the hon. Member's Question, it would be obviously inconvenient to present a Return the figures of which they did not know to be correct.

MR. MUNDELLA said, he felt bound to press for a further explanation of this matter; and, in case of need, he must do what he had never done since he had been a Member of the House, and move the adjournment of the House. The Question affected somewhat the Privileges of the House, and it was only fair to state that he asked three Questions respecting this Return in the last Session of Parliament, and on the last day but one in that Session the Under Secretary of State for India informed him that he had laid the Return upon the Table. That announcement was received with a good deal of mirth from hon. Gentlemen behind the Under Secretary of State for India; and when he (Mr. Mundella) went into the Library next day he found a blank sheet of paper. He had been to the Library again and again; but no Return had been furnished. He had applied to the Under Secretary of State for India again, and had been referred to the Secretary of State for War. They were told that a Return, which was professedly laid on the Table on the 13th August last, could not be produced, and they were going to discuss this question in the country without the figures before them. Now, seeing that the Return referred to what took place two years ago—it was two years since the Indian troops were brought to Europe—he asked the Chancellor of the Exchequer why it was they could not have the figures, and how on earth the accounts were made up without them? He begged to move the adjournment of the House.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN seconded the Motion.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House do now adjourn."—*(Mr. Mundella.)*

COLONEL STANLEY said, he would take upon himself whatever blame there might be for the delay which had arisen. As the House would see, however, he had been actuated in what he had done by a desire to procure information of a perfectly accurate character. He was speaking without notes before him, as

he did not know till a few minutes ago that he would be called on to answer the Question; but he believed the figures were ordered on March 27 last year. They were received in June, and it was then found that in some particulars they were not correct. Reference was accordingly made to India—he could not say at what date, but he believed immediately—and on the last day of the Session, no further information having been received, a blank form well known to hon. Members was laid upon the Table, in order that the Return, when it did come, might be issued without delay. He understood that the figures were presented again, but that it was necessary that there should be a still further correction; and he was in possession of a note saying that up to the 5th of March last communication was going on with the Government of India respecting the figures, and the last communication was by telegram.

MR. CHILDERS said, this was really a very grave question, which absolutely demanded an explanation from the Chancellor of the Exchequer. A Committee was appointed the Session before last to inquire into the cost of the Indian troops going abroad, and the appointment of the Committee was concurred in by the Government. He had the honour, together with others, of representing that side of the House on the Committee. They were informed that the figures had not yet arrived from India, but that, if possible, they should be presented in the next Session. On the receipt of that assurance from the Government, he consented, in spite of opposition from some of his Friends, to the adjournment of the inquiry till the following year. But that adjournment was assented to with the distinct understanding that the Government would re-appoint the Committee, and that the figures would be presented early last Session; whereas now, in the middle of another Session, the Government had so contrived as not to give any information whatever. A clear and categorical explanation ought to be given by Her Majesty's Government on the subject. He regarded this as one of the gravest cases of apparently withholding information for the purpose of avoiding inquiry.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: The hon. Member for Sheffield

(Mr. Mundella) and the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Pontefract (Mr. Childers) have appealed to me specially in this matter. I must frankly own that when I saw the Question on the Paper I was not able to give any answer to it of my own knowledge. All I could do was to send an inquiry to the War Office and to the India Office on the subject; and my right hon. and gallant Friend the Secretary of State for War undertook to answer the Question, so far as he was able to do so. There can be no doubt that the facts as mentioned in this discussion do show that there has been considerable delay in forwarding these Returns. I am unable to say how that delay has occurred; but communications from India to this country with regard to matters of expenditure generally take a much longer time than appears reasonable to many people at home. If information came in a form which did not appear to be correct, it was only natural and right that inquiry should be made, in order to render the figures accurate. I am informed that the position of matters is this—there is a small difference between the figures which have been sent from India and those which are believed here at the India Office to be correct; and although it might not be possible or proper to lay a formal Return upon the Table until the actual figures have been agreed upon, I believe my hon. Friend the Under Secretary of State for India will be quite prepared to state the approximate figures, as sent from India, so far as he is able to do so.

MR. E. STANHOPE said, the Return could not be presented until it was absolutely correct, and the accounts between the War Office and the India Office were not finally settled. The approximate amount, he was told, was £470,000.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL said, he was the Member who moved for the Committee, and he had been repeatedly assured that it would be re-appointed. He did not consider the answer from the Ministerial Bench satisfactory.

MR. ANDERSON said, the gravest part of the charge was that at the end of last Session, not only was a dummy Report laid on the Table, thereby deliberately misleading the House, but for the purpose of catching a cheer and stifling a Question put regarding the

Return, the Under Secretary of State for India declared it had been laid on the Table when it had not been. He ought to have explained at the time that it was only a dummy, and told when the real one would be produced.

MR. E. STANHOPE hoped the House would allow him to make a personal explanation, after the attack made upon him by the hon. Member for Glasgow (Mr. Anderson). The facts were simply these: When the Question was put to him he understood that his right hon. and gallant Friend the Secretary of State for War had, the day before, laid the Report on the Table, in the way commonly adopted—namely, in dummy. It turned out afterwards that the information received was not altogether accurate; and for that reason, and for that reason alone, the delivery of the Return was delayed. The object of giving a dummy Return was that hon. Members might, at the earliest possible moment, be in possession of the information required. In this case, if a dummy Return had not been presented, and if it had turned out that the information in the hands of the Government was correct, the House would never have had it at all until the beginning of the next Session.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN said, the hon. Gentleman had told the House that the approximate cost of bringing the troops to Malta was £470,000; but he understood the cost of freight alone was something like £750,000. He wanted to know the total cost of bringing the troops to Malta, and under what heads of expenditure the amount was to be distributed? With the telegraph at work, the accounts ought to have been obtained from India in less than 12 months. He asked the Chancellor of the Exchequer to let the House have full and explicit information on all the points which had been brought under notice. They were not particular as to a thousand or two; but the statement for which he contended was one which would show the expenditure as estimated by the Government, showing the whole amount distributed under different heads.

MR. ONSLOW was of opinion that this discussion had been got up altogether for electioneering purposes. The difficulty of reconciling questions of account between the Home and Indian Governments was very great, as might be seen from the fact that a sum had

just been voted by Parliament towards the cost of the Abyssinian Expedition, which took place 12 years ago.

MR. DODSON thanked the hon. Member for reminding the House of what took place in regard to the expenditure on the Abyssinian War. Possibly there might be the same differences and discrepancies as to the cost of the Afghan War. He wished to ask whether the £470,000 which had been mentioned was only for the journey one way, or whether it included the cost of taking the troops back? and he suggested to the hon. Member for Sheffield (Mr. Mundella) that he should bring forward a Motion for the production of the Correspondence between the authorities in India and the Home Government, which Correspondence would show what was the amount claimed on either side, and what was the maximum of the figures in dispute between the two Governments.

MR. LAING thought this debate should not terminate without a distinct statement whether that £470,000 included the whole cost, or was merely the adjustment between the War Office and the India Office for extra pay to the Forces, and did not include the cost of the transport. If the cost of transport, which was understood to be £750,000, was in addition to this, it would be most unfair at any time, and especially on the eve of a General Election, when a great question of policy was coming on, not to state it.

MR. E. STANHOPE observed, that he had been called upon suddenly to make a statement on a question of facts. He had no idea that he should be called upon to make such a statement that night, and he had not been able to refresh his memory by reference to documents. If hon. Members desired to act fairly, they should give Notice of a Question on this subject. He would then give them, without a moment's hesitation, such figures as he was able to produce. He had told the House already that he had given almost the exact figures.

MR. MUNDELLA said the Under Secretary of State for India must be aware of previous answers which had been given to him on the question. The hon. Gentleman also knew that he had spoken to him in the Lobby about it. What he desired was a detailed account, and he now gave Notice that to-morrow he would ask the Chancellor of the Exche-

Mr. Anderson

quer to order the complete Return to be laid on the Table of the House as soon as possible.

MR. SULLIVAN wished to ask the Government a Question with regard to the Relief of Distress (Ireland) Bill. That important measure was put on the Paper on Tuesday evening last, and many of the Irish Members remained in town at very serious inconvenience, in order to transact that business. They listened to a most interesting debate, or rather to an able and interesting speech from the hon. Gentleman the Member for Chester (Mr. Raikes); and immediately he had sat down the word went round that the House was to be counted out, although the Irish Relief Bill—the Bill which was to relieve the starving people of Ireland—was on the Orders. He had expressed his incredulity; but he was told that before another right hon. Gentleman from the front Opposition Bench could speak the House was to be counted out, in order that the railway *employés* might know that “Codlin was the friend, and not Short.” From the Government side of the House two attempts were made to count out the House and the Irish Relief Bill; and, despite their efforts to keep the House, the non-action of the Government Whips was too clever for them, and the Irish Relief Bill was shunted. He now appealed to the Government to say when they were to have an opportunity of discussing the Lords’ Amendments to the Bill, for many hon. Gentlemen were anxious to get away to their constituencies as soon as possible, and he asked the Government to let them discuss the question that evening.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn*.

GREAT BRITAIN AND NICARAGUA— THE PENDING ARBITRATION.

CAPTAIN PIM asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, in reference to the pending arbitration of the Emperor of Austria between Great Britain and Nicaragua, Whether the “case” of this Country is completed; and, whether he will place upon the Table of the House, as an unopposed Return, the Correspondence in respect to the matters in dispute between Great Britain and Nicaragua, together with the “case” of Nicaragua; and, if completed, that of Great Britain?

MR. BOURKE: Yes, Sir; both the case of Great Britain and the case of

Nicaragua are complete, and will shortly be exchanged; but Her Majesty’s Government are of opinion that it would be prejudicial to the public interest, pending an inquiry on the subject, that any of the proceedings should be laid before Parliament.

INDIA—INDIAN ARMY MEDICAL SERVICE.

SIR THOMAS BAZLEY asked the Under Secretary of State for India, If, in consequence of the recent order of Government which abolishes the grade of surgeon general and reduces the number of deputy surgeons general in the Indian Medical Service in all three Presidencies, and which upsets the actuary’s calculations for medical retiring annuities, whether it is the intention of Government to issue instructions to the Indian Government to grant to medical officers on retirement the annuities after the average period of service which prevailed in each Presidency prior to the publication of the order referred to, and thereby to secure to medical officers of the late Honourable East India Company’s Service the rights and privileges guaranteed by Parliament?

MR. E. STANHOPE: Sir, my noble Friend the Secretary of State for India has received several Memorials asking for a modification of the recent Order which abolishes the grade of surgeon general and reduces the number of deputy surgeons general. They are now under the consideration of the Secretary of State in Council.

OUT-PORT CUSTOMS CLERICAL STAFF.

MR. NORWOOD asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Whether the scheme for the reorganization of the Out-port Customs Clerical Staff, which it is understood was submitted to the Treasury in September last, has received final consideration; if not, when may the decision be expected to be arrived at?

MR. GRANT asked the Secretary to the Treasury, If the exceptions taken by the Commissioners of Her Majesty’s Customs to the scheme issued by the Lords of the Treasury for the reorganization of the Clerical Branch of the Customs Out-ports, referred to in the Secretary to the Treasury’s answer to the honourable Member for West Cheshire of date 11th February, have

yet been considered by their Lordships; and, whether the scheme will be issued before the dissolution of Parliament.

SIR HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON: Sir, a letter was written from the Treasury to the Board of Customs on the 6th instant, which finally disposes of all points of difference between the two Boards in regard to the scheme for re-organization of the Out-port Customs Clerical Staff. The scheme will be brought into operation forthwith.

EAST INDIA (MR. WILLIAM TAYLER).

SIR EARDLEY WILMOT asked the Secretary of State for India, If he has any objection to lay before Parliament, and to have printed and circulated for the use of Members, before the Dissolution, Mr. William Tayler's Reply to the Minute of Sir Frederick Halliday, presented to the House of Commons at the close of last Session?

MR. E. STANHOPE: Sir, if any hon. Member likes to move for Mr. Tayler's reply, we shall offer no opposition and will lay it upon the Table. The date when it will be placed in the hands of Members depends on the printers; but, looking to its length, I should very much doubt its being completed before the Dissolution.

LONDON WATER COMPANIES—METROPOLIS VALUATION ACT, 1869.

MR. GOSCHEN: I wish to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether he has considered the possibility of taking steps, by a Bill or otherwise, to prevent the Water Companies in the Metropolis from further raising their rates to the consumers on the strength of existing Acts of Parliament, pending further legislation on the subject? Perhaps the House will allow me to explain that when I used the words on the strength of existing Acts of Parliament, I am thinking of the Metropolis Valuation Act of 1869, under which the Companies have raised their rates when it was not intended by the framers of that Act or by Parliament that they should do so.

MR. ASSHETON CROSS: Sir, I could not quite understand, until the right hon. Gentleman gave his explanation, whether he was referring to the Metropolis Valuation Act, or the Local Acts which regulate

the Companies. There is no doubt that the Metropolis Valuation Act was passed for the purpose of getting a proper valuation in the Metropolis for the special purpose named in the Act. There can be equally no doubt that, considering what the annual value of property was, the Water Companies did take advantage of that Valuation Act, and raised their rents considerably. Parliament took no notice of the matter, and it has gone on to the present time. Rents, however, are not determined by the Statute, but by the Companies' own Acts, and the only thing in dispute is as to what is annual value. But in regard to this the consumer has precisely the same remedy as he had before the passing of the Act; and he may, if he thinks himself aggrieved, go before two Justices. In the case of a Company having a fixed price, either in the case of railway fares, or gas, or waterworks, Parliament never alters that price so fixed unless the Company applies to Parliament for further powers. In one particular case—that of the Southwark and Vauxhall Company—who are at present applying for further powers, the House may depend upon it that I shall take care that ample precaution is taken against any additional rates being imposed; and I am prepared to state that if I find, on the part of the Companies, any intention of raising rents for the purpose of enhancing the price to be paid for compensation, I should recommend Parliament to pay no attention whatever to such augmentation.

ARMY—CAMPS OF INSTRUCTION.

MR. MARK STEWART asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether, in consideration of the great distance of Shoburyness as an Artillery Volunteer Camp and place of competition for heavy ordnance, the Government propose to form a camp of instruction in Scotland or north of England?

COLONEL STANLEY, in reply, said, that inquiries had been made as to the establishment of a camp of instruction in the North, and the authorities had reported on the suitability of a particular place, which he need not specify, but which was, unfortunately, not regarded as convenient for the purposes of the Volunteer Force. The question required, and was receiving, much consideration.

Mr. Grant

LIGHTS OF FISHING VESSELS—EN-
FORCEMENT OF THE NEW
REGULATIONS.

MR. BIRKBECK asked the President of the Board of Trade, Whether Her Majesty's Government will consent to postpone the enforcement of the new regulations for lights for fishing vessels till the 1st of September, 1881, so that, on the re-assembling of Parliament, a Select Committee might be appointed to inquire into the history of the proposed regulations and the objections urged against them by the fishing interest?

VISCOUNT SANDON: Sir, it is necessary that I should remind my hon. Friend of the origin of the new regulations to which his Question refers, and which excite considerable interest in many parts of the United Kingdom. In 1874 a Commission was appointed by the Admiralty, Board of Trade, and Trinity House to revise the regulations with respect to the rule of the road at sea, lights, signals, &c., with a view of making the regulations still more effectual for preventing the collisions which have been so fatal to large ships as well as to fishing vessels. I may add that the inconsistency of the laws as to the present lights of fishing vessels has been a great subject of complaint. That Committee reported after two years, and, during three years, communications went on with all the foreign Powers to induce them to come to an international agreement on this important subject. Many suggestions were received from them, and many of them were adopted. A general agreement was come to at the end of last year, and the result was that the regulations were passed by an Order in Council, which provided that they should come in force on the 1st of September, 1880. I need hardly say that the arrangements as to lights with respect to fishing boats, to which my hon. Friend alludes, were drawn up solely with the view of protecting the lives and property of those at sea, whether in fishing boats or ships. Had the Session been prolonged, no Government would have thought for one moment of resisting the very reasonable request which is made by the men connected with the great fishing industry of the country to be allowed to make their views heard by a Committee of the House of Commons on a subject which so largely affects their daily habits; and

I need hardly say that it is my wish, as representing the Board of Trade, to interfere as little as possible with the usages and practices of the fishermen consistently with the safety of their own lives and of those who navigate the seas. As I cannot grant the Committee now, I think the best course will be that I should engage, if I am in my present official position when the new Parliament assembles, to propose that a Select Committee be appointed on this subject, so that the men may have every opportunity of making known their views. With the object, however, that ample time should be provided for this inquiry, I have consulted with my right hon. Friend the First Lord of the Admiralty; and we have agreed that it would be expedient, as we find we have the power, to propose that another Order in Council should be passed with regard to Article 10 of these regulations—that is to say, the one which affects the lights of fishing boats, providing that, as my hon. Friend suggests, that that part of the regulations should not come into effect till the 1st of September, 1881; and we shall, of course, make the necessary communications with foreign Governments on the subject. In this way, ample time will be secured for the full and further investigation of this subject, which I am very glad to be able to forward.

PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS AND
CORRUPT PRACTICES (No. 2) BILL.

MR. ANDERSON asked the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether the Parliamentary Elections and Corrupt Practices (No. 2) Bill would be proceeded with to-night?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER, in reply, said, it was intended to go on with the Bill to-night. There were several Orders before it, no doubt; but he presumed the House would wish to proceed with it. He could not say after what hour it would not be brought on.

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

SUPPLY—SUPPLEMENTARY (£1,225,200)
—WAR IN SOUTH AFRICA.

SUPPLY—considered in Committee.
(In the Committee.)

Motion made, and Question proposed,
“That a Supplementary sum, not exceeding
£1,225,200, be granted to Her Majesty, beyond

the ordinary Grants of Parliament, towards defraying the Expenditure which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1880, in consequence of the War in South Africa."

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn*.

(1.) £703,000, Supplementary, War in South Africa, Vote of Credit.

(2.) £222,200, War in South Africa Vote of Credit (Griqua Land West).

(3.) £300,000, Supplementary, War in South Africa, Vote of Credit (Sikukuni Expedition, &c.)

MR. COURTNEY asked how the Vote was distributed between the expedition against Secocoeni and the expense incurred in the occupation of the Transvaal? It was very desirable the House should know something in regard to the occupation of the Transvaal altogether independent from the expenditure for the expedition against Secocoeni. One might be of a permanent character, while the other was not.

SIR HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON said, the sum required for the expedition against Secocoeni was £220,000, and the sum included in the Vote for the occupation of the Transvaal was £100,000.

Vote *agreed to*.

CIVIL SERVICES (EXCESSES), 1878-9.

(4.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £5,550 9s. 10d., be granted to Her Majesty, to make good Excesses on certain Grants for Civil Services, for the year ended on the 31st day of March 1879, viz:—

CLASS I.—PUBLIC WORKS AND BUILDINGS.

	£	s.	d.
Furniture of Public Offices ..	64	19	7

CLASS II.—SALARIES AND EXPENSES OF PUBLIC DEPARTMENTS.

Chief Secretary for Ireland, Offices	125	17	3
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CLASS III.—LAW AND JUSTICE.

Land Registry	23	11	7
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CLASS IV.—EDUCATION, SCIENCE, AND ART.

National Gallery	469	5	6
Deep Sea Exploring Expedition, Report	409	1	8
Queen's University, Ireland ..	173	19	7

CLASS VI.—SUPERANNUATION AND RETIRED ALLOWANCES, AND GRATUITIES FOR CHARITABLE AND OTHER PURPOSES.

Superannuation and Retired Allowances	£	s.	d.
Relief of Distressed British Seamen Abroad	1,410	13	6
	2,873	1	2

Total Amount to be Voted for Civil Services	£5,550	9	10
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Question put, and *agreed to*.

Resolutions to be reported *To-morrow*, at Two of the clock;

Committee to sit again *To-morrow*.

WAYS AND MEANS—FINANCIAL STATEMENT—COMMITTEE.

WAYS AND MEANS—*considered in Committee*.

(In the Committee.)

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: Mr. Raikes, I am very sensible of the great inconvenience which attends the bringing forward of the Financial Statement before the close of the financial year. It is necessary to complete the Estimates for the year that is expiring by a certain amount of conjecture; and my experience of Budgets has taught me that the last week or two of the financial year are frequently productive of modifications, and sometimes important modifications, in the statements which appeared likely to have been made two or three weeks beforehand. I must, therefore, in the statement I have now to make to the Committee, apologize beforehand for any errors that may eventually prove to be made in the statement; but I can assure the Committee that I have myself taken pains, and the Heads of Departments who are more specially concerned in the framing of the Estimates have taken very great pains, to make the Estimates as cautious and as little likely to mislead the House by too sanguine anticipations as it is possible for them to do. Now, Sir, in the Budget which I brought forward last year I estimated for a Revenue in 1879-80 of £83,055,000, and an Expenditure of £81,153,000, showing a surplus of £1,900,000, leaving out of the account the charge which we knew would have ultimately to be made on account of services in South Africa. Later in the

year, when we had obtained some fuller information with regard to the progress of affairs in South Africa, I took a Vote of Credit for the sum of £3,000,000, which, with some small additions for other purposes, raised the Estimate of Expenditure to £84,216,000. Thus I left an estimated deficit of £1,161,000. Well, Sir, I am sorry to say that the Estimate I then formed of Revenue has been very largely disappointed. The Revenue was estimated at £83,055,000; but we can only take it as likely to yield some £80,860,000, showing a loss of £2,195,000 upon the Estimate of Revenue. As I had already estimated for a deficit of £1,161,000, that leaves a deficit of £3,356,000 upon these Estimates. That is assuming, of course, that the Expenditure would be what I reckoned it in the month of August last. I will abstain for a moment from entering into the particulars of the disappointment in the Revenue. I wish, first of all, to say a few words more on the subject of the Expenditure. Now, Sir, at the first blush, undoubtedly, the appearance of the Supplementary Estimates that have been presented in the course of the year is somewhat discouraging. We have had Supplementary Estimates presented this Session to the amount of £1,783,000, and if these Estimates represented a real addition to our Expenditure of that amount it is clear that the deficit would stand at something more than £5,000,000—that is to say, that is the amount at which it would stand if we had really spent all the money Parliament has empowered us to spend. However, it is a consolation to think that we have not spent all that money. Hon. Gentlemen are naturally, and very properly, sensitive upon the subject of Supplementary Estimates; but, at the same time, I must remind the Committee that Supplementary Estimates are the price that we pay for a scientific financial system. In olden times there was a much more rough and ready way of making Estimates and taking Votes than at the present time. You took Votes for certain Services, and if those Votes were not exhausted in one year the balance was carried on to another year; and, therefore, there was not any occasion for Supplementary Estimates as there is at present. We are now very precise; money is voted for one item in the Service, and it cannot be transferred to

another; and, of course, it is always necessary to take your Estimates at a moderate rate, otherwise there would be a general tendency to extravagance. The consequence is that Supplementary Estimates are a matter of necessity; but, on the other hand, they are commonly balanced by the savings on other Votes. The Supplementary Estimates of this Session are of two classes. There are those which belong to the ordinary Services of the year, which amount to £557,800, which have been entirely covered, and more than covered, by the saving on other Votes; and, secondly, there are those which belong to the expenditure on the South African Services, which the previous Committee has just voted, and which amounts to £1,225,200. Now, it is with regard to that second Estimate that I wish to engage the attention of the Committee for a few minutes. We have every reason now to hope and believe not only that we have seen the last of our troubles in South Africa, but that we have arrived at a correct knowledge of their cost. Reference was made a few minutes ago to the length of time which occurred in obtaining correct information as to the expenditure of the Abyssinian Expedition; and I know that gloomy parallels have been drawn between the expenditure in connection with that expedition and the probable expenditure upon the South African Services. But the cases are really not at all parallel. In the case of Abyssinia, the war services were conducted by the Indian Government, and the charges were made up by the Indian Government and sent home to the Imperial Government to be paid; and we know, unhappily, that that is a process which always involves a very considerable loss of time. On the present occasion, everything has been paid through our own officers; and not only so, but, as the Committee is aware, last Session we took the precaution of despatching three officers of the Government—Mr. White, the Accountant General to the War Office; Mr. Gurdon, one of the principal officers of the Treasury; and Mr. Lawson, of the War Office—for the purpose of inquiring on the spot into the expenditure which had taken place, and apportioning it properly under different heads. Well, these three gentlemen have completed their task; and I must say they have completed it in a manner which

reflects the very highest credit upon them. They are gentlemen whose names are well known to Members of this House, and they have fully maintained the high reputation they had previously achieved in the Civil Service. They have produced a very interesting Report, which I propose shortly to lay upon the Table. In the meantime, through their exertions, and by the information we have collected in our hands, we are able to give with, I think, an accuracy that may be depended upon, the total cost of the Zulu War and other Services in South Africa. Now, the cost of the Zulu War to the Imperial Government, from first to last, has been £5,138,000. I believe that almost the whole of the cost has really been defrayed, so far, by the Imperial Government. There have been some charges which have been borne by the Colonial Governments. But at present the great bulk has fallen upon the Imperial Government; and the question how we are to regulate the repayment, which, no doubt, the Colonies ought to make of a certain proportion of that Expenditure, is a somewhat intricate matter, and one in which we are engaged in a correspondence that is not yet completed. But I will state the amount which has been paid for the Zulu War, independent of the other Services—the expedition against Secocoeni and the occupation of the Transvaal. The amount was £5,138,000, of which £4,396,000 belonged to the Army, £692,000 to the Navy, and £50,000 to contingencies. How has provision been made for that purpose? It has been partly made in the ordinary Army and Navy Estimates of 1878-79 and 1879-80, but chiefly by the two great Votes of Credit taken in these two years—one for £1,500,000, and the second for £3,000,000. Well, now, hon. Gentlemen will observe that Votes of Credit are in the nature of Supplementary Votes, to make up a deficiency in the ordinary Votes for the Army and Navy; and when any expenditure, or war, or special service has to be paid for, and a Vote of Credit is asked for, the charge, in the first instance, falls, not upon the Vote of Credit, but upon the Army and Navy Votes, as far as they will go. It is only when they have been exhausted that recourse is had to the Vote of Credit. In this case, the ordinary Army Votes have borne £623,000 of that expenditure, and the

Navy Votes £192,000 in the two years, so that £815,000 have been provided out of the ordinary Votes; and the expenditure out of the Vote of Credit has been £4,323,000. That, of course, has not exhausted the Vote of Credit; and the result is that the amount which Parliament has already provided for the Zulu War has paid the whole of the expenses of that War, and leaves a balance of £177,000 more than was necessary. That, I think, is a very satisfactory statement, because there has been great uneasiness as to the total cost which the War would impose upon the country. There has been great alarm lest a large addition should be asked for to complete the Expenditure, and it is certainly gratifying to find that we have already provided and already voted all, and more than all, that is necessary. Well, Sir, the Committee will naturally ask, if that is so, what is the meaning of the large Supplementary Estimates which we have just been asked to vote? With regard to the greater portion of that Vote, it is not a new Vote at all; but it is simply a re-Vote of £880,000 which was voted in the year 1878-9, but which could not be applied in that year from want of time. That, again, is one of the results of our scientific financial system, because, if a Vote of Credit is granted now, it is not granted as it was in olden times—to be used until it is exhausted; but it can only be made use of until the end of the financial year—the 31st of March. And although there was a great deal of Expenditure incurred in that year—1878-9—to which this was probably applicable, it could not be brought to the charge of the year, and it had to be surrendered and re-voted. With regard to the remainder of the sum, it is explained in this way—The disturbances in Griqualand West arose, not, perhaps, as the direct consequence, but probably as a consequence, of the hostilities in Zululand. Lord Chelmsford was unable, at the time, to spare any troops to suppress the rising that took place in Griqualand, and Colonel Lanyon, the Administrator, was obliged to take steps at once to put down the rising by the aid of Colonial levies; and in order to do that he was forced to apply to the Treasury Chest for an advance of more than £220,000. That sum was advanced; and we understand from Mr. White and Mr. Gurdon, who have

reported on the subject, that no doubt the whole of that expenditure, and more than the whole of it, was incurred by the Colony, and the Colony could not at the moment have provided the money in any other way. The question as to how the repayment is to be made is one of the principal points we are at present engaged in discussing with the Colonial Government. Well, then, in addition to that came the Expenditure of the expedition against Secocoeni; but that is a matter on which we have not yet had as complete information as we have on other points, because the expedition had hardly come to an end at the time these gentlemen left South Africa. There is, therefore, something of guess-work in the Estimate, and some allowance must be made for the troops which have been kept in the Transvaal. I think we are taking a full Estimate—in fact, rather more than is necessary—in putting that sum at £300,000. I do not wish to delay the Committee by going into these details more than I can help, and I will state the general result of all these figures. It comes to this—that the total amount of the Supplementary Estimates of this year has been £1,783,000; but the total amount of savings is calculated at £1,800,000, so that the savings have more than covered the Supplementary Estimates. The result, therefore, although it is bad enough, is not so bad as at first sight might be thought. The result is that there is a deficit of £3,345,000 upon balance of Revenue and Expenditure for the year just closing; and this is due, not to any failure or incorrectness in our Estimates of Expenditure, but, with the exception of £1,160,000 included in the arrangements of last year, to the disappointment of Revenue to the extent of over £2,000,000. The details of that disappointment are as follows:—Customs are estimated to show a decrease of £700,000 below the Estimate. This loss arises almost entirely on spirits; £670,000 represents the falling-off on that head. There is also a small falling-off of £25,000 upon wine. Excise will probably show a decrease of £1,960,000, made up of £160,000 on licences, £940,000 on malt, £60,000 on railways, and about £800,000 upon spirits, so that the total failure in spirits during the year from the two great branches of Revenue, Customs

and Excise, amounts very nearly to £1,500,000—£800,000 and £670,000. Of course, so far as the decline in the consumption of spirits is concerned, we must attribute it mainly, I suppose, to the failure of consuming power amongst the working classes and others who are in the habit of consuming spirits; but it is to be hoped that, to some extent, it may be an indication of an improvement in the habits of the people, and a movement in the direction of temperance. It is, at least, satisfactory to notice that, while the consumption of spirits has fallen off so largely, the consumption of tea and coffee and other articles, though it has not increased, has not fallen off at all. There is a large falling-off upon malt—£940,000. That, to some extent, I suppose, may be explained in the same way by the diminution of the consuming power of those classes who drink beer; but, on the other hand, it is also partly to be attributed to the very great failure and the great lateness of the barley harvest of last year; and I presume that this failure in malt is, therefore, to be looked upon, to some extent at all events, as one of an exceptional character. With regard to the other heads of Revenue, there is an increase in the probate stamps and legacies of £460,000. There is a slight falling-off in deed stamps and others; but latterly these have improved. Customs are £700,000 less than the Estimate, and Excise £1,970,000 less; stamps are £320,000 more; Income Tax, £50,000 less; the Post Office is £50,000 more, and the Telegraph Service £80,000 more; Crown Lands are the same as the Estimate; Interest on Advances is £75,000 more, and the Miscellaneous Services are taken at the sum that they were estimated at. With regard to the Income Tax, I may state that the assessments are fully up to the amount that was anticipated; but in consequence of this being one of the triennial years of the new assessment there has been some delay in the collection of the tax, and therefore there will be for the year, probably, a falling-off of about £50,000. Let me now turn to the Estimate for the Expenditure of the year which we are about to enter upon. The estimated Expenditure for 1880-1 is as follows:—We take the permanent charge of the Debt at £28,000,000; the interest on Local Loans at £500,000; Loan to India,

£61,478; charge of the Suez Loan, £200,000; interest on Supply Exchequer Bonds, £284,000; other Consolidated Fund Charges, £1,712,000, making for Debt and Consolidated Fund Charges £30,757,478, or about £388,000 more than the issues in the current year. The charge for the Army is £15,541,000. The Exchequer issues in the year now closing are taken at £15,645,000, showing a decrease in the coming year of £104,000. The Home Charges for the Forces in India are £1,100,000, being nearly the same sum they were estimated at for the closing year. The Navy is £10,492,000, against the Estimate of the current year of £10,586,000, showing that upon the Navy the Estimate is £94,000 less than that for the closing year. The Vote of Credit for the South African War does not re-appear. The Civil Service Expenditure is £15,436,000; the Budget Estimate last year was £15,084,000, showing an increase of £352,000. Customs and Inland Revenue are £2,816,000. Post Office, £3,420,000; Telegraph Service, £1,210,000; and Packet Service, £710,468. That makes the charge for Expenditure £81,486,000, as against £81,153,000, which was the Budget Estimate last year. This shows an excess of £333,000 upon the Estimates for this year. Well, then, Sir, we have to consider what is the Revenue that we shall have to meet that Expenditure. In taking the Estimates for the Revenue, I have, as I have already stated to the Committee, endeavoured to impress upon the heads of the great Offices to be as careful and as moderate as possible in the Estimates that they might frame; and they have, I think, fulfilled their duty in a spirit of very great caution and moderation. The Customs, which will produce £19,300,000 in the present year, are taken at the same amount for next year—namely, £19,300,000. The Excise, which will this year produce £25,300,000, is taken for the next year at £26,140,000. That shows an increase upon the Estimate for the Excise of £840,000. That, of course, is taken on the assumption that we shall receive the ordinary amount of Malt Revenue, or something nearer the ordinary amount of Malt Revenue, than that of last year, which fell about £900,000 below the usual amount. The average of seven years shows a lower figure than that which we have

taken. But this sum has been arrived at after very great care has been taken, and it is certainly adopted with confidence by the Board of Inland Revenue. Then, for Stamps, the Exchequer receipts for this year are taken at £11,100,000, and the Estimate for next year is put at the same amount. If, however, we are fortunate enough to see a continuation of the present improvement in trade and business, we may hope for an increase in the Revenue from Stamps, though we have not calculated on any increase in receipts from this source, but have taken the figures at the same amount as this year. With regard to the Land Tax and House Duty, it will be this year £2,700,000, and for next year we take them at £2,760,000, making an increase of £60,000. The Income Tax is expected to yield this year £9,200,000, and the Estimate for next year is £9,000,000, or a smaller sum by £200,000. This is a cautious Estimate which it is thought wise to take in consideration of the depression which has existed so long, and the fact that as the Income Tax is taken on an average of three years it will probably make a bad return for next year. The Post Office Revenue for this year will be £6,300,000, and we estimate it for next year at £6,400,000, making an increase of £100,000. The Telegraph Service will yield this year £1,420,000, and we take it at the same for next year. The Crown Lands yield this year £390,000, and that item is taken at the same figure for next year. The interest for advances on Local Works and on Purchase Money of the Suez Canal Shares is £1,250,000, which I take also at the same amount for next year. There are also Miscellaneous Receipts, which are £3,900,000, and which I take for the ensuing year at £3,800,000, or £100,000 less. The total result is that as against the income of the present year of £80,860,000 we estimate for the year to come an income of £81,560,000, showing an advance of £700,000 on the whole estimated Revenue of this year, as compared with the Revenue of last year. That Estimate is, as I have said, a very cautious and practical one. It amounts to a Revenue of £81,560,000, as against an Expenditure of £81,486,000, showing a surplus of £74,000, or what we may call, practically, an equilibrium between Revenue and Expenditure. So far for

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the Revenue, as we have it at present; but I must remind the Committee that there is a Bill before the House, which, although not introduced as part of the Budget arrangement itself, of course forms a material feature, if it is passed, in the finances of the year. I mean the Probate and Administration Duties Bill. I understand, Mr. Raikes, that some remarks have been made upon the fact that that Bill has been introduced separately and independently of the Budget. Undoubtedly, if at the time when I contemplated it I had foreseen that I should bring in the Budget quite so early, it might have been better to put the two together. But it was important that if that Bill was passed it should be passed before the close of the present financial year, so as to produce its full effect in another year, and it will be in the recollection of the Committee that that Bill was introduced not primarily with a financial object, but primarily on account of a Resolution which was carried, or rather which was accepted, nearly unanimously in the House last Session with regard to the scale of charges for probate and administration duties. What I should now propose to do with regard to that Bill would be to read it a second time concurrently with the Budget Bill, and then, when they come to Committee, that there should be an instruction given to amalgamate the two Bills in one, so that the practice, and the very proper practice, of this House of having all its financial arrangements in one Bill, and sending them up to the other House in that form, may be observed. It has not always been observed, for there was a case in 1870, when the stamp duties were consolidated and raised, and when that was done by a separate Bill, affecting the Revenue to a considerable sum; but I quite admit that it would be a proper thing to put the two Bills together when we go into Committee. The effect of that measure will be naturally to increase the Revenue by at least £700,000, and adding that amount to the £74,000 which I have found to be the surplus upon my Estimate for the coming financial year the total may be taken at £774,000. There, of course, remains one very important question into which I must go rather in detail. Before I do so, however, I wish to mention a matter in passing, and to allude to a small alteration of the law which it is

proposed to introduce into this Bill upon a matter which has caused some little interest. A great many questions have been raised with regard to the co-operative stores, and great complaints have been made by some persons that the stores are unfairly excepted from the Income Tax. Of course, whatever our opinions may be upon that general subject, it is wrong that that advantage should be given to the stores. The matter has been inquired into, and it is found at the Inland Revenue that the state of the case is something of this kind. Of the great co-operative stores one only, the Civil Service Supply Association, has escaped the payment of Income Tax. It has done that by enrolling itself as an industrial and provident society. Believing that the exemption granted to industrial and provident societies was never intended to apply to a wealthy corporation like this, the Board of Inland Revenue have considered how best to repeal the exemption enjoyed by the stores in question, without injuring those *bond fide* industrial societies whom it was intended by Parliament to exempt. The Chairman of the Board of Inland Revenue has consulted the Registrar of Friendly Societies and other gentlemen, who are well acquainted with the working of co-operative societies; and they have agreed upon a clause which, it is understood, will accomplish the object that is desired, without doing any injury to the industrial and provident societies. This clause will be inserted in the Budget Bill, and it is as follows:—

“Notwithstanding the provision contained in Sub-section 4 of Section 11 of the Industrial and Provident Societies Act, 1876, a society registered under that Act shall be chargeable under Schedule C and Schedule D of the Income Tax Acts in case the society sells to persons who are not members thereof, and the number of the shares of the society is limited either by its rules or practice.”

I do not profess to be an authority on the subject of co-operative societies; but I have high authority for stating that that clause will effect the object desired without interfering with the proper exemption of industrial societies. Now, Sir, there remains only one matter with which I have to deal—a matter which, of course, has in it much interest for the country. I have given the result of last year's finance, and shown that a large deficit has to be met. I have

also shown what will be the Estimates of the Revenue and Expenditure for the coming year, and that there will be a surplus of nearly £800,000. We have now to consider what ought to be done with regard to the deficit of last year, and in connection therewith the accumulated deficits of former years which have thus far been represented by Exchequer Bonds renewed from year to year. These are those which we distinguish from the other portion of the Unfunded Debt by the title of Supply Exchequer Bonds. The Committee will see that, as we have gone on with various obligations, we have adopted a good many headings. "Interest for Bonds for Suez Canal Shares," "Interest for Bonds for Local Loans," and so forth; while those which have been created for the purpose of meeting the extraordinary Expenditure of the last year or two go by the name of Supply Exchequer Bonds. Supposing that the Bonds which are now just falling due are renewed, and supposing that the deficit of the year 1879-80 is to be met by the issue of more Exchequer Bonds, we find that that will amount to a sum which will require an interest of £284,000, the capital being something over £8,000,000. Now, before I proceed to say how we are to deal with this amount, I should like to say a few words with regard to the position of the Debt of the present year. In the first place, comparing the state of the Debt, as it will be on the 21st of this month with what it was at the beginning of the year, it is estimated that on the 31st of March the Funded Debt will amount to £710,490,000 Stock. The estimated value of the Terminable Annuities, computed on the old principle and not upon that of my right hon. Friend the Member for the City of London (Mr. Hubbard), which may be more accurate, but which we could not introduce without disturbing comparisons with past years, is £38,206,000. The Unfunded Debt is £30,855,000, making a total of Funded and Unfunded Debt £779,551,000. The Funded Debt, of course, includes £2,049,000 of Stock created for the purpose of the loan of £2,000,000 to India. Comparing these figures with those for 31st March, 1879, I find that there is an increase in the Funded Debt of £1,059,000, and in the Unfunded £4,985,000, giving a total increase of

£6,044,000; while Terminable Annuities show a decrease of £4,572,000, or, in other words, a net increase on the whole of £1,472,000. But this increase must be analyzed. In the first place, the debt caused by the war, which is not recoverable, will amount to £2,750,000. Then there is the loan to India of £2,049,000; the monies borrowed in the year for Local Works £2,300,000, making £4,349,000 of Debt which will be repaid; and making again a total of £7,099,000 increase, against £1,055,000, which has been paid off by other means, leaving the net increase of £6,044,000. But after the re-payable Debt is deducted, as I think it ought to be, to get at the real increase in the Debt, we come to a very different result. By re-payable Debt I mean money that has been advanced upon the security of the different Local Bodies to whom it is lent; secondly, money borrowed for the purpose of paying the interest on the Suez Canal Shares, against which we receive a payment from the Khedive of Egypt; and, thirdly, there is the sum of £2,000,000, which has been borrowed for the purpose of being lent to, and being repaid by, India. Taking these amounts into account, then, we should find that the Funded Debt stands at £708,441,000, the Terminable Annuities at £32,206,000, and the Unfunded Debt at £18,555,000, making a total of £775,202,000, and showing a diminution since the 31st March, 1879, in spite of war expenses, of £2,877,000. Now, that is a statement which ought to be borne in mind by the House, because the incurring of Debt re-payable is not an increase of Debt in the ordinary sense; and next, because the House must remember that some portion of the increase which we have been obliged to make has been due, not to action of our own, but to measures undertaken by our Predecessors. [Mr. GLADSTONE: What is the diminution in Terminable Annuities?] The diminution in Terminable Annuities is £4,572,000. I may point out next that since the present Government came in in 1874 the movement of Debt has been as follows. The Funded Debt has decreased from £723,514,000 to £710,490,000, being a decrease of £13,024,000. The Terminable Annuities have decreased from £51,290,000 to £38,206,000, or a decrease of £13,084,000, making upon these two heads a total

decrease of £26,108,000. On the other hand, Unfunded Debt has increased from £4,479,000 to £30,855,000, showing an increase of £26,376,000; so that upon the balance of Funded and Unfunded Debt, and including re-payable Debt with the non-payable, there is a total increase in Debt of £268,000. Of course, as I have said before, if you deduct the re-payable Debt, the result is very different. Now, during this period there have been heavy war expenses. We reckon the cost of the preparations in connection with the War in Turkey at £6,125,000. I have said that the cost of the War and the other Service in South Africa was £6,160,000, making a total for these two Services of £12,285,000. Of this we meet £8,100,000 by Bonds. I need not point out that these have been paid yearly, and that if our Estimates of Revenue had been more closely accurate and successful than they have been, the deficiency would be very much smaller than it actually is. I would also point out that in reckoning this amount of £8,100,000 we are reckoning without taking into account what we may recover—and we undoubtedly shall recover some substantial amount from the Colonies. ["Oh!" and laughter.] Well, but there is no doubt about it. There can be no doubt that, to a certain extent, the Colonies acknowledge their liability, though whether they take the same measure of it that we do is another matter. I leave that part of the question aside for the present, because I think I should be rather prejudicing the matter by going into details at present, further than to express what I am sure is the sense of the whole of the country—that in these matters the interests of the Colonies have been of such a character that it is right and proper that they should bear a fair proportion of the costs. That being so, I also wish to point out to the Committee that in the Estimates we have from time to time submitted to Parliament with regard to the expenses of these operations we have not been so very much beside the mark. In the first instance, when we took the Vote of Credit at the time when it was thought necessary to make preparations, we named £6,000,000 as the possible cost, and the result was that the expenditure which we incurred was £6,125,000. Then, with regard to

another war, that on the Eastern Frontier at the Cape, we reckoned it at £600,000, and the result shows that the cost of it amounted to £500,000. We asked last year and the year before for £4,500,000 for the Zulu War, in addition to the sum provided out of the ordinary grants; and, as I showed a little while ago, our demand was fully adequate, and more than adequate, to meet the expenditure, and sufficient even to provide for other Services which were not then contemplated. That being so, I think that the forecasts that have been made by men of experience in these matters have not been altogether unsatisfactory.

With regard to the question of the Public Debt, I say, if we were to exclude from the Debt that portion of it which is re-payable, the net result of our six years of office would not be the same as it appears to be on the figures I have named. According to that, the Funded Debt, which stood at £723,514,000 on 31st March, 1874, would have been reduced to £708,441,000; because, in reckoning it at £710,490,000, I included the £2,000,000 that had been lent to India. The Terminable Annuities would be diminished by £13,084,000, while the Unfunded Debt for Supply Services would only be £7,815,000 more than it was then. That would show a net decrease, during these six years, of £20,342,000, excluding the £2,000,000 for India, and the Debt incurred for the purchase of the Suez Canal Shares, and also for the purpose of providing funds to be advanced on loan to local authorities. Hon. Members are very well aware that there is a great deal of anxiety expressed, and I dare say felt, in some portions of the country with regard to the size of what I may call the Floating Debt. Of course, it is unsatisfactory that we should owe any money at all upon the Services of the last two or three years, and it would have been much more satisfactory if we had been able to clear that all off out of Revenue. But if we are to owe it at all, there seems to be, in some minds, an additional evil in the idea that it is in the shape of a Floating Debt. On the other hand, an impression seems to prevail that this is a very dangerous thing, which might, at any unexpected moment, produce very disastrous consequences. Undoubtedly, if you have a very large

Floating Debt all in the hands of the public, which can be thrown upon you in a moment without warning, that would produce, in certain contingencies, inconveniences. But that is by no means the case with regard to the Floating or Unfunded Debt which now exists. It is made up, in the first place, of £5,163,000 Exchequer Bills, £5,431,000 Treasury Bills, £3,801,000 Suez Canal Bonds, £8,360,000 Local Loan Bonds, and £8,100,000 Supply Bonds, making a total of £30,855,000. Now, the greater part of this is not in the hands of the public. The amounts which are in the hands of the public are, in the first place, the Exchequer Bills—£5,163,000, and the Treasury Bills—£5,431,000. These are not very extravagant amounts to have on the market. There is no doubt that it is very convenient to the money world to have this form of investment; and certainly we find that the Treasury Bills, as offered month by month, are very much inquired after, are always sold with great readiness, and command very good prices. They are so arranged that about £1,500,000 are offered every month; and if, by any strange accident, we were unable to sell them at any particular month, there would be no difficulty in providing the sum which might be required. With regard to the great bulk of the rest of the Floating Debt, it is not in the hands of the public, but of the National Debt Commissioners, and £4,000,000 of it is at the Bank of England. This, of course, we may say, is in the hands of the public; because at any time that amount might be sold or invested; but with regard to the great mass of the Unfunded Debt, it is, to the extent of some £15,000,000 or £16,000,000, in the hands of the National Debt Commissioners. They are bound to find an investment for the very large amount of Savings Bank money which they hold, amounting to about £70,000,000. Amongst other things, they invest in these Exchequer Bonds; and there is no fear whatever that the National Debt Commissioners will throw these Bonds upon the public at a time that would be publicly inconvenient. They would never attempt to do so at ordinary times, because the fund of the Savings Banks is of such a character as to render it unnecessary to sell large amounts of Stock; and I apprehend if any unprecedented run were

to take place on the part of the depositors, making it necessary for the National Debt Commissioners to provide very large sums, recourse must be had to Parliament, even though the deposits were invested in Consols alone. We know perfectly well it has always been the practice of all Governments to allow considerable sums to be invested by the National Debt Commissioners in Terminable Annuities with the Irish Church Commissioners, or, as now, in Exchequer Bonds. Therefore, I am anxious to impress this upon the Committee, in order through the Committee to impress upon the public that we are not in the least degree anxious with regard to the existence of this amount of Floating Debt; and I say that all the more because I am ready, on the other hand, to admit that it is not desirable that so large an amount should be kept in the form in which it now exists. I admit that it is not convenient, with regard to the regularity of our financial transactions, that we should have a large amount of Exchequer Bonds falling due year by year, and annually renewed. I think that that is open to objection, and I am going to make a proposition to the Committee, in order to institute a more regular way of dealing with the considerable amount of debt arising out of the recent war expenditure. I do not propose to deal with the whole £8,000,000. I think with regard to some portions of it that it would be better that we should renew our Exchequer Bonds for a short time, and that we should look to extinguish them by the ordinary processes of finance. I propose to take a sum of £6,000,000—three-fourths of the amount—and to provide for its immediate extinction by the creation of a Terminable Annuity, to last until the year 1885. The year 1885, as the Committee are aware, is the year long looked forward to when there will be a very great alteration indeed occasioned by the termination of the Annuities. I think it has always been desired since that date was first fixed upon by successive Chancellors of the Exchequer, when they have been creating Terminable Annuities, to bring them, as far as possible, to terminate at the same date, and I propose to set up a fresh series of Terminable Annuities which shall last till 1885, and shall extinguish this £6,000,000 of Debt. I wish to remind the Committee that, under the pre-

sent arrangement with regard to the Debt, a fixed sum of £28,000,000 is applied year by year to pay the interest of the Debt, and to go as far as it will towards the termination of that Debt. The difference between the amount that is required to pay the interest of the Debt and the £28,000,000 goes by the name of the New Sinking Fund, and that amounts at present to something more than £600,000. It is, in fact, something like £650,000 this year. An annuity of about £1,300,000 a-year, or rather more, will be sufficient for the purpose of cancelling this £6,000,000 of Debt by the year 1885. Of course, if you cancel a considerable proportion of the Debt, you diminish proportionately the amount you have to pay for the interest. I propose, therefore, to appropriate the New Sinking Fund of about £600,000 to this Annuity, and to add a sum of £800,000 outside the £28,000,000—that is to say, to raise the fixed amount of £28,000,000 for the next five years to £28,800,000, and to apply that £800,000 with the £600,000 from the new Sinking Fund to the discharge of these Annuities. So in five years, by 10 half-yearly payments, we shall cancel this £6,000,000 of Debt. That operation will affect the Balance Sheet in this way. The Balance Sheet, if that operation is agreed to, will stand thus:—On the Expenditure side there will be—Permanent charge of Debt, £28,800,000; interest on Local Loans, £500,000; interest on Loan to India, £61,478; charge of Suez Loans, £200,000; interest on Supply Exchequer Bonds, which will then be left at £2,100,000, £73,500; other Consolidated Fund Charges, £1,712,000. That would make the charge of the Debt £31,346,978. The other items of Expenditure would be the same as I have already stated, making the whole Expenditure £82,075,972. The income, including the estimated addition of £700,000 for Probate Duties, would amount to £82,260,000, leaving as the surplus of Income over Expenditure the sum of £184,028. I feel these are complicated calculations. I have endeavoured to make them as clear as possible, and I can only sum them up by saying that the nature of the proposal is as follows:—That we add to our Revenue £700,000, which I expect to get from an alteration in the Probate Duties; I propose to can-

cel £6,000,000 of the Exchequer Bonds which have accumulated in the past year by setting up a Terminable Annuity to the amount requisite for the purpose, and having completed that arrangement, I leave the Budget with a Surplus of £184,000. I hope and trust that we have before us a prospect of better times than those we have experienced. I have felt it my duty, and the Government have always felt it their duty, to do nothing that could in any way unnecessarily impede the revival of trade and commerce. If we should be happy enough to be blessed with a good harvest and a continued revival of trade, we may look for far better results than at present. The Estimates I have made have been made with a cautious spirit, and I present them to the Committee with great confidence.

(1.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

“That, towards raising the Supply granted to Her Majesty, the Duties of Customs now charged on Tea shall continue to be levied and charged on and after the first day of August, one thousand eight hundred and eighty, until the first day of August, one thousand eight hundred and eighty-one, on importation into Great Britain or Ireland (that is to say): on

Tea	the lb.	£	s.	d.
		0	0	6.”

MR. GLADSTONE: Mr. Raikes, I do not propose, under the peculiar circumstances of the present year, to depart from what I think the very salutary and almost necessary practice of avoiding anything in the nature of discussion on the night that the Financial Statement is made, and particularly because the Statement of this evening is, as was very fairly stated by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, complex, from the necessity of the case, of course, and not from any defect of clearness or accuracy on the part of the right hon. Gentleman. I, therefore, would ask him to fix the time when he would consider it convenient for the Public Service that such remarks as may be necessary may be made, or such steps may be taken, if any Gentleman should think it necessary or expedient to take any steps of a substantive character. I do not anticipate the smallest difference of opinion on the question whether a day should be fixed for such discussion. I think that, evidently, in the position in which we stand, with a Dissolution immediately hanging over us, that discus-

sion ought to take place as early as possible; and, for my own part, if the Chancellor of the Exchequer is of opinion that Monday is not too distant. [THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: That would do.] If the right hon. Gentleman thinks Monday the best, that had better be the arrangement; but, with every disposition on our part to accommodate him in case he should think greater expedition necessary, as far as I understand the facts of the case, for though the Estimates of Revenue and Expenditure have, no doubt, been carefully and accurately laid before us, this is not the time for discussing them, and I will only just say one word upon them. I give the fullest concurrence to what has been said by the Chancellor of the Exchequer as to the care and attention with which these Estimates have been framed, both with regard to the small unexpired residue of the present year and the coming year. The Estimates of Revenue are difficult; but I have not the least doubt that they have been made with every care that prudence and sagacity could supply towards meeting them, and towards laying before Parliament the best and most trustworthy information. The point that will attract most attention in the Financial Statement naturally will be the amount to which the accumulated deficit of the successive years have now risen, and the mode of providing for it. As far as I understand, the total of this deficit is now £8,100,000, or, in round numbers, £8,000,000. With respect to that, the Chancellor of the Exchequer would not state what he meant to do with it, whether he would take Bonds over a lengthened period or not. I do not speak of this now as a serious omission; but, perhaps, it will be convenient for him presently to state what he means to do about it. With respect to the £6,000,000, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, to quote a favourite phrase of his own, spreads them over five years; but spreads them now in a totally different manner from the spreading to which we have been more or less accustomed on former occasions, because now the payments must be met. They will fall due, and they will now be met, and will become part of our regular Terminable Annuity system. That constitutes an annual charge of somewhere about £1,400,000, which is thus to be made up. The Chancellor of the Exchequer is called upon finally to

offer up a victim upon the altar of—I know not what—evil fortune, or political justice—be it what it may, upon some altar or other he is called upon to immolate his own offspring of the New Sinking Fund, which, some four or five years ago, the House adopted on his recommendation, and, if I recollect right, by very considerable majorities. The rest of the charge, or rather more than half, is to be found by what has been referred to by the Chancellor of the Exchequer under the name of an alteration of the probate duty. The Budgets of the Chancellor of the Exchequer are always by way of being too brief rather than too long, and I am sorry he did not give us a fuller explanation of the nature of this new tax which he proposes to levy. It is a re-adjustment and re-construction of the scale in regard to which it will be very interesting to know the particulars, for it is, undoubtedly, a measure of very considerable importance. If I understand rightly, the Chancellor of the Exchequer has a charge of £1,400,000 to meet; and he meets it partly by means of the New Sinking Fund, which will now cease to exist, and partly by the new tax, which is brought in under the name of a re-adjustment of the probate duties, and which is to yield £700,000. I have no doubt he has taken the Estimate accurately, so that the two together will bring in the whole sum he wants. If I have not accurately stated the case the Chancellor of the Exchequer will correct me. I shall be very well content, Sir, to reflect on these matters till Monday; and when we do meet on that day, Sir, I have no doubt we shall be able to allow his Bill to proceed. In fact, there is not much choice left to us.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said, that he proposed to pass the Resolutions that night. On the Report next day, the hon. Member for Hackney (Mr. Fawcett) could raise the question relating to India. The second reading of the Bill would then be taken on a Monday. The occasion of the second reading would afford a convenient opportunity for discussion. If that were so, he thought that it might be very properly taken on Monday. With regard to other arrangements, he could only say that his right hon. Friend had accurately interpreted the statement he had made with regard to the £1,300,000 or £1,500,000 Annuity.

Mr. Gladstone

MR. DODDS said, that he hoped the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer would give an opportunity for discussing his proposals with respect to the probate and administration duties.

MR. WADDY said, that he rose for the purpose of asking the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer, whether it would not be convenient for him to lay before the House a Paper, similar to what had been issued for the last two Sessions, containing an Estimate of the Consolidated Fund charges? He also wanted to know whether, in the accounts of Expenditure given the Committee, anything whatever had been taken; and if so, how much in respect of the charges to arise from the Afghan War?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: Nothing.

MR. WADDY said, that, in that case, those large accounts would still remain to be dealt with. Then there was another set of figures that he thought it would be desirable they should have laid before them on paper. He referred to the loans granted to local bodies. A Return should be made showing the amount expended by local bodies, and affording other information with respect to them. It would be convenient if those Papers were put before the House when they dealt with the matter on Monday.

MR. GREGORY said, it would be necessary that they should give a very careful consideration to the measure. He should like to know whether they were to understand that the second reading of the Bill was to be taken *pro forma*, and then that the discussion was to be reserved? The details certainly required very careful consideration.

MR. FAWCETT said, he had certainly understood that at the commencement of the Session the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer would have made some statement with reference to the expenses of the Afghan War. So far as he could gather from his present statement, he had made no reference whatever to that subject. When he brought forward the matter on Report he withdrew his Amendment on the suggestion of the right hon. Gentleman; and he certainly understood that the House would have, probably on the Budget Speech, and certainly at no later period, a distinct

declaration of the policy of the Government with regard to the apportionment of the cost of the Afghan War. In saying that, he thought he was expressing not only his own opinion, but that of every hon. Member on that side of the House; and it certainly was a matter of great surprise to them that the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer should have made his Budget Speech without having condescended to make the slightest reference to that subject. They were certainly placed in a very extraordinary position, and he thought they ought to have an opportunity of raising the question to-morrow. It was very much to be regretted that the right hon. Gentleman had not made some statement; but if he did not do so it would not prevent him from raising the question. Therefore, he wished to ask whether they were to understand that the Report of the Budget Resolutions would be the first Business of the House to-morrow? If so, he begged to give Notice that upon that occasion he should bring forward a Motion upon which, if nothing should interfere to prevent him, he should take sense of the House. The Motion he should bring forward would be to the following effect:—That, in view of the repeated declarations made by the Prime Minister, and by the Viceroy of India, and by others of Her Majesty's Ministers, that the Afghan War had been undertaken for Imperial purposes, that House was of opinion that it was unjust to make the entire cost which it had involved fall upon the people of India.

MR. DODDS said, that before the right hon. Gentleman replied to the observations that had been made, he would wish to ask him when he proposed to make the statement promised by him with reference to the jumps which he had alluded to in the scale of the administration duties? The right hon. Gentleman had distinctly promised to lay upon the Table of the House a Paper showing those jumps, and also the details of his proposed new scheme. He would also desire to ask the right hon. Gentleman whether he was in a position to lay upon the Table of the House any figures showing how he arrived at the conclusion that the alteration in those duties would increase the Revenue by £700,000? That information was important, because he had satisfied himself,

from a very careful examination of figures before the House, and from Reports of various Commissions, and especially of the Commission of the 18th of May, that instead of the increase of the Revenue being £700,000 it would amount to, if it did not exceed, the sum of £1,500,000. He did not propose to go into the question upon that occasion, as he wished to have an opportunity of discussing it fully hereafter. He thought that he should be able to satisfy the House that what he had stated was correct.

MR. MUNDELLA said, that it had been customary for the Chancellor of the Exchequer to place in the hands of hon. Members a Financial Statement at the same time that he introduced the Budget. That was a very convenient course to adopt, and he trusted that on that occasion it would not be departed from.

SIR HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON said, that at present he had only two copies of the Statement in question in the House; but on Monday, when the matter came on for discussion, the Paper should be in the hands of hon. Members.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL said, he was glad to hear that this country would not be liable for any further questions in respect of the South African War.

MR. COURTNEY said, it must be some time before the new scale of probate duty could come into operation. He would wish to know when the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer contemplated that the new scale would become operative? There were two periods at which the scale might come into operation—namely, with regard to persons dying after a certain date, or in respect of persons whose wills were proved after the date in question. He should be glad if the right hon. Gentleman could state which plan he proposed to adopt?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said, that the new rule would come into operation on the 1st of April.

MR. COURTNEY said, that he should like to know whether it would come into operation in respect of persons dying after the 1st of April? for it would make a considerable difference if it were made to apply only to wills proved after that date. In the latter case, injustice was involved in the case of delay after proving wills.

Mr. Dodds

MR. ONSLOW said, that he was in the House during the whole of the discussion on the Afghan Motion. So far as his recollection went, his right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer said that he would give an opportunity to discuss the subject; but he did not promise to make any statement whatever. He left it open to the Government as to whether they should add to the burdens of this country a certain amount for the Afghan War, or whether they should not do so. As he now understood, Her Majesty's Government had come to the conclusion not to add the expenditure of the Afghan War to the burdens of this country. The Motion which the hon. Member for Hackney wished to bring forward had for its object the taxing of this country in order to relieve India; and he hoped that in the discussion that would take place the next day it would be most fully considered. He could not help thinking that when the country at large came to consider this question it would not agree with the view adopted by the hon. Member for Hackney; and he must further tell the hon. Gentleman that if the result he desired were carried out it would add enormously to the Expenditure of this country.

MR. CHILDERS said, that there seemed to be some misunderstanding on the subject, for he most distinctly heard the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer make the promise to which reference had been made. For his part, he was very much surprised to hear his right hon. Friend finish his speech without alluding to the cost of the Afghan War, for the hon. Member for Hackney would be at considerable disadvantage in having to bring forward his Motion in ignorance of the reason for the policy of the Government. It would have been only right that his hon. Friend should have had the advantage of hearing a clear statement of the views of the Government on the subject. There was another matter to which he should like to allude. Between 1 and 2, or 2 and 3 o'clock, the other morning, the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer formally introduced in Committee a most important change with respect to the probate duties, and went into some details, and gave a Schedule of his proposed plan; but he never hinted to the Committee that the result of his plan would be to

raise an additional amount of taxation until the conclusion of his observations, when he casually mentioned that it might add £700,000 a-year to the Revenue. This was a very inadequate and insufficient treatment of a most important matter. There was no more difficult question than that of the probate, succession, and legacy duties. Any change in the probate, succession, and legacy duties involved the whole question of the relative charge upon real and personal property—a question of the highest importance, which, he thought, ought to be dealt with in a most fair and open manner. Whether the change proposed by the Government would increase the Revenue by £1,500,000 or by £700,000 he did not know; but, at any rate, the Government proposed to make a serious change in the taxation, and he did not think that a debate on so important a matter should have been initiated at so late an hour, and at the last moment only of his speech. The right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer should have said—“By-the-bye, this scheme will increase the Revenue by £700,000 a-year.” The subject should have been alluded to in the Budget Statement, and the House should have heard all the reasons which made it desirable to charge personal property so much more than it had hitherto paid. A proposal to lay an extra charge upon personal property, to the exemption of landed property, ought to have been made in a distinct statement to the House; and he was sure that, on reflection, the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer would admit the force of that observation. And now, when he was explaining in detail the finance of the past and future years, he thought the right hon. Gentleman might have condescended to have given them some sort of reason for proposing the alteration. He hoped that the right hon. Gentleman would now give them some distinct reasons for the very considerable addition which he proposed to make in the “death tax,” on personal, to the exclusion of real, property.

MR. RYLANDS said, that before the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer replied he should like to make a few observations. The hon. Member for Stockton (Mr. Dodds) and the hon. Member for East Sussex (Mr. Gregory) would be able to inform

the Committee that the result of the scheme by which the Government proposed to deal with the probate and administration duties would have a very serious effect. He rose for the purpose of saying that he thought it would be a most unfortunate circumstance that, in the last days of an expiring Parliament, they should be called upon to pass, without sufficient discussion, a Bill which would impose an additional amount of taxation upon a particular class of property, and, at the same time, exempt the highest class of property in the Kingdom. Whether the additional amount to be charged upon personal property was £700,000 a-year or £1,500,000, it would be a tax upon the earnings of industry, and upon the personal savings of trade. Trading and other classes of the community were to be burdened with an additional tax, while the great landowners of the Kingdom were not to pay a penny of that additional taxation. He would remind the Committee that personal property represented the savings of the people—the earnings acquired by individuals—and that it already paid a very much larger legacy duty in proportion to land than land paid in the form of succession duty. In addition to that, personal property already had to pay a very large sum for probate duty, from which land was entirely free. He thought he was accurate in saying that in probate and legacy duties this particular class of property, chiefly possessed by the trading and industrial classes, paid four times as much as land at the present time. The right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer now, in order to get out of his financial difficulties, placed another £1,000,000, or, as he himself said, £700,000 or £800,000, upon a class of property already overburdened to a much larger extent than land. In his opinion, the proposal was a monstrously unjust one; and if the right hon. Gentleman had proposed, in order to increase his Revenue, to place succession duty, in respect of land, on the same footing as legacy duty upon personal property, and had also proposed to place upon land an equivalent probate duty, then he should have said he was taking a course that was entirely in accordance with justice, and which would have produced him a considerable amount of Revenue. Instead of doing that, he proposed now to free the great landowners

from additional taxation, and to place additional burdens upon the owners of personal property. He protested most earnestly against such an entirely unjust proposition.

MR. MONK said, that the objection he took to this particular part of the Budget was that the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer had sprung a mine upon the country, which really knew nothing of the nature of the change and the extra taxation which would fall upon them. He thought few hon. Members were aware of the large increase which would be made, not only in the case of wills, but also in the case of intestacies. It was true that the double scale was to be abolished; and that, no doubt, was a move in the right direction. When the amount which might be left by a deceased person reached the sum of £10,000, the amount payable, not only on wills, but in the case of intestacies, would be much larger than at present. But in the case of large sums, say of from £100,000 to £500,000, the charge would be enormous. He wished to ask whether it was proposed to take the second reading that evening, or whether the right hon. Gentleman intended to postpone the discussion until Monday night when the Budget would be before the House? The Committee, in his opinion, was not in a position to express any opinion upon the subject at that moment.

MR. MAC IVER said, that while listening to the Budget Statement of the Chancellor of the Exchequer he could not help thinking that if one thing was more apparent than another it was that it avoided putting one farthing in any shape or form by way of additional taxation on the industrial classes of the Kingdom.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: I feel that I am open to the charge made just now by my right hon. Friend the Member for Greenwich of making my Budget Statements rather too short than too long. Perhaps I have been unduly anxious not to trespass on the patience of the Committee, and I feel I may have omitted matters which ought properly to have been brought into the Budget Statement. I particularly regret that I have omitted to say anything with regard to the Afghan War upon this occasion, because I know what is due to the hon. Member for Hack-

ney (Mr. Fawcett), and still more so to the Committee. But the fact is, as I had no intention of submitting a Vote for any contribution, on the part of Her Majesty's Government, towards the expenses of that war, it did not occur to me that it was necessary to say anything upon the subject. I will merely repeat now what I have said on behalf of the Government on former occasions. This question is not a new one as regards this particular campaign. In point of fact, the whole question was before the House at a former time, as to whether the Government of India ought or ought not to bear the expense of military operations in Afghanistan; and I then expressed the views of the Government, to this effect—that it was important that India should be a self-supporting and self-protecting Power; that as protection involved the necessity of maintaining a secure Frontier—a Frontier which would not only be secure against an advancing enemy, but which would also secure the confidence of those who lived within it—it was also important that proper relations should exist between the Government of India and its neighbours beyond the Frontier; and that, in consequence of certain proceedings which had taken place of late years, it had been thought necessary for the purpose of protecting—at least, what were supposed to be—Indian interests, to undertake an expedition which has involved a certain amount of cost. I said then, and I repeat it now—and that is the line of argument which I should adopt if the question is again raised—that it would be a bad example if England were to allow the doctrine that the Indian Government might go to war, and England be called upon to bear the expense of that war. With reference to another question asked me by the right hon. Members for Greenwich and Pontefract, I suppose I spoke upon this subject too briefly; but I did say what I contemplated with regard to this sum of £2,000,000—that I did not intend to include them in the amount for which I made provision by Terminable Annuities, because I thought it desirable that they should be kept out until we could see what arrangements could be made with the Colonies. We propose to continue them by Exchequer Bonds for the present, trusting that we shall have the opportunity of being able

to extinguish them altogether. I shall ask, at the proper time, for the renewal of the £2,000,000. [Mr. CHILDERS: For how long?] For one year. With regard to the question as to the Probate Bill, I do not propose to take it this evening. The second reading will be taken on Monday, and I shall then endeavour to proceed with the Budget Bill. With regard to the Return which has been referred to, I put this in hand at once, and it was immediately put in type; but it contains a very large number of figures, and I believe that some errors have been found in it, so that it has been found necessary to take some little time for corrections. The Return, however, is now correct, and I hope it will be in the hands of hon. Members to-morrow. I trust that, when it is studied, it will give full information as to the real character of the change proposed to be made. The hon. Member for Liskeard (Mr. Courtney) has asked me when the section would take effect, whether from the date of death or from the date of probate? It would take effect from the date of proving the will, not from the date of death. The hon. Member for Kirkcaldy (Sir George Campbell) has also asked me whether we make any provision for South Africa? To this I reply, No; we hope there will be no occasion to make any such provision. The ordinary Army and Navy Estimates are all framed with a view to the necessities of the Empire, and I do not think it necessary to make any express provision for South Africa. With regard to local loans, I shall be very glad to make such a statement as the hon. and learned Gentleman (Mr. Waddy) suggests.

Resolution agreed to.

1. *Resolved*, That, towards raising the Supply granted to Her Majesty, the Duties of Customs now charged on Tea shall continue to be levied and charged on and after the first day of August, one thousand eight hundred and eighty, until the first day of August, one thousand eight hundred and eighty-one, on importation into Great Britain or Ireland (that is to say): on

Tea	the lb.	£	s.	d.
		0	0	6

2. *Resolved*, That there shall be charged upon the delivery for home consumption of Foreign Spirits which have been bottled in any Customs or Excise Warehouse, in addition to the Duties of Customs and any other Charges thereon, the rate following (that is to say):

For every one dozen imperial or reputed quart bottles, or two dozen imperial or reputed pint bottles of such Spirits, Three Pence.

3. *Resolved*, That, towards raising the Supply granted to Her Majesty, there shall be charged, collected, and paid for one year, commencing on the sixth day of April, one thousand eight hundred and eighty, in respect of all Property, Profits, and Gains mentioned or described as chargeable in the Act of the sixteenth and seventeenth years of Her Majesty's reign, chapter thirty-four, the following Duties of Income Tax (that is to say):

For every Twenty Shillings of the annual value or amount of Property, Profits, and Gains chargeable under Schedules (A), (C), (D), or (E) of the said Act, the Duty of Five Pence;

And For every Twenty Shillings of the annual value of the occupation of Lands, Tenements, Hereditaments, and Heritages chargeable under Schedule (B) of the said Act,—

In England, the Duty of Two Pence Halfpenny;

In Scotland and Ireland respectively, the Duty of One Penny Three Farthings;

Subject to the provisions contained in section one hundred and sixty-three of the Act of the fifth and sixth years of Her Majesty's reign, chapter thirty-five, for the exemption of persons whose income is less than One Hundred and Fifty Pounds, and in section eight of "The Customs and Inland Revenue Act, 1876," for the relief of persons whose income is less than Four Hundred Pounds.

4. *Resolved*, That it is expedient to amend the Law relating to Income Tax.

5. *Resolved*, That, towards making good the Supply granted to Her Majesty for the service of the years ending on the 31st day of March 1879 and 1880, the sum of £1,230,750 9s. 10d. be granted out of the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom."

House resumed.

Resolutions to be reported *To-morrow*, at Two of the clock;

Committee to sit again *To-morrow*, at Two of the clock.

ARMY DISCIPLINE AND REGULATION (ANNUAL) BILL.—[BILL 106.]

(Colonel Stanley, Mr. William Henry Smith, The Judge Advocate General.)

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

COLONEL STANLEY, in moving that the Bill be now read a second time, said, he would appeal to the hon. Member for Rochester (Mr. Otway) to withdraw his opposition to the progress of the measure at this stage. He would suggest that the sense of the House should be taken upon the subject of the hon. Member's Motion when the Bill went into Committee. The reason why he made this

appeal was because he understood that considerable pressure had been put on his right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer to finish the Relief of Distress (Ireland) Bill, which was one of the primary objects of the meeting of Parliament.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Colonel Stanley.*)

MR. OTWAY regretted very much that he could not comply with the request of the right hon. and gallant Gentleman. He had a duty to perform; but he would endeavour to discharge it as expeditiously as the circumstances of the case would admit. He therefore begged to move—

"That, in the opinion of this House, it is not desirable that a Bill relating to the discipline of the Army should be continued which does not contain a provision relieving British soldiers from the degradation of flogging to which they are at present subjected."

Some 70 years ago the most celebrated military commander, and, perhaps, the most astute statesman of modern times, having made his brother Jerome King of Westphalia, advised him to do something to conciliate his new subjects. Accordingly King Jerome issued a proclamation, in which he said—

"Considering that honour is the great incentive to a soldier, and that it is desirable to banish for ever such disciplinary punishments as recall feudal times and degrade the dignity of man, on the report of our Minister of War, we decree that flogging is henceforth abolished in our Army."

The Armies of Westphalia and France were at that time the only ones in which flogging did not exist; but Scharnhorst in Prussia and the Archduke Charles took steps in that direction, and in the Prussian and Austrian Armies flogging had long been abolished. Efforts had been made by his relative, Sir Francis Burdett, and others to put an end to this punishment in the British Army. Not many years ago, on a Motion which he (Mr. Otway) had the honour to submit, flogging was entirely done away with in time of peace, and, in consequence of the discussions in the House last year, the punishment was reduced to 25 lashes, which could be inflicted only in time of war. He understood that more than 1,000 men had been flogged in South Africa; but if only

half that number had been punished it must be admitted that the lash had utterly failed as a deterrent. The only way in which it acted as a deterrent was in preventing good men from entering the Army. Some of the most distinguished military authorities—such men as Generals Stewart, Sir Robert Wilson, Colborne, De Lacy Evans, and Sir William Napier—had condemned flogging because of its degrading character. General Napier had become an opponent of flogging because in the Peninsular War his life had been saved by a soldier who gave as his reason for imperilling his own life the fact that the General had once saved him from a flogging. He did not think it was incumbent upon opponents of flogging to find an alternative punishment. There were many punishments, such as fatigue duties of a certain nature, that might be given to soldiers which would not destroy their efficiency, and yet would save them from a degrading infliction. Discipline was maintained without flogging in the Army of every civilized country in the world except the English Army. Would the Secretary of State for War say the Englishman, the Scotchman, or the Irishman was such a brute, so different from the Frenchman, the German, the Russian, and the American, that he must be flogged to keep him up to his duty? Such a declaration was an offence against the nation, which one would not expect to come from a Government that assumed to be pre-eminently patriotic. He asked the House, therefore, to accede to the Resolution he proposed. This question could only be settled in one way, and it would very soon be settled in that way. He implored the Government to settle it, and so deprive the Liberal Party of the credit of doing so. The punishment had already been reduced to a minimum, and the right hon. Gentleman had shown that his heart was not in the cause which he had to defend. That Parliament was about to expire, and he did not know that it would occupy many brilliant pages in the history of the time; nor did he know whether the Speaker would preside in the next Parliament, as he had presided so ably over that and other Parliaments. But he ventured to hope that, before the present Parliament was dissolved, the Speaker would be able to declare

Colonel Stanley

the affirmation of the Resolution which he now placed before the House.

MR. MONK begged to second the Resolution. He said that the punishment of flogging was confined exclusively to the British Army. Englishmen, Scotchmen, and Irishmen were the only people in all the great Armies of Europe who were now subject to this degrading punishment. Some concession had been already made in regard to flogging. He hoped that the Government would make a complete concession, now that we were free from war, and that the punishment might be absolutely expunged from the Statute Book.

Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "in the opinion of this House, it is not desirable that a Bill relating to the discipline of the Army should be continued which does not contain a provision relieving British soldiers from the degradation of flogging to which they are at present subjected,"—(Mr. Otway.)

—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

COLONEL STANLEY said, that the question was now being discussed in a state of quiescence as compared with the animated scene which had presented itself on former occasions. It certainly was not difficult for the Mover and Seconder of the Resolution to speak of the unanimity which prevailed on their side of the House. The discussion, indeed, was carried on in an Assembly represented rather by the absence than the presence of its Members. He could only state what he thought was the opinion of all present—namely, that that which was passing on that occasion was not a discussion of such a character as unavoidably to oblige the Government to pursue another course of action than the one which they had adopted. There was nothing to take exception to in the statements of the hon. Member. He was glad to find that no elements of passion or false sentiment, such as had characterized the debate of last year, had been introduced into the discussion, but that the Motion had been brought forward in a business-like manner, so as to gain the approbation of both sides of the House. He would endeavour to meet the arguments which had been

brought forward in a fair and candid spirit. The hon. Member who moved the Resolution had spoken of the deterrent effect which flogging in the Army exercised on recruiting. In matters of opinion it was always difficult to ascertain the exact fact. As far as he had been able to get at the truth, he had not been able to learn from those who were most conversant with the different classes of which our Army was composed that flogging exercised any such influence. It was overstraining the case to imagine that the men who entered the Service had any conception that they would incur that punishment, which was only inflicted in cases of the gravest crimes. As to the statement that British soldiers alone were subjected to this punishment, he was not prepared to commit himself to positive statements about the discipline of foreign Armies; but if it was meant that in other countries discipline in the the Army was maintained merely by moral suasion he did not believe that it was so. Either at the Cape or in Afghanistan those offences were committed for which they were obliged to deal summarily with the men. They could not send back the offenders under an escort to other places where imprisonment could be carried out. The hon. Gentleman said there were cases in which he could understand a soldier preferring death to corporal punishment. He thought the hon. Gentleman must have looked at the matter in the light of his own wishes rather than in the light in which it was likely to present itself to the person most concerned. He did not believe that, as a rule, in cases of offence while upon guard or upon duty, the offenders, if given the option of being put to death or of being flogged, would hesitate to accept the latter alternative. He did not suppose the hon. Gentleman, or those who supported his views on the question of flogging, wished to see the discipline of the Army one whit less than it was at the present time. But they must remember that the point on which the British soldier was most likely to fail was in respect of his duty towards the inhabitants of the district through which he might be passing. The hon. Gentleman said that corporal punishment by flogging had been done away with in the Army of the United States. At that moment he (Colonel Stanley) spoke under correction;

but he thought it was matter of notoriety that in the American Service practices had prevailed which were foreign to our own Service, and which, undoubtedly, were almost as severe, if not more so, than punishment as existing in our Service. The hon. Gentleman spoke as to the general question. Let him (Colonel Stanley) go back as far as he might reasonably in order to know what happened during last year. The debates on this question were full, exhaustive, and protracted. He was free to admit there were in the minds of those whose duty it was to oppose the Government feelings as conscientious as those to which the Government might lay claim. He thought they finally agreed that this was no question of Party before the House. There was this broad distinction—that those who at the time were responsible for the discipline of the Service, and those who, in the ordinary course of their duty, were acting with them, did not find it possible, in the present condition of the Service, to do away with the means of corporal punishment which, apparently, in some circumstances, was the only manner in which discipline could be preserved. He did not wish to enter into a controversy as to that, to which he referred very briefly a short time ago, on the question of discipline or indiscipline in the Army of South Africa. He would prefer to postpone any remarks upon that subject till the time when the facts were more fully and more satisfactorily before him. With all deference to the opinions the hon. Gentleman had stated, he (Colonel Stanley) said the responsibility rested upon those who, like the hon. Gentleman, brought this question before the House with a wish to abolish corporal punishment as it now existed; but a due responsibility rested upon them, in common with the other Members of the House, that those who were responsible for discipline should have the means of maintaining discipline. Where there were rough characters in the Service—he was sorry to say there were such, and might be such at any time—where they had rough men, in many respects enterprising and soldierlike characters, it was necessary that proper means of maintaining discipline should be placed in the hands of those who had charge of them. In this matter Her Majesty's Government felt that they must not

shrink from performing what they believed to be their duty, however unpleasant it might be. It had been his anxiety, in the peculiar circumstances of the present year, to bring in a Bill simply to continue for a twelvemonth the provisions of the Army Discipline and Regulation Bill, because he, and those who acted with him, felt that the discussion which had occurred last year upon this subject was ample for the time, and that the Government had gone as far as they had any right to do in the direction of mitigating the punishment of flogging by making it a substitute for that of death. By taking that course, the Government believed that they had met the evident and natural desire of every man of humane disposition, by mitigating severe punishment, as far as was consistent with the preservation of discipline. He was afraid that, whether they looked to civil or to military life, it would be found impossible to govern men entirely by mere moral suasion. While fully admitting that it would be possible to amend the Army Discipline and Regulation Act in many respects, he must say that those whose duty it was to administer it had informed him that it worked, as a whole, satisfactorily, and that there was no pressing necessity for altering its provisions at the present moment. On these grounds he ventured to oppose the Motion of the hon. Member; and he only regretted that the question should have come on for discussion in so thin a House, which could scarcely be taken as fairly representing the general feeling on the subject.

MR. HOPWOOD observed, that the right hon. and gallant Gentleman appeared to have discussed this question at great length with the air of a man who felt that corporal punishment was doomed, but must be retained for the present, in obedience to the wishes of those who were outside that House. He predicted that those who defended this punishment would shortly find themselves placed in a very ridiculous position. He thought that the opponents of corporal punishment had every reason to be satisfied with the progress made on this question, the great Tory Party now being the only advocates of the lash. Until this last shred of authority, supported by brutish violence, was done away with, he and those who held the same opinions as himself would never

cease from troubling those in authority.

MR. WADDY said, he felt very strongly indeed that the lash ought not to be entirely abolished or banished from the country, as its retention was necessary in some cases; but he objected most strongly indeed to our soldiers being placed in the same category with garroters. He believed that there were certain persons who could only be influenced by the kind of violence the lash inflicted, and he was prepared to maintain that there were circumstances and crimes which called for the use of the lash. What he did object to was that while the House was told, on the one hand, all that was grand and beautiful with regard to the Army, it was, at the same time, told that it was necessary to use the lash, which was so bad that everybody but the soldier and the garrotter were exempted from it. The right hon. and gallant Gentleman the Secretary of State for War really gave the go-bye to the arguments that had been put forward by the hon. and learned Member for Stockport (Mr. Hopwood). What he complained of was that the House was not drawing a distinction between the British Army and a foreign Army, but between the British Army at home and the British Army abroad. For some reason, however, the cat was retained, and he would like to know the cause of it. Was it the pain it caused? The House had been over and over again told that it was not the pain. Then what was it? Was it the shame it caused? There were two or three ways of inflicting shame upon a man, and what he complained of was that punishment debased the man and made him feel not ashamed of what he had done, but of himself, and made him all the more liable to commit the same crime again. He trusted to see flogging and the Sinking Fund go together with a dying Parliament. It was strange to say that a punishment that could not be inflicted upon the Army at home could be inflicted upon them when on service out of the country. He was sure the hon. Members of the House would most strongly object to see the lash used upon their farm labourers and their tenants; but it was strange that, directly those farm labourers or tenants enlisted to serve their Queen and their country, they immediately became so bad that a

proper control could only be maintained over them by the use of the cat. The subject had so thoroughly been thrashed out that it was not necessary for him to make any further observations upon it; but he ventured to hope, even now, that if the exigencies of the Service would not allow flogging to be entirely abolished, that its existence would in a short time be put an end to.

SIR WALTER B. BARTELOTT said, the punishment of flogging had been restricted to the smallest possible compass, and was inflicted only in cases of the most desperate character, and where the offender deserved to be in the same category with the garrotter, and the House must remember flogging could only be inflicted on board ship, or in face of the enemy. It was very ingenious to get up this as an Election cry; but it should not be forgotten that this punishment was declared to be necessary by the last Liberal Government, of which the hon. Member for Rochester (Mr. Otway) was a Member. He saw the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham (Mr. John Bright) in his place, and would remind him that his voice was not raised against flogging when the Leader of the Opposition was at the War Office, and stated distinctly that it was essential, in the interests of the Army, that the punishment of flogging should be maintained. There was no one on either side of the House who would not wish that the punishment of flogging could be abolished; but it should be remembered that our Army was not an Army of conscription. It was raised from different classes from those of which Continental Armies were composed. There were in our Army numbers of honourable and gallant men, but there were others of a different character; but even in their case flogging was only resorted to in the most extreme cases, and for the very worst offences. For all others it was abolished. He had, since the question was discussed, consulted many authorities on the subject; and they were all of opinion, with one exception, that flogging could not be safely abolished, and the exception he referred to was to the effect that it could only be abolished in the event of some other suitable and very summary punishment being substituted for it. He felt himself compelled to support the Government, believing that they

were right in maintaining a punishment which had been absolutely abolished except in the case of extraordinary offences.

MR. O'DONNELL thought that if the Government opened a more generous career for merit in the Army there would be no occasion to resort to the brutalizing lash. They had evidence that the punishment did not fulfil its object, for there never was a better flogged Army than that which overcame the Zulus. Enough had come out in the controversy between Sir Garnet Wolseley and Dr. Russell to show that abundant flogging did not keep British soldiers from being a disgrace to their country. Last year they were afforded a specimen of the way in which Tory Members reconciled themselves to the use of the lash. The hon. and gallant Member for Westminster (Sir Charles Russell) rose in his place, and, with tears in his voice, produced a letter from an old soldier, who he said was in the Lobby, stating that he had been flogged, and had ever since felt himself regenerated and dignified by the punishment. Some of those who heard the statement sought the man in the Lobby, and they found a broken-down man who said that since he was flogged he had led a life of physical pain and felt he was a degraded man, and, he added, that he had come down to say so on behalf of his comrades who were still in the Army. The versatile Premier had not thought fit to make an appeal to the country on the question of flogging in the Army; and, although the accents of the living cat had been imitated in that House by distinguished Obstructionists on the other side, he did not suppose that Ministerial orators, in their addresses to their constituents, would lay much stress on their devotion to the flogging of the soldier as a means of preserving the efficiency of the Imperial Forces.

MR. P. A. TAYLOR said, there were few things more humiliating than the frequent discussion of the question in that House. He was old enough to remember the time when the public were shocked by floggings that were followed by death. From first to last the tyrant plea of necessity had been used; but various mitigations had been made in the brutal punishment—which was now reduced to a comparative tickling, as it was called, of 25 lashes. The infatuation with which hon. Members on the

other side of the House clung to the barbarous infliction was astounding; and if they would only go to the country pledging themselves to vote for its abolition the advantage that they would thereby gain would not be grudged to them for the sake of getting rid of this infamous punishment. If officers could not govern their men without subjecting them to the brutal infliction of the lash, which was used in no other Army in the world, they ought to retire from a position for which they were unfit.

Question put.

The House divided:—Ayes 76; Noes 36: Majority 40.—(Div. List, No. 39.)

Main Question again proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."

MR. H. SAMUELSON, who was prevented by the Forms of the House from moving the following Amendment:—

"That, in the opinion of this House, no Act relating to the discipline of the Army ought to be passed which gives to the military authorities power to flog Volunteers on active service,"

said, they were told that it was necessary to flog men on active service in foreign countries, because there was no other way of dealing with offenders, and because one-half of the Army could not be spared to look after the other half; but, however good that argument might be in South Africa, it surely could not be sustained as against Volunteers serving in this country. The clause conferring power to flog Volunteers off active service was absolutely unnecessary, and was a great blot on the Bill. The right hon. and gallant Gentleman had told them distinctly that he wished the time had arrived when it was possible to do away with this punishment in the Army, but that with the sort of men still enlisted for the Army it was absolutely necessary to retain it. But that opinion did not apply in the least to the Volunteer Force, which consisted of men of a totally different class. It would be very easy to provide, by an Amendment, that Volunteers should not be liable to be sentenced by court martial to corporal punishment. It had often been said that Volunteers would never deserve the punishment, and, therefore, would never get it. Well, then, if that were so, it was perfectly useless to retain the power to inflict it. Officers were not allowed to be flogged, and that led to the anomaly that

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a gentleman who was a private in a Volunteer corps, but who might be of exactly the same standing as the officer holding Her Majesty's commission, would be liable to this degrading punishment for an offence for which the officer would remain untouched by it. Volunteers who sacrificed their time and money for the service of their country ought not to be placed on the same footing with gaol-birds and ruffians. Such was the character of the Volunteer Force that mere expulsion from a corps was punishment sufficient for any offence of which a Volunteer might be guilty. Were our Volunteer soldiers less worthy of respect than American, French, German, Italian, or Russian troops? They were told there must be uniformity in military punishments; but there was no uniformity in the conditions of service. They were totally different. Volunteers proved, by making themselves efficient at their own cost, that they were men to be relied on. It was said this subject was being made a hustings cry and a Party question; but there could be no doubt that the public would demand pledges at the hustings that this meaningless and useless stigma should not remain on the Volunteer Force.

MAJOR NOLAN begged to call attention to the insufficiency of the payments to licensed victuallers for billeting soldiers. Those payments were based on old values, which were altogether too low at the present day to recompense keepers of public-houses and licensed victuallers for the accommodation they were obliged by Statute to afford to troops on the march. Licensed victuallers objected very much to the scale of payment, and accordingly disliked to see soldiers marching through their towns. They objected to having soldiers constantly billeted upon them, not because the soldiers behaved badly, but simply from the insufficiency of the rates of payment. Her Majesty's Government ought to do something to re-model the scale. Last year they did make some slight improvement by making allowances for officers' lodging; but even yet licensed victuallers were subject to a great amount of hardship from the low scale of payment. As a private Member of the House he could not move an Amendment on the clause unless Her Majesty's Government would take the initiative; and he would, therefore, content himself by

simply pointing out further that 2½*d.* did not pay a licensed victualler for the trouble he was put to in lodging a soldier, nor was 1*s.* 1½*d.* sufficient for his board. Again, the payment of 1*s.* 9*d.* for stabling a horse was also insufficient, as the publican might have to give more for the forage; at all events, that small amount could not recoup a licensed victualler for the trouble he was put to in stabling a horse.

MR. ANDERSON strongly urged the consideration by the Government of the views expressed by the hon. Member for Frome (Mr. H. Samuelson). He (Mr. Anderson) was against flogging altogether; but he thought even those who considered that it should be retained in the Army would not go the length of saying that it should be extended to Volunteers. He could only believe that Volunteers had been placed under this stigma through some inadvertence in the drafting of the Bill. If that was so, he hoped the Secretary of State for War would make some promise that it would be expunged. The alteration might very well be made in Committee next day.

COLONEL STANLEY said, the question raised by the hon. Member for Frome (Mr. H. Samuelson) was fully discussed last year, when the House, by a substantial majority, agreed to take the Bill as it was drawn. Part of the principle of the Bill of last year was to place soldiers of the Regular Service and members of the Auxiliary Forces on exactly the same footing in case of active service. It would be almost pedantic to introduce words into the Bill to guard against Volunteers being subjected to corporal punishment, the contingency of their being so treated being so very remote. The general feeling of all Volunteers was in favour of their being subjected to the same conditions as governed the Regular Forces, should they ever be called upon to serve side by side with those Forces. Coming to the objection of the hon. and gallant Member for Galway (Major Nolan), he could only repeat what he felt it his duty to say last year—that, so far as the hardship of billeting was concerned, no doubt there would be some inconvenience in having to receive soldiers suddenly, and in addition to persons who might be staying in the house; but that was one of the incidents attaching

to the monopoly given to licensed victuallers. He understood that the principal objection applied not to the billeting of soldiers on the march, but to the billeting for a month of the Militia. Efforts to remove this grievance had been made by placing the Militia under canvas, and in some instances in barracks. As regarded the prices for troops on the march, the Schedule was drawn up in 1873, when the prices of provisions were much higher than now. A deputation of licensed victuallers, representing one of the associations, waited upon him in regard to this matter last year; but on a comparison of figures they admitted the fallacy of many of the figures; and although he offered to see the deputation again after they had had an opportunity of correcting their figures he had not since seen nor heard from them.

MR. STEVENSON, as a Volunteer, was of opinion that Volunteers would consider being equally liable with the Regular Army to corporal punishment anything but an honour.

Main Question put, and *agreed to*.

Bill read a second time, and *committed for To-morrow*, at Two of the clock.

PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS AND CORRUPT PRACTICES (No. 2) BILL.

(*Mr. Attorney General, Mr. Solicitor General.*)

[BILL 102.] SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Mr. Attorney General.*)

MR. MORGAN LLOYD hoped some adequate opportunity would be given to hon. Members to consider the measure before going into Committee, and trusted the Attorney General would promise that a reasonable time should be allowed for that purpose.

MR. ANDERSON said, he also wished to make an appeal to the Attorney General on the subject of this measure. Yesterday he (*Mr. Anderson*) had brought forward a measure; but the hon. and learned Gentleman had objected to its being proceeded with, on the ground that they had arrived at the last day or two of an expiring Parliament, and because there was a very attendance in the House. The At-

torney General had said that the Bill was too important to be taken then; but the hon. and learned Member that same morning introduced a measure, circulated it on the following day, and in the evening expected to have it read a second time. He expected Parliament to allow it to become law before anyone in the country had seen it. He thought such conduct most unfair. It was quite unprecedented that a Bill should be brought in one night, affecting every borough in England, Scotland, and Ireland, and read a second time next night, before it was possible for any borough in the country to express an opinion on it. The Bill of the Attorney General contained a most important provision. If it had been a mere Continuance Bill he should not have raised any objection to it; but it was not. There was no need for such a Bill, for the existing measure did not expire until the end of the year, and there was thus plenty of time for the new Parliament to deal with the question of Parliamentary elections and corrupt practices in a proper and efficient manner. But why did the Bill deal with one subject, and leave everything else untouched? The 2nd clause was a very innocent looking one, and hon. Members might have looked at it without imagining that there was anything bad in it at all. He had examined into it carefully, however, and he found that it meant that for the future the conveyance of voters to the poll, and paying for that conveyance, was to be legalized all over the country. This applied to every borough in the Kingdom, and yet the Attorney General now asked them to have the Bill read a second time. Evidently the Government wished to rush it through Parliament before they could say one word about it. Such conduct was unprecedented, even in the history of the present Administration, and that was saying a good deal. There were, he felt bound to say, a great many corrupt practices besides the conveyance of voters to the poll. There was, for instance, the employing of paid canvassers. He maintained that the payment of canvassers led to an immense amount of corruption, and it was one of the practices that the House ought to do away with. Another mode of corruption was that of the faggot vote. He considered faggot voting a very corrupt practice indeed. The sys-

tem of bringing strangers from an immense distance, and locating them upon a county for the purpose of swamping the opinion of the locality, was about as corrupt a practice as he knew of. There might be faggot votes that were of a perfectly innocent description, provided the people who enjoyed them really resided in the locality; but when such a person came from a distance, in order to swamp legitimate opinion, the whole affair was highly corrupt, and ought to be put an end to. There were three great questions that had to be dealt with by whatever Parliament took up the question of corrupt practices; but to attempt to deal with one of them in this offhand manner was, in his opinion, most improper. He was told that all that was done was simply to make legal a practice that was universal. Well, he denied that it was a universal practice, and what the Attorney General was doing was making an illegal practice legal. That was to say, the hon. and learned Gentleman was more than condoning breaches of the law. He was told that in a great many boroughs in England it was the practice to pay for the conveyance of voters; and he understood that in Birmingham all the cabs had been already secured for the ensuing election. That was all done in direct contravention of the law, and why should it be made legal? He could not see any reason. He thought the more sensible course for the Attorney General to have pursued would have been to specify a punishment that should attach to the offence. That would have been a change which would only have been carrying out the present law. He was glad to know, however, that this practice of conveying voters to the poll was not universal. He never heard of the practice in Scotland. The Scotch were a law-abiding people, not like the people in England, who would drive a coach and six through any Act of Parliament. In Scotland the people were law-abiding, because they objected to see a practice which they considered to be corrupt, and which they knew to be illegal, legalized in this off-hand manner. He was told that in Ireland the people also abided by the law in this respect, and he made bold to say that the law was not universally broken even in England. He could only say that, so far as he was able, and with the assistance of Scotch

Members, he would endeavour to get this clause expunged from the Bill.

Mr. D. DAVIES hoped the Government would persevere with the Bill. It would be a great boon to Wales. He thought it was right that the expenses of a poor voter should be paid, and that he should be brought to the poll. The rich candidate, who had carriages of his own, could drive voters to the poll; and it was unfair that the candidate who had no carriages should not be allowed to place himself on an equality with his richer neighbours if he were prepared to pay for conveyances. At present the law was evaded; but the candidate should do what was "straight."

Dr. CAMERON said, that the effect of this clause would be the possibility of placing the rich candidate in a position unfair to the poor one. He had served on the Committee which had sat to consider the question of the extension of the hours of polling, and a great number of cases came before them, in which it was said that the law was evaded, especially in the matter of the conveyance of voters to the poll. Though it was illegal, they were told that conveyances were often hired at the expense of the candidate. Hon. Members sitting in all parts of the House were on the Committee, and there appeared to be only one opinion amongst them—namely, that the law should be amended in the sense of more properly enforcing it as it then stood. It was with great surprise, therefore, that he saw that the Bill of the Attorney General went entirely in an opposite direction. The penalties attached to an infraction of the law in this matter were not large enough. If it was possible to put down undue treating, bribery, and other forms of corruption, this particular phase could equally well have been dealt with. What his hon. Friend (Mr. Anderson) had said of Scotland was strictly true. He confessed, however, that in one burgh in Scotland recently this practice had been reported to exist; but, with that one exception, he had never heard of the practice during his whole experience. Supposing that the law were obeyed in Scotland, and conveyances not used, he did not believe the people there were sufficiently wide-awake to know that the law could be evaded. At all events, however, the law was obeyed in Scotland—whether from a regard to economy he would not say. At

all events, he thought it preposterous that in an expiring Parliament they should be asked to let loose on Scotland, hitherto free from reproach, a system of extravagance and corruption, the end of which no one could see. As for the hiring of cabs, say in Edinburgh, Dundee, or Aberdeen, there could be no doubt that an immense amount of treating and improper expenditure might take place under the guise of such a practice. If the Attorney General could not devise any other means of meeting the difficulty, why did he not leave it alone? There would be plenty of time next Parliament to deal with the subject. At this moment, however, when the Scotch Members were absent—and he was certain they would oppose the Bill to a man—it was unfair to steal a march upon them. So far as he could influence other Members, he would do all in his power to obstruct the passage of the Bill. He begged to move the Amendment of which he had given Notice.

Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "the provisions of the Act 30 and 31 Vic. c. 102, which relates to payment of the expenses of conveyance of voters to the poll, should be amended, not by repealing the prohibition against the practice, but by rendering it effective,"—*(Dr. Cameron,)*

—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

MR. H. SAMUELSON thought the question might well have been left to the consideration of the new Parliament. There was hardly a borough in England in which the law was not evaded, not by candidates, but by their friends; and the only provision that could obviate the evil would be to make it illegal for any person to receive money in consideration of the hire of any vehicle on an election day. Neither the Bill nor the Amendment was satisfactory; and as the subject, in his opinion, had not received sufficient consideration, he begged to move the adjournment of the debate.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be now adjourned."—*(Mr. Henry Samuelson.)*

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir JOHN HOLKER) expressed his surprise at

the speech of the hon. Member for Frome (Mr. H. Samuelson), because he certainly understood him the other day to speak in favour of the proposition of the Government. [Mr. H. SAMUELSON said, the hon. and learned Gentleman was mistaken.] His arguments, at all events, seemed susceptible of that construction. Now, what was the proposition of the Government? It was declared by the Representation of the People Act that it was illegal to pay for the conveyance of voters to the poll in boroughs, except in certain boroughs. But, although the offence was declared, there did not seem to be any specific penalty attached to it; and as it was undesirable that a law should be made only to be broken, it was clear that some change should be made, either in the direction of making the payment by a candidate or his agent for a cab a corrupt practice, or by repealing the provision altogether. Now, to render a candidate liable to be unseated for so innocent an act as the payment for a cab seemed to him a monstrous thing, while the legalizing of such an act, on the contrary, could do nobody any harm. The hon. Member for Glasgow (Mr. Anderson) would be under no obligation to hire a cab if he did not choose to do so. It was true that polling booths were placed at short distances; but it might happen that a workman at his dinner hour—the only time, perhaps, at which he could vote—would find himself unable to go to his own polling booth except in a conveyance, and if the employment of cabs was rendered absolutely impossible that voter would practically be disfranchised. By an error in drafting, the Bill applied only to England; but in Committee he would propose a clause extending it to Scotland and Ireland.

MR. JAMES STEWART said, that few Members of the House but would agree that the expenses connected with elections were one of the crying evils of the day. He was quite certain that in Scotland the Amendment would be approved unanimously. Much more in the direction of doing away with conveyances not only in boroughs, but in counties, would be desirable. If that were done, they would get rid of the faggot-voting to a great extent, if not entirely. The Bill was a thoroughly retrograde one, and might, he thought, be characterized

as one to legalize bribery. It would be condemned, at all events, in Scotland, by the unanimous feeling of the people. There was not a question that, if they adopted the provisions proposed by the hon. and learned Gentleman, they would inculcate bribery in all these boroughs, and would put an obstacle in the way of constituencies being open to any except the plutocracy of the land.

MR. COURTNEY said, that the hon. and learned Member, in introducing the Bill, had said that the present law was inoperative because no penalty was attached. Why, then, did he not attach a penalty? He thought the Government ought to have provided a simple and speedy remedy for the evil. As matters stood at present, that House was in one respect the direct opposite of the Kingdom of Heaven, which was especially open to the poor. To every one who had thought on the subject it must have occurred that that House was practically closed to all but the rich. If they made the use of vehicles by candidates legal, it became absolutely necessary for all who would obtain a seat in that House to have cabs and carriages at command. He thought it was wrong to attach such overwhelming influence to the possession of money. By this alteration in the law, Members would do openly and lavishly that which they now did only to a restricted extent. The expenses of Members was already quite large enough, and the proposed change would make a large addition to them inevitable. He thought it was the duty of the Government to bring about purity, simplicity, and directness into elections, and that the alteration which they proposed was in the wrong direction; and he hoped that his hon. Friends on that side of the House would oppose the Bill.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL said, that he should offer a strenuous opposition to the Bill. While the property qualification had been lowered by the introduction of household suffrage, it was especially inadvisable to appeal to the voters by offering them the unusual luxury of conveyance to the polling-booth in the hired vehicles of candidates as an inducement to vote. While, however, they had lowered the property qualification of the voters, they had raised the property qualification in Members by making it only possible for rich men to sit in that House. He had hoped the

sense of the House and of the country was against such a proposal, and that they should rather have had measures to diminish the extent to which a seat in that House was the rich man's privilege and perquisite. It had pained him to see that the Government, in the last few days of an expiring Parliament, had thought fit to bring in a Bill which would largely add to the expenses of election. It was a Bill which, as had been said, was not only permissive, but obligatory, and it would be more and more necessary and incumbent on Members to pay the expense of conveyances to bring voters to the poll. He would in every way he could oppose the Bill.

SIR JAMES M'GAREL-HOGG thought that the prohibition of the use of carriages would necessitate a very great increase in the number of polling-places. Besides, all hon. Members who wished to give every voter an opportunity of polling would desire to facilitate the conveyance of the old and infirm.

SIR HENRY JAMES said, the object of the Legislature should be to render access to the House easier and less expensive than it was at present, and there was no doubt that the conveyance of voters added very materially to the expense of an election. On one point he concurred with the hon. and learned Attorney General—the law that was systematically broken was a bad one to maintain, and gave a great advantage to the wrong-doer. A man who merely wished to do right would, in such a case, be inevitably worsted by one who desired only to serve himself. The existing law was most unsatisfactory, and he should prefer either to legalize the custom or to prohibit it altogether by means of a real penalty. The former alternative would be much to the disadvantage of poor candidates, and the latter was difficult of adoption, seeing that the conveyance of voters, though illegal, was not intrinsically immoral. The offence, which, by the way, was no offence at all in counties, would not be adequately punished by a fine; and he presumed that the House would not wish it to be visited by imprisonment. It would be necessary, therefore, either to adopt the proposal of the Government, or to make the employment of vehicles a corrupt practice. In his opinion, the latter course was preferable, for, after all, the conveyance of voters partook of the nature of an

act of bribery. The House ought to be in earnest, and to deal with the question in a drastic manner. He would, however, suggest that the Bill should be read a second time, and they could deal with the matter in Committee.

MR. MORGAN LLOYD said, as he had appealed to the Attorney General to give two or three days for consideration, and the hon. and learned Gentleman made no answer to his appeal, there was no alternative but to oppose the second reading. He had an Amendment to propose which would raise the whole question; and if full opportunity were not given to discuss it, the Bill ought to be opposed at every stage. At the close of the Session the Government had brought in a Bill which was not called for except for the purpose of repealing the clause now in question. There would be time enough to deal with the question in the new Parliament. The Government could have no object in bringing in the Bill except to steal a march on Members who were absent.

MR. MARK STEWART said, the hon. and learned Gentleman who had just spoken appeared to ignore the general feeling of the country that a Bill should be brought in on this question. There was a universal wish expressed last Session that a Bill should be brought in and become law, and the Government were now acceding to that request, although they had little time. He was one of the Select Committee that considered this question, and he had brought in a proposal of this kind. The division against him was only lost by 1 vote. He had, therefore, some right to speak on this question. It struck him, as it had struck many hon. Members of that Committee, that this was a common-sense and practical view to take. There could be no doubt that the hiring of vehicles was so general in borough constituencies that it was not reckoned an offence against the law. Very often there was an understood agreement entered into between the agents of the different parties. As to what had fallen from hon. Members opposite about the difficulties which poor men would have in this matter compared with rich men, the House knew that if a poor man could not afford it, he had plenty of backers ready to pay for conveyances. Though a candidate might not actually put his hand in his pocket, it was known that both voters

and conveyances were often brought from a great distance, and at great expense, to be used at an election. The country was not governed by logic, but by Parliament; but if Parliament laid down a rule that they should have a penalty and not free trade in this matter, the country would not be with it. They could not legislate against the feeling of the country. He was against increasing the expenses of elections in any way; but, when the law was universally broken, the Government had taken the only practical course. They did not wish to increase the expense of elections, but to satisfy the public by laying down a general rule and principle. To say that they might bring county voters to the poll in the country, but must not convey the same voters who resided seven miles from a borough into it, when they had a right to vote there, was preposterous and unfair. He hoped the Government would press the Bill.

MR. HIBBERT said, he did not think the Government had acted rightly in bringing forward this proposal at so late a period. The Bill of last Session had not this clause, and therefore the House would be justified in opposing a measure with such a clause brought in at the fag-end of the Session. He knew that in many boroughs the law was kept, and on that ground alone they ought to be very slow in altering a state of things which had been 12 years in existence. While admitting that the existing law was broken in many places, he thought it unfair to propose a change at such a period of the Session and on such short notice. The new law would not be known in many places by the time the approaching Election was held. He thought, therefore, that the matter had better be left to the new Parliament. Moreover, the indiscriminate employment of cabs throughout the country would, in his opinion, be an objectionable feature of our elections, and a source of great and unnecessary expense to candidates. For those reasons, he opposed the Bill.

MR. O'DONNELL said, he should give a very strong opposition to the proposed change of the law. He thought they should do nothing but pass a Continuance Bill. He did not wish to interfere with the general harmony at the close of the Session; but if the Government persisted with the measure, he

should feel bound—he did not mean to threaten obstruction, because now-a-days they had to be particular—to give the portion referred to all the opposition in his power. The measure, if applied to Ireland, would handicap impecunious candidates who might not, like himself when he contested Galway, enjoy the advantage of having his voters conveyed to the poll in the cars of the rival candidate.

MR. FINIGAN said, he would follow in the footsteps of the hon. Member for Dungarvan (Mr. O'Donnell), and oppose the Bill, which would give wealth an undue advantage in electoral interests. The existing law was bad, but the alteration would be worse.

MR. STEVENSON said, that the notion was far too much encouraged already that the vote was a favour conferred upon candidates; and everything that limited the choice of the election to wealthy candidates was a violation of the representative principle. The exception of counties from the operation of the clause had been treated as the principle of the law. But, at present, conveyance of voters at the candidate's expense was illegal in boroughs, and he would maintain the principle, although he could not get it applied outside boroughs. As to boroughs, the main difficulty was the limited time given for polling, and it was said that men could not be got to go to the poll and record their votes within those hours. Well, the true remedy for that was the extension of the hours of polling. A case had been mentioned by an hon. Member of a voter living a great many miles from where the election was taking place, asking if the candidate was prepared to pay his expenses of coming to the borough election; and he wanted to know whether that was to be allowed under this Bill with regard to boroughs and voters residing at some distance from the place where they were registered? They had better leave the law as it was, because it asserted a principle which should not be altered at the present time; and he would, therefore, oppose the second reading, believing that the Bill was utterly unnecessary.

MR. A. GATHORNE-HARDY pointed out that the extension of the hours of polling would not be sufficient remedy, for at the recent election for Southwark, where the hours of polling were extended, nearly all the cabs in

the borough were, according to a newspaper statement, engaged to convey electors to vote for the Liberal candidate. It seemed to him to be a bad thing to keep on the Statute Book a law which was systematically evaded. The whole subject might be fully considered in the next Parliament; but it would be impossible in the last days of the present one to alter the law in the way proposed by the hon. and learned Member for Taunton (Sir Henry James). It had been said that it was better the old law should be kept as it was for the present, as, although there was no penalty imposed, yet conscientious persons observed the law as it stood, and that that was to a certain extent a preventative of expense at elections. But it was most unfair that conscientious persons should alone be put to a disadvantage in an election contest, and for that reason he cordially supported the proposal of the Government.

Question put.

The House *divided*: — Ayes 47; Noes 120: Majority 73.—(Div. List, No. 40.)

MR. O'DONNELL, referring to a statement he had made that he would oppose this Bill at every stage, said, he found a sufficiently resolute declaration had been made previously in the debate, and as the views of the Scotch Members on this Bill were in accord with his own, he would be very happy to follow their lead.

Question put, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

The House *divided*: — Ayes 115; Noes 48: Majority 68.—(Div. List, No. 41.)

Main Question put, and *agreed to*.

Bill read a second time, and *committed for To-morrow at Two of the clock*.

RELIEF OF DISTRESS (IRELAND) BILL.

CONSIDERATION OF LORDS' AMENDMENTS.

Lords Amendments *considered*.

MR. W. E. FORSTER said, as he felt it was most important that this Bill should pass, he should be very sorry to intervene in the discussion for any time, and so delay the passing of this measure. He assured the House that he should

not have made any remark if he had not felt it to be his duty to do so; but he confessed that since the Bill had been introduced he had had reason to fear that the distress and danger of famine in Ireland was greater than had been supposed. The House would probably recollect that when the Bill was brought in, he had stated that he thought that the Government had done all that was necessary and could be expected to be done to ward off the famine, and he did not wish at that moment to retract that statement, nor did he, in any of the remarks which he was about to make, wish to blame the Government; he only desired to point out to the House that the danger of great and terrible distress in Ireland, particularly in the West of Ireland, and the prospect of real famine next year was greater than he had supposed, and as he thought hon. Members generally had supposed, when the Bill was brought in. If the House would allow him, he would give his reasons for that view. He was speaking upon the information only which he had received from one or two persons, but who were deserving of credit. He happened to have had something to do with the Famine of 1846-7, and a friend of his, who had been very efficient in relieving distress at that time, had gone over to Donegal. He had not gone over there with any prepossession at all; but, certainly, the letters received from him spoke of most tremendous and alarming distress. What he heard was, that in the county of Donegal—and the matter was all the worse, because it applied to only about one half the county—there were more than 70,000 people now saved from starvation by the relief which they obtained from the Duchess of Marlborough's and the Lord Mayor's Funds. That distress must press most heavily, unless there were ample provision made for its further relief, and it must also continue until the following September and October. His friend feared that throughout the West of Ireland the distress was as bad as in Donegal. On that point, however, he hoped he would find himself mistaken, and that Donegal was, owing to peculiar circumstances, worse than other districts. There existed, however, great distress in other parts—namely, in the islands off the West Coast, which were in a terrible state, as also some districts in Kerry and Galway, and alto-

gether, he felt they were in face of a much greater danger than they had expected. He hoped the Government would not think he made these observations in a hostile spirit; he would be sorry to say anything which might have the effect of checking the charitable funds; he was glad that there had been subscriptions in England, and by the English-speaking races in the Colonies and in America. But no Government could rely upon charity alone to keep the people alive; it was not exactly the business of charity to do that; it was the business of the State, either through local funds or from Imperial funds, to keep the people from positive famine. He wanted to impress upon the Government that they had to contemplate a dangerous state of things. Supposing that the funds from charitable sources should fall off, if the Government were not ready at once to afford help from the Unions, there might arise a most terrible calamity. He pointed out that in his view there could be no danger so great as real famine and actual death from starvation, which had occurred in many cases in Ireland. It was, however, possible that Her Majesty's Government might be more aware of the danger than they were supposed to be; but he would, nevertheless, suggest that there ought to be sent down from Dublin one or two of the ablest men that could be found, to discover what the Guardians in the districts to which he had referred were doing, and what was actually being done to reduce the distress there existing; to try to get as much more done as possible; and if it were found that the Unions had not the power to deal with the distress, then, he thought, it was their duty to step forward, and that the famine must be met by the Central Government. He had been told that in those Unions where there was the greatest distress, the rates were no higher than they had been last year, and that in one particular Union they amounted to 1s. 8d. in the pound last year, and stood at that amount now. There were no more people in the workhouse, and there were very few more than last year in receipt of out-door relief; but, until the present Bill was passed, he was aware there was no power to force the Unions to act. It was with some reluctance that he had made this statement, because he felt that at that particular moment it might be sup-

posed to be made from Party motives. But he knew too much of Irish famine to regard it for one moment in the light of a Party question. His object was to help the Government in a matter which he could not but consider to be one of great danger.

MR. MITCHELL HENRY said, as that was the last opportunity which he should have of seconding what had been said by the right hon. Gentleman who had just spoken, he begged, in the most solemn manner, to say that the Government had given no evidence that they were alive to the magnitude of the disaster which was at that moment hanging over Ireland. He had, two days ago, received a letter from a parish priest in his own district, which naturally might be supposed to be not the most distressed district in the country, stating that there were 600 families applying for relief, and that he had nothing to give them. What was it, he asked, in the way of relief to a starving population of that kind to receive amounts of £50, £150, and £200 from the charitable funds of the two associations which had been formed in Ireland? One of those associations, the charity inaugurated by the Duchess of Marlborough, had spent £30,000 of the funds sent from this country in providing seed potatoes. He maintained that such was not the object for which those funds had been subscribed. They had been given to keep the people alive—to prevent their perishing from hunger. The purchase of seed potatoes was a worthy, desirable, and necessary thing; but the administrators of the fund were replying now, when they were asked to give food, that they had spent their money in seed potatoes. The outlay of £30,000 out of £80,000 was, in his opinion, an enormous disproportion, looking at what was absolutely necessary for the present and what would be necessary for the future. There were two districts in Connemara, in which the people had literally nothing to eat, and nothing wherewith to clothe themselves, and the consequence of this mode of distributing the charity had been that the people, who were generally very saving of their seed potatoes and seeds of all kinds, had been led to consume the whole of their stock. Again, that distribution of charity which required nothing to be done in return was demoralizing to the whole of the district,

and aggravated, to an enormous extent, the dangers of the situation. It was useless to protest against the action of the Government. They were not alive to what was passing in Ireland; and if he were to say that they were indifferent to the situation, and left it to the mere chance of what might turn up, he thought he should be doing no more than correctly describing the position. There was another point in connection with those seed potatoes to which he would refer. The kind which was generally grown in Ireland, and which formed a great portion of the food of the people, ripened in the month of August; but the particular kind which had been chosen for distribution was the so-called "Champion" potato, which was late in ripening, and that fact could not but prolong the distress for another month at least. Again, the suggestion which he had made, that some manure should also be given, had, on several occasions, been scoffed at by the Government. But the point had been subsequently raised and insisted upon most particularly by the Agricultural Society of Ireland; and the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland must be very well aware of the necessity of supplying manure. What was the use, he asked, of going to the expense of purchasing potatoes of a high class, the cost of which had been run up immensely by the demand made for them, and then giving the people nothing wherewith to fertilize the land on which they would be sown? How could a crop be expected next year to be yielded by an exhausted soil? All he had proposed was, that, seeing the Government had allowed £5 to be expended in providing seeds sufficient for particular cases, the Boards of Guardians who administered that fund should be allowed to use a few shillings of the £5 in providing manure. That suggestion, which, he believed, would have appealed to the common sense of anybody who knew anything about agriculture, had been simply pooched and scoffed at by the Government; but it would rise against them like a spectre, which they would have difficulty in allaying. He well knew what impended over Ireland. It was not merely present famine, but pestilence, which would afterwards sweep off great numbers of the population, growing weaker and weaker from having

nothing to eat, except that provided in scanty quantities by the means supplied from charitable organizations. He cared not whether the Government of the country were despotic, or whether it were called Liberal or Conservative; its duty was to keep alive the subjects of the Queen. [*Laughter.*] He regretted to see smiles on the countenances of some hon. Members who were ever ready to laugh when the question was raised of the destruction of the Irish people by famine. ["No, no!"] He repeated that many of the observations which he had made on former occasions, and on that evening, upon the subject of Irish distress, had been met with nothing else but smiles and scoffs from hon. Members opposite. In conclusion, he entered his protest against the manner in which the subject of distress in Ireland had been dealt with, and declared that that Parliament would hereafter be included in the list of those which had never risen, or cared to rise, to the danger hanging over a portion of Her Majesty's Kingdom.

MAJOR NOLAN said, that the matter which had been pressed upon the attention of the Government that evening by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford was one of the greatest consequence to Ireland. The whole matter would probably slip out of the minds of some hon. Members to a great extent in a few days, and it was, therefore, of the greatest importance that, just before Parliament broke up, a Gentleman of the position and experience of the right hon. Member for Bradford should have drawn attention to the distress existing in a portion of the country. Now, the Bill before the Committee was very peculiar in this way. It had actually come into operation, and they were, to some extent, able to judge of its effects before it had been passed by Parliament. The Bill provided three ways of meeting the distress—one was that of out-door relief; but he pointed out that in that respect the Bill was really doing nothing, because, as the right hon. Gentleman had shown, there had been no increase in the amount of out-door relief afforded last year. The second point in the Bill was that money should be lent to the baronial sessions to carry on works for the employment of the people. But he had received several letters to say that the baronial sessions had proved, in a

great many cases, to be a complete failure. Very little work was passed by them, and that which had been passed had been described by one correspondent as "but a drop in a lake." That portion of the Government scheme was, therefore, at that moment, also a failure. The third means for meeting the distress which the Bill provided was the lending of money to landlords. With regard to that, he believed in some districts a certain amount of good was being done; but it was nothing like the amount necessary to relieve the distress existing in the districts where the principle was being applied; while in other districts, nothing at all was being done in that way. The Prime Minister had, in his Address to the country, taken his stand, in a great measure, upon the Bill, and he, therefore, thought the Government were bound to see that some good came from the measure. It had been shown that the provisions of the Act which were really in operation had done very little good up to the present, and were likely to do little good in the future. He thought it would do good to Ireland if the Government would undertake such large works as railways, with a guarantee of 3 per cent. That, he believed, would provide a large amount of labour, as had been the case in his own county. On the whole, he believed that, under the Bill, very little would be done to save the Irish people. He acknowledged that a great deal had been effected by private charity, and felt that everyone coming from the West of Ireland must be grateful to the people of England, America, and Australia for their contributions in aid of the people; but seeing that the Government had made a point of the Bill in their electioneering Addresses, they were bound to admit that the good which had been done was not enough.

MR. O'SHAUGHNESSY said, that the Government had, in the course which they were pursuing, put relief from public works out of the question. Had they properly organized a system of public works they would have done their duty and saved the people; but he feared they must come to the conclusion that the works had been very badly organized, and could not, in consequence, be expected to relieve the distress. He urged upon the Government that they must come to extraordinary

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out-door relief as the almost only measure which could deal with the existing distress—almost the only measure outside relief from private sources. Out-door relief was the only chance, and a very heavy burden it would prove to be, inasmuch as it would reduce the people to want long after the distress had passed away. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford had justly said that the Government ought to see that the local authorities did their duty, and that that matter rested entirely upon the Government. What was the scheme supposed to be in operation with regard to out-door relief? The Government had authorized the Boards of Guardians to give out-door relief. They had also given power to the Board of Works to lend to them money for that purpose, re-payable in 10 years, at 3 per cent interest. But if they attempted in any district where want really existed to compel the local authorities to expend large sums of money immediately, who was to be responsible for the money? Undoubtedly, they would bring about poverty where it was not now felt, and perpetuate want and famine in the land. The Government plan was to authorize the giving of out-door relief, and to order it, and then to hold out some hope to the local authorities when it was spent. They would tell them they had spent so many thousand pounds, and that they would be allowed to borrow so much money. That was not the right way to deal with the matter. They should go to the local authorities, honestly, in the first instance, and say—"You are in want; we will enable you to borrow in such a way as will save the people and save the ratepayers." But the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland had procrastinated in this matter as he always did, and if he, in consequence, drove them to spare the ratepayer at the expense of the poor man, on his head would be the result of his policy. He saw upon the Front Bench opposite another right hon. Gentleman the Secretary for the Colonies, who had been over to Ireland, and who he believed that many regretted did not hold the office of Chief Secretary for Ireland. Had that been so, it was believed a plan of relief would have been organized and carried out which would not have robbed the country, which would have been productive, and which would not, as had been the case

with the baronial sessions, have proved barren. He thought the Chief Secretary for Ireland should take care of the question of out-door relief. Let him approach the local authorities, and assure them that they would be allowed to borrow money on easy terms and in such a way as would not impoverish the ratepayers, and then the scheme of out-door relief would be of some use. It that was not done, it would prove as great a failure as the baronial sessions.

MR. J. LOWTHER said, that the hon. and learned Member for Limerick (Mr. O'Shaughnessy), had brought charges against the Government; but if he had referred to the Act of Parliament, he would have seen that Her Majesty's Government were precluded from doing other than they had done by the terms of the Act.

MR. O'SHAUGHNESSY said, he had referred to what the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland had said and done during the Recess.

MR. J. LOWTHER said, that that was still more indefinite. He thought it would be more pertinent to the discussion to refer to the 4th clause of the Act, in which powers were given to the Local Government Board to borrow money. It was obvious that that Board would not suggest to the Boards of Guardians that they should borrow money for purposes which they would be able to carry into effect without any additional charge on the rates. Whenever satisfactory reasons had been shown by the Boards of Guardians, permission had been given to them to raise the money required. If the hon. and learned Member would take steps to find out what had been done, he would learn that that was so. He was a little astonished to find that the hon. Member for Galway (Mr. Mitchell Henry), should have referred to the question of supplying manure. He would remind him, that that question had been carefully considered, when the Bill was before the House, and that it had not been considered advisable to include that provision in the draft of the Bill introduced by his (Mr. Mitchell Henry's) hon. and gallant Colleague; nor had it been subsequently added. The hon. Member for Galway had also charged Her Majesty's Government with a want of care and sympathy. He would say, in reply to that charge, that the Government had adopted measures which, in their opinion, were adequate, and which

they believed had proved so. They had availed themselves of the earliest opportunity of obtaining from Parliament a ratification of what they had done, and up to that time they had taken the whole of the responsibility. These measures had been referred to by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster) in, what he thought, an unfair manner. Although these measures had received cordial support from both sides during the discussions, the right hon. Gentleman seemed to think that they had failed in their object, for he said it was proved that a considerable number of persons would have died had it not been for the action of private charity. The right hon. Gentleman quoted an authority, which he readily admitted was a valuable one, and one that deserved attention. He was glad to say that he had indirectly placed himself in communication with that authority, and he had been able to obtain an investigation on the spot with reference to that to which the right hon. Gentleman had referred. He was surprised to hear him say—although he should not have been surprised had it come from a Member sitting in another part of the House—that the rates in the Unions were low and the workhouses empty, in a tone which he thought was calculated to cast a reflection on Her Majesty's Government.

MR. W. E. FORSTER said, he was quite sure the right hon. Gentleman did not wish to misrepresent what he had stated. He had no wish to cast any reflection on the Government; but only stated that he thought it an alarming state of things, that 70,000 people were kept alive in one county by charitable funds, at the same time that the rates were not increased, and that if those funds were to cease the Government and country would find themselves face to face with a position of great peril.

MR. J. LOWTHER said, that the Government had already done all they had power to do. They had accorded to the Boards of Guardians permission to grant out-door relief, according to the terms of the Bill, and further powers had been placed in the hands of the local authorities—those very authorities who had been constantly, in season and out of season, urging the Government to grant assistance, and who were the persons to whom to apply in cases of need. The workhouses were not full,

according to the statement of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford; but he thought his figures were incorrect. No doubt, they were not full; but out-door relief had been granted in very many instances, so that distress was alleviated in another form. The right hon. Gentleman further said, that the Guardians had the power to grant out-door relief, and yet thousands were dependent for support on private charitable funds, and he considered that a reproach to Her Majesty's Government.

MR. W. E. FORSTER said, he must again ask the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Lowther) not to misrepresent what he had stated. He wished particularly that his remarks should not go forth in the form of a reproach upon the Government. He had not reproached the Government, but had simply stated that the position appeared a dangerous one.

MR. J. LOWTHER said, he was glad the right hon. Gentleman did not attach any blame to Her Majesty's Government. But the position being characterized as dangerous, appeared to cast somewhat of a slur on the Government; and, further, they had been charged, in the course of the debate by some speakers, with having failed in their duty, with being dilatory, and with showing a want of care and sympathy with the people of Ireland in the crisis. At any rate, the right hon. Gentleman had said that if the charitable organizations should fail in funds, there would probably be a good deal of starvation. He must remind the right hon. Gentleman of the fact, that those who administered the charity and those who were able to obtain powers to borrow from the Government were, in the majority of cases, the same people. The local agents of these charitable organizations were, to a very considerable extent, the members of the Boards of Guardians; and, therefore, if there were such a thing as the stopping of the charitable funds, the members of the Boards of Guardians would be the first persons to be aware of the fact. Should such a circumstance arise, it would only be necessary for them to apply to the Local Government Board in order to obtain powers of borrowing money by a loan to be levied on the rates. If the Boards of Guardians were unable to avail themselves of those powers, he need hardly say that the powers of the Local Government Board itself would be

speedily exercised. He had dwelt upon that subject somewhat because an explanation of the position was, he thought, required, and because the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster) had urged that the Government should keep these circumstances well in view. He thought that all present would agree that nothing should be done by the Government to take out of the hands of the Boards of Guardians the responsibility which naturally devolved on them in the present crisis. The Government had been charged upon various occasions with centralizing tendencies, and not recognizing local self-government in Ireland. He had frequently ventured to deny that, for the Government had made it one of their first rules in this matter that they would not interfere with the natural responsibility of the Boards of Guardians, so long as they proved equal to the discharge of their duty. Any other course he (Mr. J. Lowther) considered would be very dangerous and unwise.

MR. GOSCHEN said, that the tone of the right hon. Gentleman who had just sat down was not one calculated to re-assure the House with regard to the anxiety which so many felt upon the matter. The right hon. Gentleman (Mr. J. Lowther) must have noticed the frank tone in which his right hon. Friend (Mr. W. E. Forster) had spoken, and how he carefully abstained from making any charge whatever against the Government in connection with the relief. He had also carefully avoided making the matter a controversial one; but only wished to raise a warning voice, having received certain information from a distressed district. He had, no doubt, considered it his duty to mention the facts he had stated to the House, and to call attention to the matter. He desired to disclaim altogether any charge upon the Government. He thought the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. J. Lowther) had failed to apprehend the point of the remarks of his right hon. Friend (Mr. W. E. Forster). That right hon. Gentleman had pointed to the lowness of the rates and the empty state of the workhouses, and said that, with the exception of the action taken by the Charitable Funds Committees, no action seemed to have been taken in any way in order to raise funds, or any portion of a fund. The fact of destitution was admitted; but the

Guardians seemed to rely exclusively on the charitable funds; and the question to consider was, whether it was right to rely exclusively on such funds? The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland stated that the same persons that had the administration of the charities were members of the Boards of Guardians, and that, therefore, in all districts the same men were acting in a two-fold capacity. For his own part, he considered that rather a misfortune than otherwise.

MR. J. LOWTHER said, that he had stated, not that all the agents of the charitable funds were acting in a two-fold capacity, but only a portion of them.

MR. GOSCHEN said, that if the representatives of the farmers were on these Boards of Guardians, it would be a matter for regret, for the fact of the funds which at present were at their disposal coming to an end would in no way induce them necessarily to assist in their capacities as members of the Boards of Guardians. The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland said that the powers under the Act of Parliament were compulsory, and that the Guardians would be bound to provide relief in certain cases. That might be; but he would beg to remind them that time would very likely be lost, for it was impossible that the relief works could be instituted to supplement the charitable funds at a moment's notice. He thought it would give much greater satisfaction, considering the liability that attached to the Government to relieve in the most distressed districts, that they should be prepared to grant relief in addition to that of the charitable funds, and supplementary to it. That was what his right hon. Friend (Mr. W. E. Forster) had, he believed, pointed out in his argument. The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland, instead of thanking him for his assistance in dealing with the emergency, endeavoured to make this discussion a somewhat personal one, and had charged his right hon. Friend with attaching blame to the Government. He trusted, now that Parliament was dispersing, that the Government would deal with that matter in a better spirit than that which had been shown that night by the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said, he had not had the advan-

tage of hearing the observations of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster). He must say that everyone felt that, interested as the right hon. Gentleman had been in former times, as well as at the present, in the question of the relief of Irish distress, and anxious, as he was, to bring forward a subject of this nature in a spirit well worthy of his position, he would be almost the last to make a Party question of it. He had, no doubt, called attention to what he had considered to be a matter of serious importance. As far as he understood the observations of the right hon. Gentleman, they were something to this effect—that he had received information which led him to conclude that in certain parts of Ireland there was a great deal of distress co-existent with a low state of the rates and empty workhouses, and that, inasmuch as the Guardians did not appear to have made any great exertions in those districts, the people were kept from starvation by private charity. And further, that he considered that a dangerous state of affairs, because, if the resources of private charity came to an end, there was no security against starvation coming upon these people. He understood, also, that the right hon. Gentleman had said, that, if the Government were not careful, they would find themselves face to face with a serious emergency. Altogether, apart from any question of personal or Party attacks, he (the Chancellor of the Exchequer) would wish to remind them that the statement assumed that the Government should be responsible for the Guardians doing their duty. What, he thought ought to be especially aimed at was, that facilities should be given to the Guardians in order that they might do their duty, and not that the whole of the responsibility of administering outdoor relief and obtaining works should be taken out of their hands. It would, he considered, be the greatest misfortune that could befall them during the distress, if the Government were to assume the whole of the responsibility. For, in the first place, the Guardians were now able to act in the useful capacity of agents for the distribution of the charitable funds; and, in the second place, as they were on the spot, they were aware of what was required more than anyone could be who was at a distance. He would beg to remind them that the law had

placed upon the Guardians the duty of making provision for any distress which might arise, and they ought to be held responsible for performing those functions. In such circumstances as at present, it was their duty to do their utmost to relieve the distress, and, owing to the pressure of circumstances, the Government were willing to come forward and assist them. That was what had been done hitherto, and what would be done in future, and he hoped and believed that the Local Government Board in Ireland would keep a proper watch upon what was transpiring, and that the Boards of Guardians would perform the duty which devolved upon them. He would not have it supposed for a moment that the Boards of Guardians were to be relieved of their responsibility.

MR. O'DONNELL said, he was sorry to say that the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer, like that of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland, was, by some unfortunate habitude of the Treasury Bench, a complete evasion of the complaint of the Irish Members. The Government rung the changes on these two points—that the responsibility of administering relief should not be taken out of the hands of the Boards of Guardians, and that they were acting in the capacity of local agents for the private charitable funds, and were, therefore, well acquainted with the needs of the district. Both the right hon. Gentlemen evaded the question at issue with regard to the powers of the Boards of Guardians. Would the Government say that the Guardians were fully armed with the powers necessary to obtain the loans which might be required? The Boards of Guardians were in the extremity of uncertainty with regard to any funds they might require; and when any hon. Gentleman rose in that House to make inquiries respecting them, they were only met by long and involved explanations. Listening to the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland, he was reminded of a certain definition of metaphysics. "What is metaphysics? One man saying to another man what the other man doesn't understand, and the first man doesn't understand himself." It seemed to him, with regard to a large portion of the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland, that it was abso-

lutely impossible to say what he was talking about. He had listened with the greatest attention, and he ventured to express the opinion that there was not a single Irish Member who was able to follow the statements of the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and he believed he was unable to follow them himself. Whole statements were brought forward bristling with the most astounding inaccuracies. For instance, it was said that the Boards of Guardians were identical with the relief committees; but anyone who understood the subject knew that the relief committees were the clergy and priests, and no priests were on the Boards of Guardians. And, further, it was well known that Boards of Guardians were liable to pressure from the landlords and the justices of the peace. Both the latter were selfishly interested in preventing any increase in the rates. Hon. Members on the Government side had told them that recourse could be had to the baronial presentment sessions; but he contended that these relief measures were practically of no use whatever, in consequence of the discouragement given to them by the Government. Of course, they could be treated with indifference; they could be treated with indifference approaching to insolence when they had opposite to them a Government with such a majority, a Government, as the Leader of the Home Rule Party said, who would go to the country with a lie in its right hand. The Irish Members were the victims of a system of a systematic misrepresentation, and of a majority that voted blindly. They were told that it was absurd to talk of the distress bordering on starvation, and whole districts in the extremity of misery; and they were presented with a series of statements of the kind they had heard that night. He never could regard this matter and consider the action of the Government without the utmost indignation; but he begged to say that he felt sure that the future would not be always like the present, and that starvation, need, misery, and wretchedness would, unless he was much mistaken, bring their own rewards, and that Providence would place in their hands the means of exacting a just and complete retribution. He felt bound to protest against the reception which the remarks falling from Irish Members

invariably met with from the Opposition Benches. He hoped the expressions he had used would show the indignation which was felt on account of the action of Her Majesty's Government, and he felt sure that the hon. Members, his Irish Colleagues, would bear him out in those expressions. He was sorry that the Ministers and the Supporters of the Party of Lord Beaconsfield had placed such an ornament in the position of Chief Secretary for Ireland, whose characteristic was a monumental incapacity. The government of Ireland, from the hands in which it was placed, appeared to be now a mere farce. He would say nothing with regard to individuals standing in a private character, but only of that admirable humorous personage whose striking incapacity was but too well proven, who regarded the gravest of questions like a horse boy at the corner of a stable yard, with a wisp of straw in his mouth, did a passer by. That would be a correct picture of their present Chief Secretary for Ireland.

MR. SPEAKER said, that he thought that the hon. Member was making use of language which was not customary towards other hon. Members of the House.

MR. O'DONNELL said, that he was under the impression that the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland had not informed himself upon the grave questions raised by the present state of Ireland, from the manner in which he had discussed the Business before the House; but, as he had said before, all arguments, statements of fact, and indignation, were utterly thrown away upon Her Majesty's Government. They were told that there was no distress in Ireland, and he presumed that it would be contrary to the Rules of the House that he should characterize those statements by the name which they deserved. A stipendiary magistrate in Tipperary had sent in a report, showing the distress existing amongst the families in his district. The attention of the Government was called to it, and they could not deny the statement; but, in spite of that, they came forward, evening after evening, and assured the House that there was no distress calling for urgent measures on the part of Her Majesty's Government. The present Bill only gave facilities of which the Government were taking no advantage.

In their opinion, the presentment sessions had been stopped and hampered by the action of the Government; they knew also that the action of the Boards of Guardians had been stopped and hindered by the uncertainty in which the Government had left them in respect to the matter of loans. Yet the Government made statements to the House to the effect that the Boards of Guardians could relieve the distress existing. The Boards of Guardians were practically the same bodies which had already displayed an ignorance which filled them with grave doubt of their ability to deal with the distress. The Government did not seem to take any interest in the state of affairs in Ireland. It was impossible for the Irish Members to bring any pressure to bear upon the Government, because so long as the Government retained the confidence of the English constituencies, they did not care at all for the opinion of the Irish people.

MR. NEWDEGATE said, that after what had fallen from some of the hon. Members opposite, and especially the hon. Member for Dungarvan, he could not fail to express his hope that the experience dearly bought during the Irish Famine of 1847 and 1848 would not be lost sight of. He was, indeed, confident that that experience had not been wasted upon Her Majesty's Ministers. He had never opposed any measure which appeared to him reasonable for the relief of Irish distress. He rejoiced at the manifestations of benevolence which the various subscriptions for Irish relief afforded, and especially that the benevolence of Her Majesty was so admirably exemplified in Ireland by the exertions of the Duchess of Marlborough. Some hon. Members opposite appeared jealous of the manner in which these proofs of benevolence had been collected and were being applied; but such kindness as that of Her Majesty and of the Duchess of Marlborough would so find its way to the heart of Ireland as no jealousy could prevent. But, after all, this was eleemosynary assistance, and could only be considered as supplemental to the provision against famine out of the rates, and, perhaps, out of the public Revenue, which the Irish people had a right to expect. The question now before the House was the order in which these resources ought to be applied, and they must be chiefly applied through the

Poor Law organization—through the Guardians. In his opinion, these eleemosynary funds ought to be first expended before recourse was had to extraordinary demands upon the ratepayers or upon the public Revenue. He (Mr. Newdegate) remembered how millions had been wasted upon public works in the disastrous years 1847-8-9, and yet thousands perished, and 2,500,000 of the Irish people were forced to emigrate. He (Mr. Newdegate) admitted to the Irish Members opposite that their constituents had been injured—agricultural Ireland had been, and was, injured by the commercial policy of this country. In 1846, he had been deputed to wait upon the late Mr. O'Connell to ascertain the course he intended to adopt with respect to the commercial proposals then submitted to Parliament. Mr. O'Connell kept him waiting nearly three weeks for his answer, and then threw the whole of his influence, and the Irish votes he could command in that House, in favour of the then new commercial policy. Who, then, was responsible for the forced emigration of 2,500,000 of Her Majesty's Irish subjects? Clearly not the side of the House from which he then spoke, who opposed the commercial policy of 1846. He (Mr. Newdegate) did not see what other course Her Majesty's Government could pursue, in prudence, with respect to Irish distress, than that which they had adopted, by relying first upon the discretion of the Boards of Guardians, and upon their own discretion, which seemed to dictate that the eleemosynary assistance, which benevolence had supplied, should be first expended before heavy drafts were made upon the rates or upon the public Revenue. If this were not done, the relief funds which benevolence had provided might be lost or wasted, and not improbably the resources from the rates and public Revenue might also be wasted. The hon. Member for Dungarvan, in his speech, had made an admission which, to his (Mr. Newdegate's) mind, afforded a clue to the opposition of the relief measures now before the House, which might otherwise seem unaccountable. The hon. Member for Dungarvan objected to the employment of the Guardians in the distribution of these relief funds, because the Irish priests were not generally members of the Boards of Guardians. It was idle

to expect that the Irish priests would be employed as the sole or the principal distributors of these relief funds. The Irish priesthood sought to arrogate to themselves the exclusive function of distributing relief. That was a pretension which could never be admitted. He (Mr. Newdegate) did not see what other course Her Majesty's Ministers could in prudence adopt for the relief of this Irish distress than that which they were pursuing.

Mr. FINIGAN said, that he regretted that the hon. Member for Dungarvan (Mr. O'Donnell) should have raised the theological suspicions of the hon. Member for North Warwickshire. In the opinion of the hon. Member, whom he believed to be most thoroughly honest, there was always something mystical in Irish politics. He begged to assure the hon. Member for North Warwickshire that they, in common with him, were very anxious that the priests of Ireland should be kept out of all positions such as Boards of Guardians. They wished, as much as the hon. Member for North Warwickshire did, that the Irish people should be kept free from any of the machinery of ecclesiasticism. He must point out that in this exceptional time in Ireland there was a very extraordinary distress throughout the whole country, and he considered that the Government ought to inform the Boards of Guardians how far they ought to be assisted with loans when private charity should cease. It had already been pointed out in various newspapers throughout England, that the time was now come when it was thought advisable that the private charity should cease, and he should be very glad indeed if his country were not dependent upon private charity. At the same time, he must recognize the painful fact that Ireland was dependent upon the aid which it received from Government, and from the benevolent people of this country and of the whole world. He must also express his opinion that the benevolence of individuals did not take the onus from the Government of informing Irish Boards of Guardians that when eleemosynary aid should cease, the Government would step in and give aid. It was to his mind a very sorry thing that the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland should publicly state that the Government in Ireland

was watching how matters were going with regard to the distress, while the Government was not prepared to assure the Boards of Guardians as to some definite financial policy when private assistance should cease. The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland could not justify the dilatory conduct of the Government by alleging that it had not been forewarned. So early as last Easter the Government was warned of what was impending, and it was only by the force of public opinion that, at the end of last year, the Government was compelled to take some action, and they brought in this very indifferent Bill. At the last moment they had come down, intending to defeat the action which both sides of that House had taken with regard to this measure. It had been laid down and accepted by that House that whatever aid the Government should give to Irish landlords and tenants, it should not, at all events, give an undue advantage to the landlord over his tenant. But, in looking at the Lords' Amendments, he found that one of the Amendments proposed by the noble Lords enabled a landlord to improve his property at the expense of his tenant. After having received the money by which he could improve his property at the expense of the Irish nation and the Empire generally, he was to be at liberty to throw the expense upon his tenants. He protested against that principle, because it was unjust and unfair to the tenant; for it placed him in the hands of his landlord, and formed a very serious and a very dangerous instrument. He hoped that the Government would, before the Bill was passed, offer some just and reasonable solution of this difficulty. He looked to the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland to prevent the Bill passing that House in a form which would make it not a Bill for the relief of distress, but a Bill enabling landlords to improve their holdings at the expense of the country generally and of the tenants in particular.

First two Amendments agreed to.

Next Amendment, in page 5, line 38, to leave out the last paragraph of Clause 9, read a second time.

MAJOR NOLAN said, that he begged to move, "That this House doth disagree with the Lords in the said Amendment."

This was an Amendment brought in by an hon. Member below the Gangway after consultation with the Law Adviser of the Crown. It seemed to him to be a very moderate Amendment, and it was agreed to by the Government, but had now been struck out by the Lords. The sum of £750,000 was placed in the hands of the landlords at a very low rate of interest, and with that provision he had no intention to quarrel. But it was necessary to prevent a landlord, who had obtained money at a low rate of interest from the State, raising the rent of his tenants on account of improvements effected by the money obtained from the State. Accordingly, the right hon. and learned Member for Londonderry County (Mr. Law) had proposed the Amendment in question. When a landlord had raised money in this way, and had afterwards evicted his tenants, the Amendment provided that he should not be allowed to charge the money so obtained against his tenant, and thus make him lose his claim for improvements. The only object of the Amendment was to prevent the money being used as an engine in certain cases to evict a tenant without compensation. No doubt, very few landlords would take that course; but it was necessary to protect the tenant in all cases. As the House of Lords had disagreed with the Amendment, he thought that that House should disagree with their Amendment. There was plenty of time to set the Bill up again, and, at the same time, to pass it during the present Session.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House doth disagree with The Lords in the said Amendment."—*(Major Nolan.)*

MR. COURTNEY said, that he rose for the purpose of supporting the Motion of the hon. and gallant Member for Galway (Major Nolan). He thought that this was an alteration to which the attention of the Government should be closely directed. When the matter came on for discussion in Committee of the Bill, the hon. Member for Limerick County (Mr. Synan) proposed an Amendment; and, it being doubted whether his Amendment would cover the case, another was prepared by the right hon. and learned Member for Londonderry County (Mr. Law). After some conference with the Attorney General for

Ireland, the next day the right hon. and learned Member for Londonderry County proposed a Proviso which was inserted in the Bill, but which the Lords had now struck out. That proposal by the right hon. and learned Member for Londonderry County was distinctly assented to by the Attorney General for Ireland. The justice and reason of the matter were so manifest that he (Mr. Courtney) did not understand on what ground the provision had been eliminated from the measure. He had no wish to go unnecessarily into the matter; but it was clear that the money was provided by the State, and lent at a low rate of interest to the landlord for the purpose of improvements; but the whole cost of the interest of those improvements was thrown on the tenant. Thus the whole burden of the advances was thrown on the tenant, and the landlord was simply an intermediary between the State and the tenant. The Amendment of the right hon. and learned Member for Londonderry County, assented to by the Attorney General for Ireland, protected a tenant in case of eviction under the 11th and 4th sections of the Landlord and Tenant Act. The justice of the Amendment was so obvious that the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland assented to it immediately. As it had now been struck out for some reason or other, he thought it devolved upon Her Majesty's Government to show what objection they had to its being re-introduced.

MR. J. LOWTHER said, that the hon. Member had scarcely given the House a fair description of what occurred with regard to this Amendment. The hon. Member for Limerick County (Mr. Synan) proposed an Amendment which had been adopted and which still stood in the Bill, with the object of preventing a higher rate of interest being charged, in cases where the money had been advanced at a low rate of interest. The right hon. and learned Member for Londonderry County (Mr. Law) then moved an Amendment which was not on the Paper, though it had formed the subject of a conversation with his right hon. and learned Friend the Attorney General for Ireland. The attention of his right hon. and learned Friend was suddenly called to the matter, and he did not have any opportunity of studying it closely, and he informed the right hon. and learned

Major Nolan

Member that he did not see any harm in it, as he understood that it was only an amplification of the Amendment of the hon. Member for Limerick County. When the right hon. and learned Member for Londonderry County proposed the Amendment, he (Mr. J. Lowther) confessed, at the time, that he did not like the words, and suggested that it should be disposed of on Report. The Amendment was, however, pressed; and, the House being in a hurry to get the Bill through Committee, it was adopted without discussion; and when the Bill came on upon Report, the right hon. and learned Member for Londonderry County was not in his place; and he (Mr. J. Lowther) again stated that he saw serious objections to the Amendment. It appeared to him that the Amendment was, in fact, a breach of faith towards those who had already obtained loans; and he saw very great difficulties in the way of its adoption. He, thereupon, intimated to the right hon. and learned Member proposing the Amendment that before the Bill obtained the Royal Assent, he should like to consider the question with him, and make some alterations. In the result, the Lords had now rejected that Amendment; and it seemed to him that the objections to it were very serious. A notice was issued by the Board of Works some time ago stating the terms upon which loans could be applied for. They were advertised to be granted in accordance with the provisions of the Land Improvement Act. Various landowners had applied for a large sum of money on the faith of the terms so offered, and he had no hesitation in saying that, in a great number of cases, if they had had any idea that an application for a loan would place them in the position in which that Amendment would place them, the number of the loans applied for would have been very seriously diminished. The Amendment established the presumption that the improvement made was that of the tenant. It was already provided by the Bill, that a landlord should not charge a tenant a greater rate for the improvements than he himself paid; and he did not think that the full scope of the Amendment was realized by the House. The Bill provided that the tenant should not pay an increase of rent exceeding the yearly rent-charge payable for the loan; that was to say, that the land-

owner was to be prevented from charging the tenant a greater rent for the improvements made than the rate of interest he himself paid. This was only a measure for the relief of distress in Ireland, and it adopted the principle of the Land Improvement Act, whether good or bad, with regard to these loans.

MAJOR NOLAN said, that he thought the right hon. Gentleman was forgetting that at the end of 35 years the tenant would have paid back capital and interest.

MR. J. LOWTHER said, that the Bill followed the principles of the Land Improvement Act. The tenant was only to pay an increased rent during the time that the improvement would last, and then only such an increase as would meet the rate of interest for the advance, together with the annual proportion of re-payment of principal by way of sinking fund. That was the general principle on which he maintained that these loans were granted. The tenant, during every year that he held his farm, obtained his fair share of the benefit derivable from the improvements. While the landlord was not to charge his tenant any more than he himself paid in respect of the improvements, he received an equivalent in the shape of permanent improvement to his land. The Amendment had been adopted without due consideration, and he thought that, as he had expressed doubts at the time it was adopted, and still more so on Report, he could not be considered as having in any way failed to guard the Government against the slightest charge of breach of faith in assenting to its unanimous rejection in "another place," and that, considering the very serious objections which he felt to it, he must resist the Motion of the hon. and gallant Gentleman.

MR. W. E. FORSTER said, he thought they were debating the matter at a great disadvantage in the absence of the Attorney General for Ireland and the right hon. and learned Member for Londonderry County (Mr. Law). He did not think it probable that those two right hon. and learned Gentlemen would agree with the interpretation of the Chief Secretary for Ireland. If, however, the right hon. Gentleman was right in his interpretation of the previous words, there would be no great difficulty in the matter. In ignorance, however, of the legal interpretation, he could not help thinking that he

was wrong. If the words covered all cases, or anything like the majority of cases, in which improvements were made by money borrowed by the landlords, he did not think they need debate the matter farther; but he imagined they would cover but few cases, and that the majority would be covered by the words, "or otherwise." He believed the number of cases in which awards had been made by the Commissioners of Public Works was very small. No doubt, what happened under the present working of the loans to landlords was, that money was borrowed by the landlords generally at $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent interest, and the increase of rent charged to the tenant amounted to 5 per cent. That he believed to be the general working of the law, and it meant that the landlord received $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent for the risk and trouble he had undertaken, an amount which he considered to be fair. Now, however, in order to afford employment for the people, they had, as it were, to tempt work, and they got the landlord to employ people, and effect improvements by means of loans at 1 per cent, for which he would charge 5 per cent—which made a profit to him of 4 per cent. That, in his opinion, was too much. He did not mean to say that it was a sufficient reason for delaying a Bill so necessary to be passed as that before the House; but he thought it would be an advantage, if the measure could be turned out a fair one as between landlord and tenant. A compromise had been suggested by a noble Lord, in "another place," which appeared to him not to be unreasonable—namely—

"That if the increase of rent be above $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, then it should be within the meaning of the 4th section of the Landlord and Tenant (Ireland) Act."

He did not imagine that in the present case a compromise would be acceptable to both sides; but he could not help thinking that the words, "above $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent should be paid by such tenants," should be inserted, and that, he thought, would meet the difficulty of the case.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: I cannot help thinking that we should get into difficulty with the Bill were we to take the step recommended. This matter was decided without very much discussion in the House. It was done very quickly, and seems to have gone up to the other House, and to have been very carefully considered and

altered; and certainly, as far as I can see, the alterations made by the Lords were made on grounds which, as stated by my right hon. Friend near me, are strong; and considerable objection to these words existed. The objection, to my mind, which is open to consideration, is that it would be *ex post facto* legislation, if, after landlords had been induced, in order to effect a great object, to come forward and charge themselves with the re-payment of certain loans, then the terms on which those loans were made should be materially altered by this clause, which could not have been in contemplation by the persons who came forward to borrow the money. Again, it is not the tenants who make the improvements, it is the landlord who borrows the money from the Commissioners of Public Works at the rate of interest of £3 8s. 6d. per cent, which is not considered as a rate of interest only, but as interest and sinking fund. I think that the objection I have mentioned must be a great objection, and that it would be unfair to those who have come forward and taken the risk of charging themselves with the working of the loans, to hear afterwards that the effect of their coming forward was to raise a claim against themselves on the part of the tenants. The landlord may find it impossible to get any return for the money so laid out, and which is laid out not directly for benefiting the land, but for the purpose of giving employment to labour in time of distress. I think, when a landlord has had an opportunity of coming forward to borrow money on easy terms for these purposes, the value of which he may never afterwards see, it is rather hard that it should be held that the improvement was an improvement by the tenant, and that the tenant should have the advantage as against the landlord.

MR. COURTNEY said, with the indulgence of the House, he wished to point out that the Chancellor of the Exchequer's argument of *ex post facto* applied to the whole of the Bill.

Question put.

The House divided:—Ayes 19; Noes 62: Majority 43.—(Div. List, No. 42.)

Amendment agreed to.

The two following Amendments agreed to.

Mr. W. E. Forster

The next Amendment, in page 10, line 8, *disagreed to*, and a Consequential Amendment made to the Bill.

Subsequent Amendment *agreed to*.

SOUTH WESTERN (OF LONDON) DISTRICT POST OFFICE BILL.—[BILL 90.]

(*Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson, Lord John Manners.*)

COMMITTEE.

ORDER DISCHARGED. BILL WITHDRAWN.

Order for Committee read.

SIR HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON moved, that the Order for the second reading of this Bill be discharged. The Bill ought properly to be sent to a Hybrid Committee, and there was no opportunity in that Session for getting that Committee together.

Motion *agreed to*.

Order *discharged*; Bill *withdrawn*.

VALUATION (METROPOLIS) ACT (1869) AMENDMENT BILL.

(*Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.*)

[BILL 98.] THIRD READING.

Order for Third Reading read.

MR. GOSCHEN said, he wished to state that, in the opinion of those who took an interest in the Bill, unless powers were inserted to enforce secrecy, it would prove totally inadequate. He would, therefore, suggest to the hon. Baronet that he might be enabled to introduce an Amendment in "another place," which would, at all events, make the Bill much more workable. The Bill was really to secure secrecy on the part of assessment committees with regard to the value of house property; but, as it now stood, there was no penalty and no means of enforcing this. The large number of members on these assessment committees, also, made it exceedingly difficult to prevent the leaking out of information which ought to be kept confidentially. If the hon. Baronet was unable to introduce an Amendment of the kind suggested, in "another place," he did not think the Bill would give the satisfaction which it was intended to give.

SIR HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON said, the object of the Government was to insure the secrecy which the right hon. Gentleman had pointed to as necessary in the Returns. If the House would read the Bill a third time, then he would inquire into the matter, and would endeavour, supposing he found that the existing Act did not contain the power which the right hon. Gentleman desired for enforcing secrecy upon the members of assessment committees, to insert those powers in "another place."

Bill read the third time, and *passed*.

LIVERPOOL CORPORATION (LOANS, &c.) [COMPOSITION OF STAMP DUTY.]

COMMITTEE.

MATTER *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

MR. MONK said, he could not find that there was any such Bill in the Vote Office; and it was, therefore, impossible that it should be read a second time: He looked for an explanation as to what the Bill was.

THE CHAIRMAN said, he must point out to the hon. Member for Gloucester that he was under a wrong impression. There was a Private Bill before the House authorizing the Corporation of Liverpool to raise a loan, with the consent of the Treasury. The Committee on that Bill would sit to-morrow; but it was necessary before that Committee sat that a Resolution should be passed enabling the Committee to sit.

Resolved, That it is expedient to authorise a charge of seven shillings and sixpence for every full sum of one hundred pounds of Consolidated Stock, and also for every fractional part of one hundred pounds of Consolidated Stock, which may be issued to any holder by the Corporation of Liverpool within seven days after the issuing of such Stock, to be paid to the Commissioners of Inland Revenue in lieu of Stamp Duty on Transfers of Consolidated Stock, Stock Receipts, Coupon Certificates, and Coupons.

Resolution to be reported *To-morrow*, at Two of the clock.

House adjourned at Two o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Friday, 12th March, 1880.

MINUTES.]—SELECT COMMITTEE—*Report*—Office of the Clerk of the Parliaments and Office of the Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod [No. 41].

PUBLIC BILLS—*First Reading*—Consolidated Fund (No. 1)*; East India Loan (East Indian Railway Debentures)* (36); India Stock (Powers of Attorney)* (37); Valuation (Metropolis) Act (1869) Amendment* (38); Blind and Deaf-Mute Children* (39); Municipal Corporations (Property Qualification Abolition)* (40); Army Discipline and Regulation (Annual)*; Common Law Procedure and Judicature Acts Amendment* (44).

Second Reading—Road Debts on Entailed Estates (Scotland)* (29).

Committee—Report—Solicitors Remuneration* (16-42); Limitation of Actions* (17-43); Beer Dealers Retail Licenses (27); Artizans Dwellings Act (1868) Amendment Act (1879) Amendment* (21).

SOUTH AFRICA—ZULULAND—SURRENDER OF ARMS.

OBSERVATIONS. QUESTION.

VISCOUNT SIDMOUTH said, that, owing to an accident a Question which he had placed on the Notice Paper of the previous day, and which he had then postponed, did not appear on the Paper of to-day. He, however, asked the permission of the House to now put it, as he believed his noble Friend the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies had expected it to appear on the Paper, and was prepared to answer it. Their Lordships were aware that one of the main conditions of the settlement of Zululand was that the Chiefs should deliver up the arms, not only of the Native troops, but those also which had been taken out from our troops. He was not able to find by any Reports in the Blue Books that this condition had been observed. He desired to know whether those arms had been, or were in process, of being delivered up? Nothing so much impressed upon the Native African mind the fact of being beaten as the having to deliver up arms. He understood that none of the Martini-Henry rifles, but only old muskets had been given up. The Colony of Natal had a great future before it, if it was left in peace; but it was impossible to regard the state of

the Colony as secure so long as the Zulus were left in possession of arms which they had proved themselves so thoroughly capable of using. Furthermore, he wished to point out that the British authorities at the Cape had not received anything like the number of King's cattle said by Sir Garnet Wolseley to be in possession of Cetewayo during the war and confiscated to us by the terms of the settlement. He had mentioned the name of Mr. John Dunn more particularly because it was understood that that person had considerable influence over the Natives, and that his word was accepted amongst them as law. The Government must look to him to keep to the terms of the Treaty he had entered into, and to use his influence with the Chiefs to do the same. He did not wish to say anything against Mr. John Dunn, who was an able man; but he put the question to their Lordships, whether it was a good thing for Zululand that a person possessing the peculiar views of Mr. Dunn should have been put in the country to represent the White man and Her Majesty's Government? Wherever the influence of the White man was felt it should be accompanied by at least the outward sign of Christianity. It unfortunately happened, however, that Mr. Dunn had matrimonial tendencies which did not find acceptance in this country either in quality or in quantity. It was said that he held with plurality of wives. Mr. Dunn also spoke disrespectfully of the Book on which the religion of Christianity was founded, and he had impeded the introduction of missionaries into Zululand. As for Natal, all that was required for the development of the great natural resources of that Colony was European honesty and European civilization. The noble Viscount concluded by asking the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether any report has been received from the British Resident in Zululand stating the number of guns, Martini-Henry rifles, and other war like stores, as well as of the late King's cattle, that have been delivered up in conformity with the conditions of peace; and whether the new Chiefs of Zululand, including Mr. John Dunn, are and will be held responsible for the fulfilment of those conditions?

EARL GRANVILLE drew attention to the fact that the noble Viscount's

Question not being on the Paper for that evening, it was not in accordance with the Rules of their Lordships' House that the noble Viscount should have put that Question, and in doing so made some interesting observations on an important subject, the introduction of which in that way was likely to lead to a debate.

EARL CADOGAN, in reply, said, that the irregularity to which the noble (Earl Granville) had called attention had originated with him. On the previous evening his noble Friend (Viscount Sidmouth) asked him to inform the Clerk at the Table that he would put his Question that day. He forgot to do so in time to have the Question entered on the Paper. His noble Friend said he had seen no Reports of any surrender of arms in Zululand; but if he would turn to page 258 of the Blue Book he would find this passage in a despatch from Sir Garnet Wolseley—

"Firearms have been surrendered by the people to the number of about 5,000—as large a proportion as I expected with any certainty to obtain. The total number owned before the war by the people is estimated by those best informed in the matter at 8,000. Even if we allow for an under-estimate in this number, we have, I think, when counting the arms that have been lost or destroyed in action and destroyed by our patrols, received fully half the number in the country."

That account was sent on the 30th of September, and received here on the 9th of October. In a despatch received on the 25th of October it was stated that several small quantities of arms had been sent in. The condition to which his noble Friend had referred was in these terms—

"I will not import or allow to be imported into my territory, by any person upon any pretence or for any object whatsoever, any arms or ammunition from any part whatsoever, or any goods or merchandise by the sea coast of Zululand, without the express sanction of the Resident of the division in which my territory is situated; and I will not encourage, or promote, or take part in, or countenance in any way whatsoever, the importation into any part of Zululand of arms or ammunition from any part whatsoever, or of goods or merchandise by the sea coast of Zululand, without such sanction; and I will confiscate and hand over to the Natal Government all arms and ammunition and goods and merchandise so imported into my territory; and I will punish by fine or other sufficient punishment any person guilty of or concerned in such unsanctioned importation, and any person found possessing arms, or ammunition, or goods, or merchandise knowingly obtained thereby."

That condition was signed by all the Chiefs, including John Dunn. The instructions to the British Resident in reference to those matters were—

"In dealing with the Chiefs, you will impress upon them that all the King's cattle now belong to the British Government, and must be handed over to you. Any of these cattle received by you should be sent to the senior Commissariat officer at Maritzburg. All the guns in the hands of the people also belong to the British Government. The Chiefs have promised to surrender these guns, and they must surrender them quickly, if they wish to stand well with the British Government."

There was no Report since the 25th of October from the authorities—from the Lieutenant Governor, or the High Commissioner—but Her Majesty's Government presumed that the operation of restoring the arms was being carried out. The Colonial Office had written to Sir Garnet Wolseley for a Report of all the arms delivered up to the latest period. There was no Report as to the delivering up of cattle.

HIGHWAYS AND LOCOMOTIVES (AMENDMENT) ACT, 1878.

MOTION FOR AN ADDRESS.

EARL DE LA WARR said, he desired to call attention to the operation of the Highways and Locomotives (Amendment) Act, 1878; and asked, If it is the intention of Her Majesty's Government to propose any alteration or amendment of this Act during the present Session? Also, to move for a Return of parishes in each county in England and Wales which are not included in highway districts. The noble Earl said, the object of the Act was, he presumed, to provide a substitute for turnpike trusts. The present law operated in many cases unequally, unfairly, and unjustly, throwing excessive burdens on the ratepayers. In one case he believed that 175 per cent had been added to the rates. As a rule, it had increased the expense of maintaining highways. Some roads, which were now parish roads, ought to be made main roads; but, in many cases, the parishes had no means of bringing the matter before the magistrates. A better system would be to have all highways made main roads, except those which the magistrates decided should remain parochial roads. As to the increase of rates, great relief had been given to the ratepayers in this country of late years in

several ways—by the payment of the salaries of the Poor Law officers, by the assistance given to lunatic asylums, and the large amount paid towards the police rate—and something of a similar kind might be done with regard to the highways—as payment of some portion of the salaries of their officers. He begged to ask the Question which stood on the Paper in his name, modified by substituting for the words “during the present Session,” the words “when Parliament re-assembles.”

Moved, “That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty for Return of parishes in each county in England and Wales which are not included in highway districts.” — (*The Earl De La Warr.*)

VISCOUNT MIDLETON complained that the existing Act had given rise to a very expensive staff of officials, and that their duties were not so efficiently discharged as they had been before. The amount of taxation thrown on parishes which had no turnpike roads was very serious. The practice of spreading the rates over wide districts naturally led to an increase of the rates, because the various localities had no interest in keeping them down. Then the rates fell heaviest on those who used the roads least. A very simple remedy, which would partially meet the case, was to put the main roads at once under the care of the county surveyor, making him responsible for the contract, and reverting, to a certain extent, to the old system with respect to the parish roads.

THE DUKE OF RICHMOND AND GORDON said, that he did not intend to follow the noble Earl into the very large subject of the incidence of local taxation which he had raised. His noble Friend wished to know whether the Government would deal with this question on the re-assembling of Parliament, and he was evidently very sanguine as to the result of the next Election. It was impossible for Her Majesty's Government to say, with anything like certainty, what they would do when that Parliament re-assembled. His noble Friend had objected greatly to the system of highway districts, which, he said, did not lessen the expense of the roads in the country; but he forgot, in connecting that with the Act of 1878, that it was the Act of 1864 which brought that system into operation, and that it was the

Act of a Government with which the present Administration had no connection whatever. Then his noble Friend found fault with the system of “disturbing” the roads in the country; but the Committee which gave its recommendations on that subject was composed of men who were well qualified to advise upon it, and his noble Friend would find it difficult to set up the old system of turnpikes again throughout the country; but the Act of 1878 modified, to a certain extent, the Act of 1864. He did not adopt the view taken by his noble Friend, because he thought that under the present law every parish in the country had an opportunity of bringing its case, as regarded roads, before the magistrates, who were the authorities best able to deal with it. For the magistrates to go over the country declaring what roads ought not to be main roads would be a cumbrous proceeding; and he demurred altogether to the statement of his noble Friend as to the alleged grievances of the parishes under the Act of 1878. It had lessened, and not increased, the expenses of the high roads. In any case, whether as to consolidation or amendment, future legislation must, of course, very much depend upon the fate which the Government would have to meet in the course of the next few weeks. As to the Return moved for by his noble Friend, it could not be compiled in a perfect form till after the 25th of March; and he would, therefore, urge on his noble Friend the advisability of allowing the matter to stand over until Parliament re-assembled.

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY said, he would feel no regret personally if Her Majesty's present Advisers should not have an opportunity, as a Government, of bringing in a Bill when the new Parliament assembled; but, if not, they would at least have the great consolation of not being called upon to try and amend the Highways Act of 1878. That Act was condemned almost unanimously by country gentlemen and farmers, whatever might be their politics, as a supreme and total failure. It was founded on the false principle of compelling people to perform a work for which they were incompetent. He did not think that it would be possible to go on long under the present system, and any Government that should be in Office after the General Election should propose an amendment

Earl De La Warr

of the law. Some sort of uniformity was necessary, and they had gone from bad to worse.

THE EARL OF REDESDALE (CHAIRMAN of COMMITTEES) thought that the highways district system worked well; but it was unjust to throw the maintenance of the main roads upon the districts. The abolition of the turnpike system was a great error; because brewers and tradesmen, who used the roads very much, did not contribute their fair proportion towards the maintenance of the roads. The true system, he believed, was to take tolls. It was a very difficult subject, and required much consideration; but he confessed that the only way to maintain roads was to make those who used them pay for them.

Motion (by leave of the House) *withdrawn*.

ARMY—SHORT SERVICE SYSTEM—REPORT OF THE DEPARTMENTAL COMMITTEE.—QUESTION.

THE EARL OF GALLOWAY asked the Under Secretary of State for War, Whether the Report of the War Office Committee appointed under the presidency of General Lord Airey to inquire into the causes of the "breakdown" of the "Brigade Depot" and "Short Service" systems has yet been received, and when it is proposed to lay that Report upon the Tables of the Houses of Parliament? He did not wish to raise a debate on the subject at present, and therefore confined himself to asking the Question.

VISCOUNT BURY, in reply, said, that in his Question the noble Earl put the word "breakdown" in inverted commas. If the noble Earl was under the impression that the Commission had been appointed to inquire into the "breakdown" of the system, he demurred to that, and must ask the noble Earl for his authority?

THE EARL OF GALLOWAY said, that last Session, during debates in that and the other House of Parliament, the system had been described as one which had broken down. In their Lordships' House a noble Earl (the Earl of Longford) went the length of saying that on going to one end of the House he heard a noble and gallant Officer describe the system as "rotten;" and on passing to the other end of the House he heard

another noble and gallant Officer repeat that it was "rotten."

VISCOUNT BURY said, that he must demur to the form in which the Question had been put. He did not admit that any breakdown had occurred. There were defects in the system which were acknowledged, and Government determined there should be a Commission to inquire into the subject. But, looking at the way in which the Army had lately borne the strain of two wars on a peace establishment, it could not be fairly said that the system had broken down. The Government had determined that there should be a Commission consisting exclusively of military men, to inform them of the view taken by the Army of the question. But this inquiry was for the information of Government in the first instance, and the action to be taken upon it would be taken on the responsibility of Government. It was not, therefore, intended to make the Report public at present. The Report had been presented yesterday, but was not yet in type, and he could not say when it would be laid on the Table of the House.

LORD DORCHESTER said, that, although he objected to the word "breakdown" and the other elaborate terms which had been used, he felt very deeply, as an old soldier, the present state of the British Army. He thought that his noble Friend the Under Secretary had been somewhat flippant in criticizing such an expression. He thought that the word "shortcomings" would have been more appropriate. It had been his intention to ask simply whether the Commission which had been appointed in July last, and which had been talked about and debated upon in "another place," had come to any conclusion? He would ask to be allowed to call to the recollection of their Lordships the sensible speech of a Scotch Duke (the Duke of Buccleuch) last Session upon the subject of Brigade Depôts.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR said, that he must call attention to the fact that the Question had been put and answered, and that there was then no Motion before their Lordships' House.

LORD DORCHESTER asked to be allowed to say that the noble Duke to whom he had referred had spoken of a breakdown in the Brigade Depot system in his part of the world.

THE EARL OF LONGFORD said, it was right for him, as a Member of the Commission, to mention to their Lordships that the inquiries of the Commission, and the conclusions at which they had arrived, were at present a profound secret.

BEER DEALERS RETAIL LICENSES

BILL—(No. 27.)

(*The Earl Stanhope.*)

COMMITTEE.

Order of the Day for the House to be put into Committee, read.

Moved, "That the House do now resolve itself into Committee upon the said Bill."—(*The Earl Stanhope.*)

LORD ABERDARE was understood to ask whether those persons who obtained licences under this Bill would have to apply annually for a renewal?

EARL BEAUCHAMP said, that the Bill was not the Bill of the Government, but had been introduced into the other House of Parliament by an independent Member, and only dealt with a very small matter. The change in the law it proposed was very slight. If any Amendments were made in the Bill there might be no time to obtain the assent of the other House. [The noble Earl was understood to answer the Question of the noble Lord (Lord Aberdare) in the negative.]

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY said, he thought nothing was more absurd than to bring in a little Bill of this kind to make an exception to the general law. It would introduce a complete anomaly into the law; and he was surprised to see their Lordships agreeing to a Bill like this on the eve of an Election, simply because of the advantage it might give the Government in the country. There was a distinct difference between certain licences, and this Bill proposed to break down that distinction. The Bill would do very little good; but he did not think it would do any harm.

EARL STANHOPE remarked, that the noble Earl who last spoke had stigmatized this measure as a trumpety little Bill. Then why should he make such a fuss about it?

LORD DENMAN said, that the front Opposition Bench seemed so sure of obtaining Office, that they might add the control of the Licensing Committee in

the next Parliament. He had seen in the newspaper (*The Echo*) that a noble agitator had had a fall in the Vale of Aylesbury, and so, like about to be victorious Cæsar, had taken possession of England; but very often—

"Minaces

"Turpe solum tetigere mento;"

and it was perfectly ridiculous to suppose that the country would be influenced by the constant and petty criticisms to which, on the part of noble Lords opposite, a Ministry on its trial had been unfairly subjected.

Motion agreed to; House in Committee accordingly.

Bill reported without Amendment; and to be read 3^a on Monday next.

House adjourned at half past Six
o'clock, till To-morrow,
Two o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Friday, 12th March, 1880.

MINUTES.]—SUPPLY—considered in Committee—Resolutions [March 11] reported.

WAYS AND MEANS—considered in Committee—Resolutions [March 11] reported.

PUBLIC BILLS—Ordered—First Reading—Customs and Inland Revenue* [111]; Consolidated Fund (Appropriation)*

Select Committee—Report—Medical Act (1858) Amendment (No. 3)* [No. 121].

Committee—Report—Third Reading—Army Discipline and Regulation (Annual)* [106], and passed.

Reported without Amendment—Medical Act (1858) Amendment (No. 3)* [67]; Medical Act (1858) Amendment (No. 2)* [37]; Medical Act (1858) Amendment* [10]; Medical Appointments Qualifications* [71].

[Bills not further proceeded with.]

Third Reading—Consolidated Fund (No. 1)*; Common Law Procedure and Judicature Acts Amendment* [80], and passed.

The House met at Two of the clock.

QUESTIONS.

EDUCATION DEPARTMENT (IRELAND)

—SALARIES OF INSPECTORS OF
ELEMENTARY EDUCATION.

MAJOR NOLAN asked the Chief Secretary for Ireland, If the Inspectors of

Elementary Education in Ireland are paid at the same rate as the English Inspectors?

MR. J. LOWTHER, in reply, said, that they were not paid the same salaries, and possibly the hon. and gallant Member might be aware that the scale of salaries in the two countries were entirely different, that of Ireland being lower in amount than that of England.

UNIVERSITY EDUCATION (IRELAND) ACT.

MR. P. MARTIN asked the Chief Secretary for Ireland, What steps, if any, have been taken on the part of the Government to give effect to the provisions contained in the Act passed last Session to extend the benefits connected with University Education in Ireland; have the Chancellor, Vice Chancellor, and Senate of the University proposed to be established under the said Act, or any and which of them, been as yet appointed, and would he state the names of those persons so appointed; and, if the appointments to the Senate have not been completed, when does he anticipate the same will be completed and made known?

MR. J. LOWTHER: Sir, steps have been taken on the part of the Government with regard to this matter, and a Charter has been prepared and is nearly ready. The Chancellor and the Members of the Senate have already been named; and if the hon. and learned Gentleman refers to the Act, he will see that, under its provisions, the Vice Chancellor is to be appointed by the Senate itself. As to the names of the Senators, I cannot say when the appointments will be formally announced.

MR. P. MARTIN: Might I ask the right hon. Gentleman, When the Charter and the names will be made known to the public?

MR. J. LOWTHER: Under present circumstances, as a good many of those concerned will be otherwise engaged for a short time henceforward, I cannot say precisely when the information will be given to the public; but it will be soon.

RELIEF OF DISTRESS (IRELAND)— DISTRIBUTION OF SEEDS.

MR. P. MARTIN: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary for Ireland, Has any

power been given to Receivers under the Court of Chancery in Ireland to purchase and distribute, on such terms and in such manner as may be deemed by them advisable, seeds amongst those tenants under the Court who may be now unable to purchase seeds; and, if not, has the Court of Chancery power to imitate in this respect the example shown by many landlords in Ireland?

MR. J. LOWTHER: Sir, I am given to understand there is no power given by law to carry out the proposal which the hon. and learned Gentleman suggests; but he is, no doubt, aware that the supply of seeds in the distressed districts will be made under the Boards of Guardians under the operation of the Statute recently passed by Parliament.

MR. P. MARTIN: Might I ask, Whether, in point of fact, under these circumstances, the right hon. Gentleman will give directions to the Local Government Board to schedule all the Unions in Ireland, and not to restrict the distribution of seeds to those in the present Schedule?

MR. J. LOWTHER: Sir, I fear I would not be keeping faith with Parliament if I scheduled the whole of the Unions in Ireland. The Local Government Board have scheduled, I believe, up to the present time, 117 Unions in Ireland for the purpose of seed supply. Of course, each Union will be considered on its own merits; but the hon. and learned Member will see that I cannot undertake to schedule all of them.

MR. O'CONNOR POWER: Perhaps it would be convenient now for the right hon. Gentleman to answer the Question of which I have given Notice—If it is true that some of the Boards of Guardians in Mayo decline to grant loans of seed oats and seed potatoes to farmers holding land under a £4 population; and, if so, whether he will take steps to carry out the Clause of the Act providing for the issue of such loans to farmers holding land under £4, as well as to those of a higher valuation?

MR. J. LOWTHER: Sir, I have not heard, previous to the Notice given by the hon. Member, that any Report such as that to which he alludes has been presented. I sent a message to Ireland to make inquiries, and I find that no such statement has come before the Local Government Board. I learned the other day that four Boards of Guardians

in Ireland had declined to grant loans, and the Local Government Board addressed to them a positive order, requiring them to put in the provisions of the Seed Act; and the decision at which the Boards fortunately arrived was that they would comply with the Act. As I stated in the House the other day, the duty of all the Boards of Guardians is to confine themselves to carrying out the provisions of the Act. I never heard any idea about drawing a line on account of the amount of the valuation, and, as far as I know, there has been no distinction of the kind drawn.

RELIEF OF DISTRESS (IRELAND) ACT
—RETURN OF LOANS.

MAJOR NOLAN: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary for Ireland, If, before the Dissolution of Parliament, he will lay upon the Table a Return of the amount of money which has been borrowed by each barony in Ireland under the provisions of the Relief Act?

MR. J. LOWTHER: I see, Sir, no objection to issuing the Return asked for.

LOCAL COURTS OF BANKRUPTCY
(IRELAND) BILL.

MR. CALLAN: Sir, in the absence of the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General, I would ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer, What are the intentions of Her Majesty's Government with respect to the Local Courts of Bankruptcy (Ireland) Bill? It has not been circulated as yet, and I see that it is set down for second reading on Monday. I would ask the right hon. Gentleman, If it is the intention of the Government to proceed with the Bill, which last year was so generally opposed, in the absence of the Irish Members, who last year had Amendments on the Paper?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: It is intended to proceed with the Bill, and I suppose there will be a debate on it on Monday; if not, we shall proceed with it on the earliest possible day.

Afterwards,

MR. CALLAN asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether, seeing the three pages of Amendments that were placed on the Paper with regard to the Bill by both Members for the City of

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Dublin, the Member for the City of Limerick, the Member for Kilkenny, and five other Members, he would still persist in forcing on the Bill in their absence?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER, in reply, said, he was afraid he could not give an answer to that Question in the present state of the Order Book.

RELIEF OF DISTRESS (IRELAND)—THE
DUNDALK UNION.

MR. CALLAN asked the Chief Secretary for Ireland, as President of the Local Government Board, Whether the Board of Guardians of the Dundalk Union have made application to have that Union placed on the Schedule and have been refused; and, whether the Local Government Board should not have directed them to place it on the list of Scheduled Unions, in accordance with that demand?

MR. J. LOWTHER, in reply, said, as the hon. Gentleman knew, there were two classes of Schedules—one was for the purpose of granting loans to landlords, and the other for the purpose of enabling loans for seed to be granted. With regard to the first, notice to the Board of Works was required by the 29th February, and it was too late now to take action in that. With respect to the other Schedule, he could not say, at the present moment, whether Dundalk was on the list or not; but he would inquire.

ARMY — THE AUXILIARY FORCES —
EASTER MONDAY VOLUNTEER REVIEW—THE GENERAL ELECTION.

GENERAL SHUTE (for Mr. ASHBURY) asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether, having regard to the expense incurred in Brighton and elsewhere in connection with the contemplated Easter Monday Review, Her Majesty's Government can modify any existing regulations in such way as to allow the proposed review to take place?

COLONEL STANLEY: I regret, Sir, to say I do not see my way to recommend any modification of the existing Regulations. The Regulations provide, as I stated the other day, that no assembly of Volunteers is to take place between the issue of a Writ for the

election of a Member of Parliament and the nomination or election day, in any borough or county where their headquarters may be. Apart from the difficulties existing at Brighton, there would unquestionably be great inconvenience in allowing the Regulations to be rescinded in other places where Volunteers would have to assemble. I am very conscious of, and feel deeply for, the disappointment which may be occasioned to those at Brighton and elsewhere concerned in this Review; and, as I have before said, I hope the authorities will be able, in the event of the Review taking place at Whitsuntide, to afford similar facilities to those which they were prepared to grant at Easter. I do not see my way to recommend what has been proposed by some persons—namely, that a short Act of Parliament should be passed to enable the Review to take place. I do not think it would be right, nor do I think it would be practicable, if it were proposed. I am not prepared to waive the Regulations under Section 16, which I have power to do, or to alter them for this particular occasion; nor do I think it would be right or wise to do so. At the same time, I feel very much for the expense to which persons have been put locally and otherwise. If any facilities can be given by the authorities after Easter, at Whitsuntide, or at some other time, I shall be ready to grant them.

GENERAL SHUTE: As the right hon. and gallant Gentleman has spoken of postponing the Review, will he state what arrangements he would propose to make in the event of its being held at Whitsuntide?

COLONEL STANLEY: Well, Sir, I can only state what my present opinion may be as to arrangements which might be made; but, of course, it must rest with the authorities when the time comes to deal with the question. I would say that if I should have to deal with the matter I should endeavour to see what difficulties there were in the way—what difficulties there would be at Whitsuntide which had not existed at an earlier period; and I should endeavour, by local inquiry or otherwise, to see how those difficulties could be overcome. By local arrangement some compromise might be arrived at if there were difficulties as to cost and so forth; but if that were regarded as impracticable, I should endeavour to

give such facilities as the Government could afford in connection with Brighton or elsewhere, and to make the best arrangements of which the circumstances of the moment would admit.

TREATY OF BERLIN—BULGARIA—THE VARNA RAILWAY COMPANY.

MR. MAC IVER asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, If it is the intention of Her Majesty's Government to interfere, either in conjunction with the other Great Powers, or without such co-operation, to compel the Bulgarian Government to fulfil the conditions of the Treaty of Berlin, signed on the 13th July 1878, so far as it relates to the Varna Railway Company?

MR. BOURKE: Sir, Her Majesty's Government have been in communication with the Government of the Principality upon this question; and Her Majesty's Diplomatic Agent at Bucharest has given, and will continue to give, the utmost assistance in his power to procure a full execution by the Bulgarian Government of the stipulations contained in the Treaty. They trust, and there is every reason to believe, that the Government of the Prince is animated by an earnest desire scrupulously to execute his obligations in that respect.

MERCANTILE MARINE — TRANSMISSION OF SEAMEN'S WAGES — THE "MIDGE" SCHEME.

MR. RITCHIE asked the President of the Board of Trade, Whether, in view of the fact that one of the results of the scheme under the management of the Board of Trade, commonly called the "Midge" Scheme, for the transmission of seamen's wages, is to take out of the east of London considerable sums of money which would otherwise be spent there, while at the same time, from the scheme being confined to London, no money is transmitted to it, he will, if the scheme is to be continued, be prepared to extend it to other Ports of the Kingdom?

VISCOUNT SANDON: Sir, I agree that it would appear hardly reasonable that men who land in London should have facilities for transmitting their wages away from London, under what is known as the "Midge" scheme, whereas those who land at the outports

should have no facilities for transmitting their wages to London, if their homes are here. I am happy to say that this scheme for the transmission of wages, the credit of which is due to the admirable exertions of one of the permanent officers of the Board of Trade, has been eminently successful as regards the Port of London. Inward bound ships, under it, are met by officers connected with the Board of Trade before the crews land; and the seamen are informed that, if they desire it, as soon as they are able to land, arrangements will be made by which railway tickets will be provided for them, so as to enable them at once to go off to their homes without the usual disastrous waiting about the purlieus of the docks, and that their wages will be transmitted to the port where they live. A large number of men have gladly availed themselves of this benefit, and as much as £50,000 has been transmitted in this way during the two years in which this scheme has been in operation. I have been so satisfied with its effect in London, and have found it so acceptable both to ship-owners and men, that during the last few months I have made arrangements, with the cordial co-operation of the local shipowners, by which the same system will be established very shortly at Liverpool, on the Clyde, at Cardiff, at Plymouth, at Bristol, Dundee, Shields, and Swansea. I have good hopes of being able to extend still further a system which I have no hesitation in saying, as I did not originate it, promises to be one of the most hopeful arrangements for improving the condition of British seamen and for meeting the increasing desire of the sailor for a better state of things.

TREATY OF BERLIN—TURKEY AND GREECE—RECTIFICATION OF THE FRONTIER—THE COMMISSION.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether the Commission on the Græco-Turkish frontier question proposed by Her Majesty's Government will be composed of representatives of the Powers Signatories of the Berlin Treaty only; and, whether it is thereby intended to admit Turkey and exclude Greece from representation on that Commission?

Viscount Sandon

MR. BOURKE: Sir, the hon. Baronet is, I am sure, aware that this proposed Commission arises out of the Protocol, and that it will, therefore, be composed of Representatives of the mediatory Powers. I will answer the last part of the Question in the negative.

THE PROPOSED MINISTER OF COMMERCE AND AGRICULTURE.

SIR BALDWIN LEIGHTON asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether the Government is disposed to give effect to the Resolution of the House of last Session in favour of the appointment of a Minister of Commerce and Agriculture, of adequate position and authority, either by a reconstitution of the Board of Trade and a Secretary for Agriculture, or otherwise?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: Mr. Speaker, this is a matter which has, of course, been under the consideration of the Government, and communications have taken place between the Departments principally interested in the subject-matter to which it refers. The difficulties and objections which were stated in debate to the very great change which was insisted upon in the House have rather grown than diminished in the course of examination, and we have not been able to arrive at a satisfactory conclusion with regard to the best steps to be taken; but we do hope to be able to make some improvements in the direction of the Resolution of the House, though without going to the full length of that Resolution. I am not able, at the present moment, to make any further statement.

AFGHANISTAN—THE WAR—EXECUTIONS AT CABUL—GENERAL ROBERTS' REPORT.

MR. E. STANHOPE: Sir, a good many Questions have been asked, especially by the hon. Baronet the Member for Chelsea (Sir Charles W. Dilke), with reference to the Report of General Roberts; and, therefore, I take the earliest opportunity of informing the House that we have now received the Report, and at once lay it on the Table.

THE DESPATCH OF INDIAN TROOPS TO MALTA—THE RETURN OF COST.

MR. COURTNEY (for Mr. MUNDELLA) asked Mr. Chancellor of the Ex-

chequer, If he will state approximately the number of officers, men, horses, and camp-followers brought from India to Malta and Cyprus in the year 1878, together with the cost of transport from and to India; also of the cost of provisions, pay, and allowances; also allowances to soldiers' families in India, and of all other expenses incidental to and consequent upon the bringing of the Indian troops to the Mediterranean, whether defrayed out of Imperial or Indian funds?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: Sir, I have made inquiries upon this subject both at the India Office and at the War Office, and I have taken out the information which I have received from those two Offices and put it together. I find that of European officers there were 128 sent from India to Malta, and 115 sent to Cyprus. Of European troops, there were 336 sent to Malta and 178 to Cyprus. Of Native officers, 126 were sent to Malta and 116 to Cyprus; and of Native troops, 5,540 were sent to Malta and 5,045 to Cyprus. Of horses, there were 1,340 sent to Malta and 730 to Cyprus. Of camp-followers, 2,511 went to Malta and 1,777 to Cyprus. As to the cost of transport from and to India, the cost is stated at £486,439 2s. 7d. That represents the sum that was mentioned by my hon. Friend the Under Secretary of State for India yesterday as £470,000 approximately; but it is stated more precisely at £486,000. That gives the whole of the information of which the India and War Offices are now in possession; but, in addition, there is a third item, which comes from the Navy—I think from the Admiralty. The cost of provisions, pay, and allowances, including allowances to soldiers' families, in India, and all other expenses incidental to and consequent on the bringing of the troops from India, whether defrayed out of Indian or Imperial funds, is £310,230, which makes a total of approximate estimate of £796,670. I have, however, been informed that there has been an estimate received from the Government of India, which shows a probable expenditure of about £50,000 in excess of that total. That is the point on which adjustment is still to be made, and which has rendered it impossible to lay a formal statement on the Table. A telegram has been sent to India for further information on this

point; but no answer has yet been received.

MR. FAWCETT inquired what portion of the expense would be borne by India?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: Although the phrase "whether defrayed out of Indian or Imperial funds" occurs in my answer, the whole of the expense will be borne by England. Whatever may have been paid out of Indian funds will be repayable from the Imperial Exchequer, I apprehend.

PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—THE DISSOLUTION.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER intimated that the most convenient course for taking the discussion on the Budget Resolutions would be on the reading of the Probate Duty Bill, instead of on the second reading of the Budget Bill, as the alteration of the probate duty could not be discussed on the Budget Bill, but the general finance of the Government could be discussed on the Probate Duty Bill. He, therefore, proposed to put the Probate Bill down as the first Order on Monday. It would also be necessary to bring in a Bill to give effect to the proposed extinction of the Debt by altering the amount of £28,000,000 set apart for the payment of the Debt to £28,800,000.

MR. GLADSTONE said, that as he spoke on the subject yesterday, he might, perhaps, be allowed to say now that he entirely agreed with what had fallen from the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

SIR HENRY JAMES wished to know what was to be done with the Corrupt Practices Bill, and suggested that it should not be taken until Monday, as a good many of the legal Members, who were interested in the Bill, had gone away, under the impression that it would be postponed until then.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER consented to defer it until Monday.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL wished to know whether Scotland was to be left out of the Bill or not?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER pointed out that his hon. and learned Friend the Attorney General would move an Amendment to exclude

Scotland from the operation of the clause as to the conveyance of voters.

MR. ONSLOW wished to know whether there was any truth in the report that the House would not sit every day next week, as it would be convenient for hon. Members to know?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER, in reply, said, he should be glad if he knew himself. Of course, the Government would not ask the House to take the trouble of meeting if there was no important Business to go on with. But there was certain Business that must be got through before the Dissolution, and certainly it would be necessary to sit two or three days next week. The Government proposed to take Tuesday and Wednesday for Government Business, and whether they would get through their Business on Thursday or Friday he could not say; but it would be necessary to sit pretty near the end of the week in order to send up the Finance Bills to the Lords in time to enable the other House to discuss them.

ORGANIZATION OF THE ARMY—LORD AIREY'S COMMITTEE.

In reply to General SHUTE,

COLONEL STANLEY said, that the Report of Lord Airey's Committee on the Organization of the Army had been signed within the last few days and presented. It was a very voluminous document, and he was unable to give any pledge at this moment as to when it would be laid upon the Table of the House.

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

SUPPLY—REPORT.

Resolutions [11th March] *reported*.

First Resolution *agreed to*.

Second Resolution read a first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the said Resolution be now read a second time."—(*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.*)

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL asked for an explanation as to the nature of the Treasury Chest in South Africa? It appeared to him to be simply a euphuism for almost unlimited licence to the co-

lonial authorities and commanders to put their hands into the pockets of the British taxpayer. On a former occasion, the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer explained the source from which the military chest in South Africa was replenished. He had said that bills were drawn by the South African authorities on the Treasury in this country at a long date, and that they were paid some months afterwards. He (Sir George Campbell) wished to know if there was no check on the practice, and whether these bills were drawn with some previous authority from Her Majesty's Government? He would like also to know whether this practice was to be confined to the campaign in South Africa, or was to be extended to the other Colonies, so that military authorities might have power to establish a military chest, and supply it by bills drawn upon us? It seemed that this money they were now called on to vote was not expended upon British troops; but that some disturbance having taken place in this Colony, the Governor called on the Colonists to fight their own battle, and, for fighting their own battle, paid them out of the pocket of the British taxpayer. It seemed to him that there was great inconvenience attaching to this practice. The consequence of getting money so easily was that the Colonists would never repay the principal. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had a sanguine hope that they would repay it; but that hope was never likely to be fulfilled.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said, he was perfectly aware of the inconvenience that attached to the system of drawing upon the Treasury Chest; but, at the same time, it was by no means easy to find a remedy. It was absolutely necessary, when an Army was in the field, that there should be means of supplying that Army; and upon the requisition of the general commanding, the officer in charge of the Treasury Chest made advances upon the authority of the commander. That being done, he informed the Government at home, and provision was made in a proper manner by a Vote in Parliament for supplying the sums that had been so drawn. In this case, the draft was made, and the sum advanced on the order, not of any full authority, but of Lord Chelmsford, who was in command. He thought it necessary to make the draft,

The Chancellor of the Exchequer

and the money was paid by the commissariat officer. The Treasury was advised of it in the usual way, and provision had been made for it. The question of the mode in which the money should be supplied, whether it should be kept always on the spot, or whether they should adopt the more convenient practice of drawing bills on home, was a matter of detail. The question of authority for drawing on the Treasury Chest was one of serious character. He quite admitted it was open to considerable abuse, though he was not prepared to say it had been abused. On the other hand, it was a power they could not take away without causing considerable inconvenience in the field. He hoped they might be able to consider the matter, and see whether any better arrangement could be adopted. He would not go into the question of the prospects of re-payment further than to say that he thought the hon. Gentleman opposite (Sir George Campbell) somewhat understated the probability of their receiving substantial re-payment.

GENERAL SIR GEORGE BALFOUR said, it appeared to him they were discussing a question of money expended in war operations in South Africa instead of considering whether the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer had really power to order any expense on account of the war, without the previous sanction of the House of Commons. Although he quite agreed that the Commander-in-Chief must be allowed to exercise his judgment in respect to advancing money out of the Treasury Chest, still the exercise of that judgment ought not to be carried out without some justification with regard to his instructions and powers. It ought to be shown to the House what authority was given to the commanding officer in the field to use the public money, some of which, at least, appeared to have been sanctioned for war purposes beyond the range of the command of Lord Chelmsford. He, therefore, as the question had been raised as to the power of Lord Chelmsford to draw on the Treasury Chest, now raised the question of the right of the Chancellor of the Exchequer to supply any money on account of the war for South Africa.

Question put, and *agreed to*.

Remaining Resolutions *agreed to*.

WAYS AND MEANS—REPORT.

Resolutions [11th March] *reported*.

Resolutions read a first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the said Resolution be now read a second time."—(*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.*)

AFGHANISTAN—THE WAR—EXPENSES OF MILITARY OPERATIONS.

RESOLUTION.

MR. FAWCETT, in rising to call attention to the apportionment of the cost of the War in Afghanistan, and to move—

"That, in view of the declarations which have been officially made that the Afghan War was undertaken in the joint interests of England and India, this House is of opinion that it is unjust to defray out of the Revenues of India the whole of the expenditure incurred in the renewal of hostilities with Afghanistan,"

said, he proposed to do so with the utmost brevity and succinctness. If the premisses laid down by the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer on the previous evening, with respect to the expenses of the war, had been correct, the argument of the right hon. Gentleman would have been unanswerable; and had the Afghan War been truly an Indian war, he (Mr. Fawcett), like the right hon. Gentleman, for the sake of maintaining the financial independence of India, so far from bringing forward his Motion, would have been the first to oppose any proposition of the kind. But, as things were, he would be able to show that the premisses of the right hon. Gentleman were in entire contradiction to what had been said on the subject by the most influential Members of his own Government, and also a flat contradiction of his own action last Session. He would trouble the House with very few quotations; but there were some of such extreme significance that he had a right to call upon the Government for an explanation of them. The four Members of the Government to whose utterances he should refer were the Prime Minister, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the Viceroy of India; and he would be able to show, beyond all possibility of dispute, that, unless their language was to be cast aside as unmeaning, the Afghan War could not

be regarded as a purely Indian affair. Now, the Prime Minister, when asked in the other House, had stated that the war was not an entirely Indian war, but was partly undertaken to maintain the influence and character of England in Europe. The Foreign Secretary had again and again said that, in order to understand the policy of the Government, it was necessary for the country and for Parliament to remember that our proceedings in Afghanistan were a part of the great Eastern Question. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, too, after having emphatically declared the importance of maintaining the financial independence of India, had admitted the responsibility of England for some part of the cost of the war by himself proposing a loan of £2,000,000, free of interest. That fact alone, and its association with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, was a virtual admission of the legal and equitable responsibility of England for a part of the expense; otherwise, why should the loan have ever been advanced at a time when the credit of India was not affected, and when it would have been easy to raise the money in England? Of course, if the House had not admitted the responsibility of this country, it would have been better to allow India to raise the money herself. He came next to the opinion of the Viceroy of India, and laid particular stress on his words, because the noble Lord had since completely shifted his ground. Two years ago, when the Afghan policy of the Government was before the House and the country, with a view to its approval, no opportunity was lost in exhibiting the war as an instance of a great Imperial policy; but now, when the bill had to be paid, the operations in Afghanistan were represented as a mere Frontier war. The Viceroy, soon after his arrival in India, in a memorable speech in defence of the policy of the Government, never used a single expression which could justify the conclusion that the war was simply a Frontier war. His words were—

"I came to India; and just before leaving England for India I had frequent interviews with Lord Salisbury, the then Indian Secretary, and I came out specially instructed to treat the Indian Frontier question as an indivisible part of a great Imperial question, mainly depending for its solution upon the general policy of Her Majesty's Government."

Mr. Fawcett

After that declaration, he (Mr. Fawcett) could not conceive how the Government could ask the House to sanction the proceeding that India should pay the cost of this war on the ground that it was simply an Indian war. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had stated on the previous evening that it would be a misfortune if the Indian Government were allowed to engage in war at the expense of England; and that, no doubt, was true enough. But we should involve India in a similar, or even a worse, misfortune if all the cost of the Afghan campaign were thrown upon her people, for the Government of England were carrying on a war for their own purposes, and to maintain the influence and character of England in Europe, and they threw the expense of that war upon the Indian people, who were not a self-governing people, and who must pay the bill whether it was just or unjust. Regarding the matter merely from the point of view of commercial morality, he would ask hon. Members what would be thought of a man who entrapped his partner in an undertaking of which, while only partly benefiting, he would have to pay the entire cost? The hon. Member for Guildford (Mr. Onslow) seemed, the night before, to be glad that this discussion was about to be raised, because, he said, the Conservative Party would be able to make some political capital out of it, by describing the Liberal Party as wishing to increase the burdens of the English taxpayers by the payment of the whole expenses of the war. Had the hon. Gentleman such a mean and contemptible opinion of the English people as to suppose that any electioneering advantage could be gained by associating the name of his Party with an act as shabby as it was unjust and ungenerous? If so, he wished the hon. Member joy of such an electioneering cry; and if any advantage could be gained by it, he willingly made hon. Gentlemen opposite a present of that advantage. For himself, there was no issue on which he (Mr. Fawcett) would rather fight an election than on the one whether this country should save its pockets at the expense of the poor and helpless people of India on such a pretext; for he could not believe they would gain any popularity by pursuing a course which was unjust, inequitable, and, as he believed he could show, illegal. He

knew perfectly well the two arguments which would be used against him. It would be said that the Government of India wished to pay the bill, and that the financial condition of India had lately much improved. But the Government of India need not, in any unrepresented country, necessarily be the Representative of India. It was true the Viceroy and his Council said that India ought to pay the bill; but then there was this significant fact—that all the unofficial Members of the Council, without a single exception, considered it unjust that India should bear the entire burden. As to the improvement in the financial condition of India, that had nothing to do with the question. Even if her financial condition were worse than it was last year, valuing as he did the financial independence of India, he would say, if India were equitably bound to pay the expenses of the war, she ought not to come to that House for a single shilling. But in what did this improvement consist? Two branches of the Revenue of the most uncertain kind were admitted to have improved. India had obtained £1,900,000 more from the most precarious and fluctuating revenue of opium, and had lost less by £1,000,000 on the exchanges than was expected. Who could predict what the exchanges would be next year? Circumstances might make them more unfavourable. The rate of exchange depended upon the amount of remittances which India had to make to England; £2,000,000 were advanced to India last year; consequently next year, as these £2,000,000 would not be forthcoming, the remittances from India to England would have to be increased to that amount. Therefore, the rate of exchange would be more unfavourable. What was the position of India at present, in consequence of our refusal to make any contribution to the expenses of the Afghan War? Three years ago, certain taxes were imposed on India for a special purpose—that of reducing the Debt incurred on account of famine, and also of enabling public works to be carried out which might be described as famine prevention or relief works. These taxes were burdensome, and the most solemn assurance was given to the Indian people that not a single shilling of them should be devoted to any other purpose but the direct or indirect relief of famine. The

Government, however, had appropriated every penny of those taxes imposed for the relief or prevention of famine to the expenses of the Afghan War. They had not reduced by a single sixpence the debts incurred in the famine years; on the contrary, so great were their financial exigencies, they were obliged—and the Viceroy said it was a most unfortunate necessity—to diminish now by £1,000,000, and next year by £2,000,000, the amount to be spent upon those public works, the great securities against famine. They were devoting those taxes to a war which, they said, had been undertaken to maintain the character of England in Europe. Did they think that right? Why, it was not only unjust and inequitable, but illegal, because, by the Government of India Act of 1858—at least that portion of it which dealt with the employment of Indian troops beyond the Frontier—when Indian troops were so employed not in an Indian war, the expense should be borne by England. What was our policy towards self-governed Colonies and towards India, not self-governed? In the self-governed Colony of the Cape we had a war for which we were not responsible. Who was to pay for it? It would cost the English people something like £5,000,000. In India, there was a war for which the Indian people were not responsible—a war which grew out of our own policy and action in Europe; and we were going to make the Indian people, who were not self-governed and were not represented, pay every sixpence of the cost. That consideration was a most instructive one, because it brought out in striking relief the character and nature of this proposal of the Government. Whatever might be the fate of the appeal he was making to the House—and he did not think there was much chance of its success—he had reason to know that the policy of the Government with respect to the expenses of the Afghan War did not meet with the approval of their independent supporters outside the House. It was a remarkable fact, a fact which did infinite credit to the English Press, that it was those journals which had most consistently supported the foreign policy of the Government that most persistently asserted it was unjust and ungenerous to make India pay the entire cost of the war. They had taken up that line be-

cause they saw clearly that it was absolutely impossible to defend the Afghan policy of the Government and to defend, at the same time, what the Government were doing with regard to its expense. If he were a supporter of the Government and of its Afghan policy, he would be more anxious than he was now to see the Motion he was about to make carried, because he knew no way in which that that policy was more likely to be discredited in the estimation of the English people. He should not, therefore, cease to endeavour to strip the policy of Her Majesty's Government of its Imperial tinsel, and exhibit it in its naked form. "Yes," they said, "we have gone in for a spirited foreign policy; but we are afraid to ask the English people to contribute a single sixpence towards it; all our spirited foreign policy ends in this—that the cost of our policy is not to be borne by England, but be thrown on defenceless India." If he thought about nothing but Party advantage, he would let the Government go on as they were now doing, because nothing would give the Liberal Party a greater advantage. But, in spite of that, he ventured to make one more earnest appeal to the Government, because he knew that any Party advantage which might be gained would be mere dust in the balance compared with the harm certain to be inflicted on our rule in India if we gave the Indian people reason to suppose that we were less solicitous for their welfare because they had no power to influence our decision, or to decide the fate of the Government. He begged, in conclusion, to move the Amendment of which he had given Notice.

MR. RATHBONE said, he rose with great pleasure to second the Resolution of his hon. Friend the Member for Hackney (Mr. Fawcett), and he would do so notwithstanding the threat that had been uttered in the House during the previous evening—namely, that those who voted for it would soon discover that the people of this country would object to being called upon to pay for the Afghan War. He was sorry to think that any such argument had been used, and he would be still more sorry if it was likely to deter anyone from voting for the Resolution now before the House. In his opinion there was no case in which it could be shown that this country had shirked its responsibility, or had shrunk

from any sacrifice which right and justice demanded. Some time since he had been travelling on the Continent, and he there met with a German Professor, who expressed the opinion that if ever England were dragged down from her high position it would be by her Indian Empire, where her responsibilities were so great. That would be the result, unless we treated India fairly and justly; and he (Mr. Rathbone) thought that unless we discharged our responsibilities to India with ability, energy, and self-sacrifice, England would have to suffer. It was because he felt thus strongly on the question that he would not hesitate to vote for the Resolution of his hon. Friend.

Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "in view of the declarations which have been officially made that the Afghan War was undertaken in the joint interests of England and India, this House is of opinion that it is unjust to defray out of the Revenues of India the whole of the expenditure incurred in the renewal of hostilities with Afghanistan,"—(Mr. Fawcett,)—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

MR. ONSLOW said, he entirely differed from the opinion which the hon. Member for Liverpool (Mr. Rathbone) had quoted; they need not be afraid of England being dragged down by India. The Resolution moved by the hon. Member for Hackney (Mr. Fawcett) spoke of "the Afghan War being undertaken in the joint interests of England and India;" but any war undertaken in India was "in the joint interests of England and India." No war undertaken in that country could properly be described as purely an Indian war. The hon. Member for Hackney had drawn a parallel between what he called a co-partnery between A and B, where A spent a great deal of money, and B refused to pay his share. But there was no analogy, for India was a consenting agent, and could not, therefore, repudiate the cost of the war which had taken place. The hon. Gentleman said the Viceroy had changed his opinion. He (Mr. Onslow) would read an extract from an Indian newspaper, in which the Viceroy had expressed his opinion on this subject in the

most statesmanlike manner. Lord Lytton, in replying to a deputation, said—

“Gentlemen, you have reminded me of the declaration made by my Predecessor, that in all financial questions the true interest of the people of India is the only consideration which the Government of India has to regard. I unreservedly approve and adopt that declaration, and whatever may be the further action of the Government of India on this important question, it will certainly be taken with exclusive reference to what we conscientiously conceive to be the highest, the widest, and the most permanent interests of the people of India. You have stated that the Indian Revenue has been burdened with the cost of the Afghan War under a recent Resolution of Parliament. I doubt, gentlemen, if there has ever been in modern times a war in which such brilliant and substantial successes have been achieved with so small a sacrifice of men and money, or with such little assistance from the taxpayers. The community is most directly benefited by its results; but, as a matter of fact, the Government of India, in providing for the cost of this just, unavoidable, and hitherto successful war, has been assisted in a spirit of marked liberality by the Government and Parliament of England. It is my conviction, however—and I state it in the belief that it will not be disputed by the wisest, the most far-seeing, and the most patriotic of Her Majesty’s Indian subjects—that it would be a disgrace and an inglorious confession of weakness on the part of India to acknowledge that she, an Empire covering a continent and possessing a population of 200,000,000 souls, with a Revenue of more than £50,000,000, and an Army of 200,000 soldiers, cannot avenge an insult, assert her dignity, secure her frontiers, or maintain her rights by a war against the barbarous prince of a comparatively small and poor country, adjacent to her own territory, without displacing the financial resources and disturbing the military organization of the whole British Empire.”

The present Government could not be blamed for having neglected Indian affairs; for it was well known that Indian subjects had taken up a great portion of the time of that Parliament, and that was the third time the present discussion had come on. Something had been said of the finances of India; but even after the cost of the war and of the great military lines of railway there was a substantial surplus at the present time. He denied that there had been any reduction in the public works of India; but he believed it would be found that the great military lines of railway would be greatly more beneficial to India, especially in case of famine, than any doubtful irrigation works, which often turned out financial failures. No stronger evidence could be given of the fairness of throwing the expense of the war on India than the testimony of Sir John Strachey and

the Viceroy, who had spoken out in such statesmanlike terms. In the case of the Mutiny, the expense was thrown on the Indian finances, and in the case of the first Afghan War, this country bore no part of the expenses. The Afghan War was not a thing of yesterday. It was long foreseen. The evil day, which had been postponed, had come at last; but it had, both in this country and in India, done a vast amount of good. It had welded the Natives of India more firmly to them than before. It had been the means of dissipating altogether the seditious writing in the Indian newspapers; and from all the accounts he had received he would say there never was a time when the people were more contented with British rule. He had great faith in the future of that great country, which, he trusted, would always be ruled by such statesmen as the present Viceroy.

MR. GLADSTONE: Sir, I shall not detain the House at any great length; but it appears to me the reasonings of the hon. Gentleman who has just sat down (Mr. Onslow) are pervaded by a spirit of optimism which would enable him to express the liveliest satisfaction at, and find proofs of the greatest prosperity in, any serious circumstances, however menacing and however disagreeable. The hon. Member says that the analogy drawn by my hon. Friend the Member for Hackney (Mr. Fawcett) under the figures A and B has no application at all, because he, B, was not a consenting party. That is the spirit of optimism carried to extravagance, when a Gentleman of great intelligence, like the hon. Member, can stand up in this House and say, that in his deliberate judgment, the people of India have consented to the Afghan War through the official documents of the Viceroy of India. If that be so, it appears to me that to make such a statement as that the judgment of the Viceroy is a sufficient expression of that of the people of India, is an expression of paradox really surprising, and such as is rarely heard among us.

MR. ONSLOW: I spoke of the whole Government of India—the supreme Government, not merely of the Viceroy.

MR. GLADSTONE: Well, take the Government of India, though I do not see how the hon. Gentleman mends his case, or how it can matter one fig whether it was the Viceroy alone, or the Viceroy together with various important officers

dependent upon him, and named and appointed by him. But the hon. Gentleman entirely omitted to notice the observation of my hon. Friend the Member for Hackney, that the unofficial Members of the Viceroy's Council, who, in the feeblest possible degree, but yet in some degree, exhibit the representative elements, are not parties consenting to the policy of the Viceroy. The hon. Gentleman said the people of India were most happy and contented—[Mr. ONSLOW: Hear, hear.]-God forbid that I should suppose that the grave errors, and, I am afraid, something worse than errors, of the past two or three years have wiped from the minds of the people of India the recollection of many years—one might almost say generations—of enlightenment and steady effort to promote their happiness and prosperity. But here, again, is it possible to conceive a more strange method of proof than the hon. Gentleman has adopted? He says that the people of India and the Government have been welded more closely together, and he proves it by showing that in the Native Press there has been no expression of dissent. I have no doubt about the integrity of his mind; but he must surely remember that an Act has been passed which places the Native Press as much at the mercy of the Viceroy as the Russian Press is at the mercy of the Czar, and that, under the circumstances, the Native Press becomes useless for the purpose of expressing Native feeling. It surely requires great logical gallantry to find in the silence of the Native Press that they have been welded to us more than ever, and that the great work of securing their happiness and contentment has been promoted by the withdrawal of all the liberties which have been peacefully enjoyed by them under a series of great statesmen. The hon. Gentleman thinks that this attack of ours on an established Mohammedan country is a mode of confirming our Empire over the hearts and affections of the Mohammedans of the East. That is not a subject I wish to pursue in this House; but I am compelled to record my strong dissent from the doctrine of the hon. Member, who here, again, seems to me to enjoy powers of optimism in such a degree that he can transform into arguments, for his own purposes, all the circumstances of the case which ought to suggest conclusions

diametrically the opposite. The hon. Member is greatly satisfied with the exceedingly solid and substantial surplus of the Revenues of the Government of India. We are all greatly pleased that the Government of India should so far be relieved from the presence of its immediate embarrassments; but, without taking a desponding view of the subject, I marvel at the sanguine temperament of a Gentleman who, upon looking at the excess which has come to our Revenue from opium, is able to describe that as solid and substantial. Money is money, and its solidity is the same from whatever source it is derived, and whatever odour it may unfortunately have gathered. But with regard to the future, I say that the whole nature of our opium revenue ought to be a perpetual warning and caution to us. The Indian Revenue never can be solid and substantial so long as it is largely dependent on the opium revenue. Again, the hon. Member omitted to say how much of this solidity and substance was contributed by the Famine Fund of £1,500,000, which was expressly raised for a particular purpose, and now totally diverted from that purpose. Yet, according to the declarations made by the Indian officials themselves when the Famine Fund was raised, it is no part of the surplus at all, except as a matter of account. Unless our eyes deceived us in all we read of those formal official declarations of the highest official authorities in India, this was money which was to be entirely set apart from all ordinary purposes of the Government. It is now absorbed into those ordinary purposes, if, indeed, the extraordinary proposals which the Viceroy, supported by the Government at home, has been engaged in, can be called ordinary proposals. But the whole separate and special character of that fund, which was established by official declarations, repeated and reiterated—I will not say *usque ad nauseum*, but certainly *usque ad satietatem*—is done away with, and the money is absorbed. The provision for Famine is nowhere, but it still figures in the Budget as part of the solid and substantial surplus. In my opinion, my hon. Friend the Member for Hackney has made good his case; but whether he will press his Resolution I do not know. There is a certain amount of unreality about the debates

of men over whom the sword of Damocles is hanging, not only because of the fears they may entertain, but because of their multitudinous engagements. That is one of the great objections, and one of the great inconveniences, of all Dissolutions of Parliament which take place in the middle of the Session, and one of the great objections to the peculiar and unprecedented mode of bringing about a Dissolution which has been adopted on the present occasion. Still, I think it fair and right to say that, in my opinion, my hon. Friend the Member for Hackney has completely made good his case. His case, as I understand it, has not received one shred of answer. Subtle arguments have been used, which go to the extent that every war that is ever made in India must be considered to be in some sense in the interests of India. But that is not the question. A distinction has been drawn historically, and by Members of the present Government, between wars of a local character and wars of an Imperial character; and in the speech of the Prime Minister, the speech of Lord Salisbury, and the speech of the Viceroy of India, and, I think, my hon. Friend said, in a speech by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, this Afghan War has been distinctively recognized as partaking of the character of an Imperial war. I suppose if the Zulu War had been carried on by Indian troops, and at the expense of India, the right hon. Gentleman would have said—"It is all right, because India has an especial interest in all the concerns of the Empire." That distinction has been laid down by Members of Her Majesty's Government. This war has been described as one which possesses features which give to it the character of an Imperial War. Under these circumstances, my hon. Friend says that England, recognizing the fact, and recognizing the total incapacity of the people of India to bear the expense, ought not to charge the expense of the war on India. He has put it moderately, and he says, in effect, we ought not to charge the entire expenses of the war on Indian Revenue. It may be said in answer to that, that we have not charged the entire cost of the war on India, in consequence of the small contribution which was made by the Government last year of £2,000,000 without interest. But I think not merely a small sum like that, but what my right hon. Friend the Chan-

cellor of the Exchequer would call a solid and substantial sum ought to be borne by this country at the very least. Nor can we tell what disastrous pressure this war will put on Indian finance, and you have not the smallest idea where it will end, what its cost will be, or how it will bear. We have a very remarkable declaration about delays in rendering accounts from India, and in consequence of those delays, we do not know what we are spending, and small figures are presented to us while large figures are being prepared for us. The first Afghan War has been referred to as a precedent. I did not suppose anyone knew or had any idea in regard to the first Afghan War what the excuse was, and the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Onslow) seems unfortunate in respect of his speech on that point. He says—"Do not call on the people of England to pay for this war, because they did not pay for the first Afghan War." But you must remember that the first Afghan War, although at first appearance a military success, came to be an object of as universal condemnation, and I might say almost of universal detestation, by the whole of the people of this country, as any war which has at any time stained our hands or the pages of our history. At the time the late Mr. Roebuck endeavoured to persuade the House of Commons to censure the Ministry under whom the war was made after it had gone out of Office; and it was only with the greatest difficulty, and through the wise and patriotic exertions of the late Sir Robert Peel, that that Vote of Censure was kept off. I hope that, whatever the precedents which are quoted in this matter, we shall hear no more of the precedent of the first Afghan War, with regard to which everyone of us must be inclined to say that whatever was done in the war was a very wise and good precedent for not doing the same thing now. With reference to this expenditure, I am surprised to hear, in what purports to be a report of a speech of the Governor General of India, this statement—

"That the Government always distinctly repudiated any notion of treating the proceeds of new taxes as a separate fund."

It is, perhaps, not very convenient that the policy of the Viceroy should be defended and set forth in speeches, and if it was done in that way, I think it

would be convenient that we should have those speeches from authentic quarters. But that speech contains some comments which I wish to allude to. The Viceroy speaks in his speech of an allegation, which he describes as "Mr. Gladstone's last allegation," "that the Indian Government had deliberately falsified its military accounts to conceal the real cause of the Afghan War." To this the Viceroy seems to reply. I will only detain the House with a brief explanation of what really took place. It never was my allegation. I never alleged what is here imputed to me, because I never knew it. What I did was that I simply mentioned it as the allegation of others, as being given to me with such presumption and an appearance of truth that I thought it right to give it public mention in order that, if incorrect, it might be contradicted. I am afraid this is an evidence that the Viceroy in this, as in former instances, has commented on documents which he has never read. I am quite sure he is wholly incapable of deliberate misrepresentation, as a man not only of distinction, but of honour; but I have noticed the most extraordinary discrepancies between official documents which were in our hands, and the Viceroy's account of them; and I have no doubt that this must have been owing to his having received a description of the documents second-hand. The allegation which has been circulated here, and which is a very serious one, is an allegation which can be perfectly well-disposed of. As to the accuracy or inaccuracy of it, the Government will be able to give us the means of fairly judging. It was to the effect that the smallness of the figures of the war charge was owing to the fact that a very large amount of material had been withdrawn from stores in England and India, and had not been replaced. Now, I think that when allegations of this kind are made, it is well that they should be answered. I hope the allegations will be entirely answered, for, when they come into circulation, if not founded on fact, they should be at once contradicted. Therefore, out of respect to the Viceroy, I think it right to make this explanation. As regards the substance of the Motion, I cordially embrace the doctrine of my hon. Friend the Member for Hackney. There is not a constituency in the country before

which I would not be prepared to stand, if it were the poorest and most distressed in the land, if it were composed of a body of men to all of whom every addition of a farthing for taxes was a sensible burden, and before them I would be glad to stand, and plead that when we have made in India a war, which our own Government have described as in part an Imperial war, we ought not for a moment to shrink from the responsibility of assuming at least a portion of the cost of that war, in correspondence with that declaration, instead of making use of the law and argument of force, which is the only law and the only argument which we possess, or apply, to place the whole of this burden on the shoulders of the people of India.

MR. BALFOUR said, that the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Greenwich had touched upon every subject of dispute in that House during the last three years with regard to India, concluding with a reference to a controversy between himself and the Viceroy. If he (Mr. Balfour) rightly understood the complaint of the right hon. Gentleman against the Viceroy, it consisted in this—that the Viceroy had quoted a certain assertion, and described it as "Mr. Gladstone's last allegation." The right hon. Gentleman considered that to be an incorrect statement, because he had not made the allegation himself. But if the Viceroy had said—"The last allegation to which Mr. Gladstone has given wide publicity," he would have been distinctly accurate. The right hon. Gentleman, therefore, in his (Mr. Balfour's) opinion, had not so much to complain of as he seemed to think. The distinction was really nothing like so material as the right hon. Gentleman appeared to suppose; for if the allegation was not his own, he had lent the weight of his great name to give wide currency to it. With regard to the question raised by the hon. Member for Hackney (Mr. Fawcett), he was glad to think that it was not introduced as a Party question. He was always sorry when Indian matters were treated as Party questions; and, of course, it would be particularly disastrous so to treat them on the eve of a General Election. The hon. Member for Hackney had told the House that there was not a constituency in England which would not think that the Govern-

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ment were doing wrong in connection with the Afghan War. His hon. Friend thought, therefore, that the Government, in pursuing their present course, were doing something which would injure them with the country; and he (Mr. Balfour) might, therefore, defend the policy of the Government without laying himself open to being told that whatever he might say was with a view to the forthcoming Election. The hon. Member for Hackney, when he contended that the expense of the Afghan War, being an Imperial matter, ought to be borne in part by England, must be prepared to admit that all expenditure incurred by England for Imperial purposes should also be borne in part by India; and, once that principle accepted, a vast number of difficulties would arise. It would simply be impossible to apportion exactly the liability of the two countries in matters which affected each, such as, for instance, the strengthening of England's military defences. The expense of bringing the Indian troops to Malta, which was to fall upon the English Exchequer, would, according to the hon. Member for Hackney's contention, clearly have been in part a charge upon India. Again, there was the case of the Royal Navy. India, if a separate country, would unquestionably require a Fleet of her own; yet nothing, or very little, was charged to her in respect of the Navy maintained by England. With regard to the Motion of the hon. Member for Hackney, it was beyond dispute that the Afghan War was a war for the purpose of strengthening India apart from her connection with England. It was undertaken immediately in consequence of the insult offered to the Indian Government, and among the more profound causes that led to that war was undoubtedly the necessity of defending the North-West Frontier of India. If India had belonged to an independent Monarch—for instance, had the Great Mogul himself happened to be the Ruler of India—it would have been necessary for him to have entered into that war precisely as the Indian Government had done, and for precisely the same objects. There was no doubt, therefore, that Her Majesty's Government were following out a right line of policy in throwing the whole of the cost upon the Indian finances, and for these reasons he could not but give

the Government in this matter his cordial support.

MR. LAING said, he differed from the hon. Gentleman who had last spoken (Mr. A. J. Balfour), in his speculative assertion that the Great Mogul, if he had been Ruler of India, would have been forced to enter into hostilities in the same way as had been now done. He (Mr. Laing) thought, if an independent Monarch had been concerned in the matter, he would never have gone to war at all. If they were to go into speculation at all, the safest assertion to make would be that the Indian Government would never have undertaken the war of its own motion. But he, for one, would advise hon. Members to abstain from speculation, and to confine the discussion to the real issue, the question of finance, which was the more prosaic issue before them. If the financial condition of India had been flourishing, if the pressure of taxation had been light, and the Revenue ample, this question would not have been seriously raised; but if the finances were in a condition of distress, if the pressure of taxation was heavily felt, and if that pressure and the sense of injustice which it caused constituted a source of danger to their Indian Empire, he thought that both justice and policy might require that England should contribute a considerable portion of the cost of what had been admitted by the Prime Minister to have been in the main a war undertaken for Imperial and European objects. Her Majesty's Government showed, by the tone which they took last year, and their action in advancing a loan of £2,000,000 without interest, and which there was very little expectation would ever be repaid, that they were not indisposed to relieve India of some portion of the cost; and if the proposal to assist India was now resisted by them, it was due very much to the favourable change supposed to have taken place in Indian finances. The hon. Member for Guildford (Mr. Onslow) had said that India could now well afford to pay for the war, and suggested that it would not do to place the cost on the English taxpayers on the eve of a General Election. It became, therefore, of essential moment to investigate how far it was correct that the finances of India were in such a flourishing condition that it was a matter of little moment to the Indian taxpayer whether the whole

burden of this war was thrown upon him or not. In speeches of high authority there had been an attempt to represent the finances of India as being in a flourishing condition, and any assertions to the contrary were described as a device of Party opponents, got up for electioneering purposes. As regarded the improvement in the financial position of India, no one could rejoice more than he. At the same time, it was right to analyze the causes of it, and see if they were of temporary or a permanent nature. By far the largest increase was due to the opium trade, it being said that in the course of three months, the opium revenue had improved by £1,500,000. Now, he had had some experience of this opium revenue, and was responsible for two Budgets at a period of great anxiety. The general feeling then was that the opium traffic was extremely precarious, and he had to investigate the subject. He now ventured to say that there were only two ways in which the great excess could be obtained. Instead of increasing the supply of opium, they might increase their revenue by diminishing the supply, because, in that case, they would have less to pay for the manufacture, and would force up the price in China to a very high rate. It was one of the cardinal points in Indian finance to keep the opium revenue as steady as possible, and by no means, he ventured to say, could a surplus of £2,000,000 be obtained from that source in the course of seven or eight months without trenching on the expectations of the future, and raising a very strong presumption that in the next year, or the year after, there would be a corresponding diminution to an equal, if not to a larger amount. As regarded silver, too, the difference in the rates of exchange, by which it was hoped £1,000,000 would be realized, was a matter of extremely precarious calculation; while it should be borne in mind that during the present year, there had been no exceptionally heavy famine expenditure in India. The sources of improvement in the Revenue, therefore, which he had indicated, although they were productive of many gratifying results, in the present instance were not such as could fairly be relied on to continue. The fact was, that the condition of Indian finance did not really depend so much on those temporary sources of

income as on the mode in which the expenditure on what were known as productive works was dealt with, and seeing the deficit in the case of works of irrigation and the State railways, on which a sum of over £24,000,000 had been expended within the 10 years ending in 1878, it was clear that Budgets were framed by making a charge on capital, which was by no means a difficult operation, and one quite easy to conceal. In fact, the accounts from India were arranged as if for the express purpose of confusion, and he defied anyone who was not an expert, and who did not devote a great deal of time to them, to get at the truth. He wished also to point out that the time at which the Afghan War was commenced was one of great tension and difficulty in Indian finance, which could be restored to a sound footing only by means of fresh taxation, or by having recourse to measures of economy. Into the question of the policy of that war he had no desire to enter. He would merely refer to the fact that, in accordance with the statements of the Prime Minister, it had been undertaken for objects which, in the main, were Imperial and English objects, in the pursuit of which in Europe it had come to pass that Russia had been induced to consider the expediency of seeking to inflict a blow through their possessions in the East. He wanted to know what would be the permanent expenditure entailed on India by any possible policy which the Government might intend to carry out in Afghanistan? He did not doubt for a moment that they had the power to effect the military occupation of a portion of Afghanistan; but what he did doubt was the ability of the people of India to support the taxation that would be necessary to pay for such an occupation. Even if they retired within the Scientific Frontier of the Treaty of Gundamuck, the increase of the expenditure was estimated at £1,000,000 a-year; and if they occupied Candahar and other points, it was impossible to say what the expenditure would be. Those burdens were great, and they had yet to be felt. Such a policy was dangerous to India, and the Hindoos would be forced to the conviction that they were being unfairly treated. Having regard to the conditions of their Indian Empire, was it wise and politic that burdens of this

nature should be put on the backs of the Indian taxpayers, or accumulated by adding year by year to the debt, while nothing at all, or, at all events, only a paltry sum, was paid by England towards defraying the expense of a war by which this country had benefited the most, because, by the confession of the Prime Minister, it had thereby regained its ascendancy in the Councils of Europe? If that policy were persisted in, the day would come when the Government would have to choose between financial bankruptcy in India, or to bring the British taxpayer in some form or other to the rescue. He regarded India as the greatest monument of the best qualities of the English race that had ever been raised, and it was for that reason that he wished to do nothing to endanger it.

MR. MAC IVER wished to congratulate his hon. Friend the Member for Hackney (Mr. Fawcett) upon his speech, which differed entirely from the electioneering character of that which had fallen from other right hon. and hon. Gentlemen opposite. The fact that the House was upon the eve of a General Election had made no difference whatever so far as his hon. Friend (Mr. Fawcett) was concerned. Considering that the present debate was based upon the question as to who should bear the expense of the troubles in Afghanistan, it would have been more satisfactory if the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Greenwich, who so warmly supported the Resolution before the House, had told the House what was the real policy and intention of the Liberal Party if, unfortunately for the country, they got a majority in the new Parliament. It was clear to everyone that, from one point of view, the Afghan War was a local question; and, from another point of view, it was an Imperial question. The Afghan War was not a new trouble, but was one which arose out of an old sore, and should therefore be treated as one which affected that part of the dominions which it really concerned, and which should bear the expense of the trouble. If trouble was to arise nearer home, as, for instance, in the Mediterranean with reference to Malta, Gibraltar, or Cyprus, no one would think of asking India to pay. Nor ought Great Britain now to pay for this Afghan business. The expense should be justly borne, with due reference to the circumstances and the scene of the oc-

currence. In such a case as the present, therefore, he was of opinion that the House should not agree to the Motion of the hon. Member for Hackney. The real question was, whether the British taxpayer should be called upon to bear the expenses of the present war, and he had arrived at the conclusion that he should not.

SIR EDWARD COLEBROOKE said, that when the hon. Member for Hackney (Mr. Fawcett) proposed two years ago that the whole of the burden of the war should be borne by the finances of England, he (Sir Edward Colebrooke) did not follow him in that proposition, but now circumstances were altered. Last year the Government considered the finances of India required some aid, and on that occasion he considered the Government acted most inadequately in merely allowing to India the interest on a small loan of money. This was a question, he thought, which might be considered one in which the English taxpayer might act generously in the matter, as well as justly towards the people of India. It was not a common war, and they did not look merely to the Frontier of India; they looked to something beyond—to Central Asia, and even the Bosphorus itself. The causes which led to the war were of the kind entailed by orders from home, in defiance of the repeated remonstrances of those who were responsible for the Government of India; and, therefore, they were justified in urging the Government to take some step in order to meet the case justly. They might call it the policy of Her Majesty's Government as regarded Afghanistan; but, if so, it had broken down almost from the very beginning, because the affairs of India were continually changing. The former Afghan War cost about £2,000,000 or £3,000,000 a-year; but that was a war undertaken with very much smaller resources than they had at present. The present war was one, as far as they could judge, that required an enormous Force, such a Force that they never had in India before—that was, employed beyond their Frontier; and the cost of that, if it were continued, must amount to from £3,000,000 to £4,000,000 sterling a-year. The cost of maintaining such a Force must be of a very serious character, and if it was carried on for many years the resources of India must

break down in the struggle. Those were grounds, he considered, why some more consideration should be given by the people of England. He would add, further, that the reason why they should make that special proposal was that he, for his part, should regard it with great favour, because, if carried out, it would make the people of England share somewhat in the responsibility, and put the Government of this country under some control or responsibility. They might well weigh the course on which they were engaged, and if they did, they would find that a war of that kind was not a war which they could play upon a chess-board, or have the luxury of reading the reports of the success of their arms; but one in which they were deeply interested, and in which a false step would lead to a heavy burden being thrown upon the country. For these and other reasons he had stated, he should cordially join with the hon. Member for Hackney.

MR. E. STANHOPE said, that the discussion had wandered over a wide field, though the issue to be decided was, in reality, extremely simple. It was, in the first place, ought India justly to bear the whole expense of the renewed hostilities in Afghanistan? and secondly, if so, could she bear it? Now, the hon. Member for Hackney (Mr. Fawcett) seemed to make rather light of the latter point, for he had said that the question of her ability to pay had nothing at all to do with the matter; but that could hardly be contended by hon. Members opposite in face of the fact that on many occasions last year they had said the matter would be decided by her simple inability to contribute, and that that was the very reason why the war should not have been undertaken. The first point, however, was, whether India ought to contribute? That subject, as well as the origin of the war, had been discussed on more than one occasion, and he recollected that the hon. Member for the Elgin Burghs (Mr. Grant Duff), who then held the office which he (Mr. E. Stanhope) now filled, speaking with justly-merited authority, had said that if they were to strike the balance between England and India, he was persuaded that India ought to pay not less, but more than she did at present. The hon. Member for Maidstone (Sir John Lubbock), also, had pointed out that the interest of England was the

preservation of her road to India, and that for that object she had made great sacrifices, in relation to the general Eastern Question, and had, after all, paid more than her fair share of the total cost of what had been undertaken. Again, the hon. Member for Kirkcaldy (Sir George Campbell) had put the matter in an amusing way, in observing that he should prefer the expense to be borne by India rather than Kirkcaldy. On the occasion when those speeches were made, the House had come to the conclusion that the proposals of the Government were satisfactory, and had decided that the contribution made by England was entirely adequate to the purpose. Now, if the former war was really a Frontier war, what was the House to say of the renewed hostilities? What was their origin? They were due simply and solely to the foul massacre of an Envoy sent by the Government of India to reside in a bordering country, just as they sent Representatives to other States upon their Frontier, and on that account alone they were compelled to invade and capture the city of Cabul. It was impossible to deny that those renewed hostilities bore the general character of a Frontier war; indeed, he had always regarded them as differing only in degree from other Frontier wars. In dealing with the expenses of that war the Government had had the advice and opinion of the Viceroy and of the whole Executive Government in India, all of whom had come to the conclusion that though it was right in the first campaign to ask the assistance of England, because of the great difficulty occasioned to Indian finance by the fall in the value of silver, it was unnecessary now for England to contribute a single shilling. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Greenwich, however, pooh-poohed that view of the case, and asked how it could be supposed that the Viceroy and his Council, in any true sense of the word, represented the people of India. He (Mr. E. Stanhope) would ask the House how far that argument should be pressed? He could, however, say that if the Indian people were to be taxed only by their own Representatives and as far as they liked, the probability was that England would have to pay the entire expense of their government. But the right hon. Gentleman did not go

Sir Edward Colebrooke

on to give the House the advantage of his opinion as to the financial principles which should guide them. He deeply regretted that one who, like his right hon. Friend, was thoroughly capable of treating those financial principles, should not have thought it necessary to deal with them on this occasion. But what were those principles? In the first place, that it was eminently desirable in all possible circumstances that India should bear its own burdens, and not add to the burdens of this country. For what did the opposite policy involve? First of all, the position of India would be lessened in the eyes of the world, if it were to be supposed that for a Frontier war against barbarous enemies she was obliged to come to England for assistance. It would also encourage a tendency to engage easily in war, and in connection with those two evils, he could not imagine anything more dangerous, or more likely to make the people of England dissatisfied with their relations with India, than that India was to be a financial burden on this country. His second principle was this—that the main guarantee for economical administration in India was, that India should pay her own way. Once take away that guarantee, once let it be supposed that any enterprize it might suit the Indian Government to undertake, was to be paid for by England, and all security for economy in Indian administration was at an end. Where a single false step might precipitate them into a costly war, nothing was more important than that they should be guided by financial considerations of the strictest order in dealing with India, not allowing any considerations of the willingness of England to make unlimited contributions to Indian wars to influence the public opinion of that country. Nothing could be more dangerous than that India should suppose she had no need to act with prudence, as, whatever she might do, England would pay. Then it only remained to be considered whether India could pay. Hon. and right hon. Gentlemen opposite treated that matter somewhat lightly now, but during the course of the past year there had been statements of a very contrary character. He had heard a great deal about financial confusion; hon. Gentlemen pointed to the loan for which he asked power last year, and said it was financial bankruptcy. And here he was bound to

express surprise that the hon. Member for Hackney, who generally spoke with great fairness in these matters, did not take some opportunity of congratulating the Government on the improved condition of Indian finance.

Mr. FAWCETT said, he was sorry to interrupt the hon. Gentleman; but he wished to say that he distinctly said, and he believed it would be in the recollection of the House, that he much rejoiced to find that the finances of India had improved.

Mr. E. STANHOPE said, that, of course he accepted the hon. Gentleman's statement, though even now he gave no credit to the Government in the matter. His right hon. Friend opposite (Mr. Gladstone), though he seemed very anxious it should not be supposed that he expressed any opinion on the subject, certainly did say in one of his speeches in Scotland, that there was a widespread belief, to which he desired to give circulation, that the charge on account of the Afghan War had not been made known; and he went on to say he believed only a little had been put forward and that a great deal remained behind, and he expressed the general belief that the full cost of the war had not been stated. Now he (Mr. E. Stanhope), on the part of the Government of India, gave that statement an unqualified denial. They had put forward, as honestly as any Government could, every item of expenditure that could possibly be included in this war. He would like to give an instance of the way in which every indirect item had been included in the cost. In the course of the operations on the Frontier a large number of the transport animals had died or been killed. In consequence of that loss the cost of the Post Office all over India had been increased, and that charge had been included in the cost of the war. There was another point upon which the right hon. Member for Greenwich appeared to lay great stress, because he had called attention to it three times—twice in the country, and a third time in the House. The right hon. Gentleman said that the cost of warlike stores had considerably diminished, and he suggested, therefore, that the Government had drawn upon those stores in consequence of the fighting in Afghanistan, and that those stores were now very much reduced. Now, after a careful inquiry, this was the result.

The saving of £290,000 on ordnance supplies was a real one. It was, however, due to the fact that their expenditure under this head in 1877-8 and previous years was unusually large, owing to the large supplies then made of Martini-Henri arms for European troops, Sniders for Native troops, and ordnance for siege batteries. These supplies having been pretty well brought up to their proper complement, the expenditure had naturally fallen off. That was a complete answer to what had been said. He came now to the general position of the finances of India, and would endeavour shortly to show how they stood. In the financial year 1879-80 they expended a good deal, and anticipated a small deficit; but they now expected a small surplus after all the cost of the war and the Frontier railways during the year had been defrayed. Partly by the economies which they had pledged themselves to introduce, and partly by a real improvement in the Revenue, they were better off than they expected during the present year by £4,500,000. Coming now to 1880-1, not only did they expect to be able to pay the whole cost necessary for the war in Afghanistan, and to complete the system of Frontier railways, but to fulfil every single Famine pledge they had ever made, and yet have a surplus of £119,000. More than that, they had not been compelled to make any call whatever upon the power of borrowing they acquired last year, and they had not borrowed a single shilling of the £5,000,000. Further, the Government of India hoped during the current year in India not to have to borrow anything in that country. And now for a word or two upon the details which had been mentioned in the course of the debate. With regard to the exchanges, why should it be assumed, as it had been by the hon. Member for Hackney (Mr. Fawcett), that they were going to be specially unfavourable next year? The indications were in the opposite direction, and there was every reason to suppose that it would not be so. Trade showed a considerable improvement, the harvest had been good, and the indications generally did not justify a despondent view; though, in the face of the enormous amount of remittances they had to make, he would not say positively they should be able to realize all that they expected. But he

firmly believed the estimate was a fair one. He now came to the question of Famine insurance. Some very strong statements had been made on that subject by the hon. Member for Hackney and the right hon. Member for Greenwich. They said very broadly and boldly that the Government of India had broken all their Famine pledges; that they had raised by Famine taxation a certain amount of money; and that they were not going to redeem the pledges they had given. He would like to give a public and emphatic contradiction to that statement. It was a statement which had been made before the facts of the Indian Budget had reached this country; and he complained bitterly that such utterances should be so recklessly made. The hon. Gentleman and the right hon. Gentleman knew very well that the Viceroy of India had given to what had been stated a positive denial. The Viceroy said that every pledge given about Famine was going to be fulfilled in the coming financial year. He ventured to say it was very hard such statements should be made in the face of the distinct contradiction of the Viceroy; and, therefore, he would say in the strongest possible way, that the Government of India declared those statements were unfounded. Again, it had been alleged that they had reduced the public works in India to an undue extent; but why had they been so reduced? Simply, in consequence of the policy first proposed by Her Majesty's Government, urged upon them by the hon. Member for Hackney himself, adopted by a Committee of the House of Commons of which the hon. Gentleman was a distinguished Member, and finally sanctioned by the House in accepting the general proposals of the Government. Therefore, it was, in his opinion, very hard upon the Government, that hon. and right hon. Gentlemen in that House, and the noble Lord opposite in particular (the Marquess of Hartington), who ought to be jealous of maintaining continuous policy in regard to India in finance, should, solely for the purpose of an electioneering address, think it necessary to depart from the policy they adopted last year; and, moreover, that they should be telling the people of this country that these public works in India had been improperly reduced for the purpose of getting a balance over expendi-

ture, when they themselves had approved and ratified what had been done. With regard to opium, they had undoubtedly gained a great deal by the sales last year; but the amount of opium sold did not exceed that which had been advertised for sale 12 months previously, while in the coming year the estimates of the amount to be sold was considerably reduced, and he hoped the estimates would be fully realized. The hon. Member for Orkney (Mr. Laing) called attention to the increase of the Debt of India. He (Mr. E. Stanhope) took some pains to analyze that Debt last year, and the result was that it could be indisputably shown that, although the Debt had increased, the annual charge for that Debt had been annually decreasing. That was a fact which the House ought to bear in mind. It could not be denied by any candid or fair critic of the Indian Government that the statement recently put forth as to the finances of India was satisfactory; and he hoped it would be realized. At the same time, nobody standing in the position which he occupied could hesitate to express the anxiety which every Minister connected with India must feel on one or two points. They must always contemplate the enormous remittances which had to be made from India to England with serious thoughts; but it must not be supposed the Government was not alive to the danger. He was fully sensitive to the dangers which had been successfully surmounted in the past, and which they hoped to avoid in the future. In conclusion, he trusted that the House would reject the proposal of the hon. Member for Hackney, and assent to that of the Government.

MR. FAWCETT said, that considering the question had been decided before, and that there would be an opportunity of deciding the principle involved in a new Parliament, he would not take the responsibility of asking the House to divide; he considered it would be unfair on both sides, and, therefore, when the proper time came he should ask leave to withdraw his Amendment.

MR. W. E. FORSTER said, that, in his opinion, his hon. Friend had taken a wise course in not pressing his Motion, though if he had gone to a division, he (Mr. W. E. Forster) should have felt bound to go with him. He must confess that he heard the exceedingly

able speech of the hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary of State for India with some surprise, as he understood him to give as one reason why India should pay the whole of the expense, that the war, as he described it, was a purely Frontier war. They had heard several different descriptions of that war from various Members of the Government. When speaking of a spirited and Imperial policy, the war was then called an Imperial war; but when it came to the question of payment, it was called a Frontier war. It was quite true that the Empire of India must defend itself. The fact that England was the Ruler of India did not excuse the Indian people from paying for their own defence; but his opinion of the Afghan War was, that if it had not happened to be the case that the Indian people were subjected to the Indian Government, and that that Government chose to maintain a certain European policy, there never would have been the war, and, consequently, it was not at all to their credit to put the whole expense on India. When the Under Secretary of State for India told them of the flourishing condition of India, he would remind him of his own argument, and ask the House to await the arrival of the Budget before coming to any conclusions on the question. Referring to the Indian finances, he said it would be an immense convenience to all who took an interest in the Indian question, if an effort was made to make Indian finances clear to any Englishman who wished to study them. He had personal reason for making that statement. The Viceroy of India thought fit to take notice of some remarks he (Mr. W. E. Forster) had made at Leeds, and commented strongly upon them; but he must state that his attack was not upon the Viceroy, it was upon the increase of taxation in India. His statement was merely an exact statement of the last statistical Return, and when he found out he was misled, he took the earliest opportunity of correcting it. He thought the Government ought to do one of two things—either not to give a comparison in the annual Return, or else give one that was intelligible and correct. He reminded the House that no country had been subjected to more terrible calamities than India; and with that fact staring them in the face, it was difficult to

believe in the prosperity of India, or that she could bear much increased taxation. He only hoped the hon. Gentleman's promises about the Famine Fund would be kept. He believed that the war would add enormously to the permanent burdens of India, and that, as he did not believe the Afghan War was an Indian war, England ought to bear part of the expense.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL said, that, unlike the right hon. Gentleman who had just spoken (Mr. W. E. Forster), he could not have supported the hon. Member for Hackney had he gone to a division. He thought the expense of this war should be borne by India, if India could pay. That, however, was the question. He would not go into the whole question of the policy of the war, but he believed the war had been, and would be, a very expensive one. It seemed to him that the Governor General of India had not contradicted the assertions that had been made respecting the establishment of a Famine Fund; but the fact remained that no Famine Fund had been established, nor anything in the nature of one. What had really happened was that there was a considerable surplus of ordinary Revenue, and that had been absorbed in the Afghan War. Now, he was quite willing that India should bear that expense; but he must remind the House that the serious part of the Afghan War was, that it was not over, and that very heavy burdens were involved in the future, with the contingency that the finances could not always be so prosperous as in the present year. He must express very strongly his feeling that these expenses were likely to be permanent. If they attempted to conquer the whole country, then he was quite sure the expenses in which they would be involved would not be £2,000,000 or £3,000,000 a-year, but would perhaps be £8,000,000 or £10,000,000. In that case a very heavy burden in connection with it might, in the future, fall upon this country; and, notwithstanding his unwillingness to put the burden upon his constituents, he felt that the time might come when it might be necessary that they should put their hands in their pockets to pay for the expenses of that war. He most heartily and sincerely wished they could get out of the country of Afghanistan; and he believed if

they had the courage, or he might call it the audacity, to march out of the country as they did in 1842, and to stay out, it would be even now the best; but he was afraid that Her Majesty's Government had not the courage. One thing was made clear by the events of last year, and that was, if they did not march out they must abandon their half measures, which they called their scientific Frontier; and if they were to stay in the country at all, they must hold the commanding points, and that could not be done at a less cost than £2,000,000 or £3,000,000 a-year or more. He was afraid they were embarking in a course which must cost a large expenditure, which would be far beyond the means of India, and therefore, in future, must fall upon this country.

SIR DAVID WEDDERBURN said, that as he took a certain amount of interest in Indian affairs, he received a number of vernacular newspapers, which he found very interesting reading; and he found the articles in those papers went to show that that Afghan War was not a war for India, but a war in which Great Britain was, doubtless, equally interested, and they held that the expenses should be divided between the two countries. For his part, he thought their claim was a fair one, and if his hon. Friend (Mr. Fawcett) had gone to a division, he should have had pleasure in supporting him. But his hon. Friend, before leaving the House, had requested him to ask leave of the House to withdraw his Motion, for reasons that he had assigned in his place.

MR. SPEAKER pointed out, that the Amendment could not be withdrawn, except on the proposal of the Mover or Secondor in person, or by leave of the House.

Question put, and *agreed to*.

Main Question put.

Resolutions read a second time, and *agreed to*.

PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS AND CORRUPT PRACTICES (No. 2) BILL.

(*Mr. Attorney General, Mr. Solicitor General.*)

[BILL 102.] COMMITTEE.

Order for Committee read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."

Mr. W. E. Forster

MR. HIBBERT appealed to the Chancellor of the Exchequer to withdraw the principal clause legalizing the conveyance of voters in boroughs, on the ground that hon. Members had not had sufficient time to consider its effect. There were no less than 14 Notices of Amendment on the Paper.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER did not think that the suggestion of the hon. Member opposite (Mr. Hibbert) to go on with the Bill, leaving out the clause referred to, would be of much good. Without the clause there would be no necessity of hurrying the passage of the Bill. He understood there was a great desire to have the question settled one way or the other, and that hon. Members preferred to have the measure introduced even now, than to leave the point unsettled. It would be better to withdraw the Bill itself than to adopt the suggestion of the hon. Gentleman. He proposed to fix the Committee on the Bill for Monday, and they would be able in the meantime to see what could be done.

MR. W. E. FORSTER supported the appeal of his hon. Friend (Mr. Hibbert), for there was too much dispute on the matter to settle it off hand.

Question put, and *negatived*.

Committee *deferred* till Monday next.

MOTIONS.

CUSTOMS AND INLAND REVENUE BILL.

On Motion of Mr. RAIKES, Bill to grant certain Duties of Customs and Inland Revenue, and to amend the Laws relating to Inland Revenue, *ordered* (on the first Four Resolutions) to be brought in by Mr. RAIKES, Mr. CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER, and Sir HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 111.]

CONSOLIDATED FUND (APPROPRIATION) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. RAIKES, Bill to apply certain sums out of the Consolidated Fund to the service of the years ending on the thirty-first day of March one thousand eight hundred and seventy-nine, one thousand eight hundred and eighty, and one thousand eight hundred and eighty-one, and to appropriate the Supplies granted in this Session of Parliament, *ordered* (on the Fifth Resolution) to be brought in by Mr. RAIKES, Mr. CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER, and Sir HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time.

ORDER OF THE DAY.

WAYS AND MEANS.

Resolution [11th March] read.

Ordered, That it be an Instruction to the Gentlemen appointed to bring in the said Bill on the Fifth Resolution, That they have power to make provision therein pursuant to the said Resolution.

House adjourned at a quarter
after Six o'clock, till
Monday next.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Saturday, 13th March, 1880.

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILLS—*First Reading*—Facilities for Interment* (45).

Second Reading—East India Loan (East Indian Railway Debentures)* (36); India Stock (Powers of Attorney)* (37); Army Discipline and Regulation (Annual).

Second Reading—Committee *negatived*—*Third Reading*—Consolidated Fund (No. 1)*, and *passed*.

Committee—Report—Road Debts on Entailed Estates (Scotland)* (29).

PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

Ordered, That for the remainder of the Session the Bill or Bills which are entered for consideration on the Minutes of the Day shall have the same precedence which Bills have on Tuesdays and Thursdays.—(*The Viscount Cranbrook*.)

ARMY DISCIPLINE AND REGULATION (ANNUAL) BILL.

(*The Viscount Bury*.)

SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading, read.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2^d."
—(*The Viscount Bury*.)

THE EARL OF LONGFORD said, he regretted that the Bill could not have been brought forward at an earlier period, when it might have undergone discussion, especially as the Bill of last year had been passed after only a few hours' consideration. By certain of its provisions commanding officers were prevented from adopting measures which

they might deem necessary to restrain disorder; and then complaint was very unfairly made if disorderly conduct on the part of the troops occurred. Some fresh regulations were also required in respect to the distribution of prize money and booty; he thought that clauses to amend the defects of the Bill in these particulars might very properly be inserted in a future Bill. The measure would require amendment in the next Parliament.

Motion agreed to : Bill read 2^a accordingly, and committed to a Committee of the Whole House on *Monday* next.

FACILITIES FOR INTERMENT BILL [H.L.]

A Bill to facilitate interments and permit religious services in churches, chapels, and elsewhere, and to allow silent burials with certain exceptions—Was presented by The Lord DENMAN; read 1^a. (No. 45.)

CONSOLIDATED FUND (NO. 1) BILL.

Read 2^a (according to order); Committee *negatived*: Then Standing Orders Nos. XXXVII. and XXXVIII. considered (according to order), and *dispensed with*: Bill read 3^a, and *passed*.

House adjourned at a quarter past Two o'clock, to Monday next, Eleven o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Monday, 15th March, 1880.

MINUTES.]—PRIVATE BILLS—*First Reading*—Rammingen's Naturalization*.

Second Reading—Katz Naturalization*.

PUBLIC BILLS—*Second Reading*—Hypothec Abolition (Scotland) (34).

Committee—*Report*—East India Loan (East Indian Railway Debentures)* (36); India Stock (Powers of Attorney)* (37); Army Discipline and Regulation (Annual)*.

Third Reading—Beer Dealers Retail Licenses* (27); Road Debts on Entailed Estates (Scotland)* (29), and *passed*.

Royal Assent—Consolidated Fund (No. 1) [43 *Vict.* c. 5]; Artizans and Labourers Dwellings Improvement (Scotland) Act (1875) Amendment [43 *Vict.* c. 2]; Indian Salaries and Allowances [43 *Vict.* c. 3]; Relief of Distress (Ireland) [43 *Vict.* c. 4].

The Earl of Longford

ARMY—AUXILIARY FORCES—THE VOLUNTEER REVIEW ON EASTER MONDAY.—STATEMENT.

VISCOUNT BURY said, it might be desirable for him to make a statement about the Volunteer Review. It would be in their Lordships' recollection that there had been some doubts as to the legality of holding the Review during the elections. Several communications had since been received, stating that very great inconvenience would ensue if this view were held to, and the Law Officers of the Crown were consequently appealed to for their opinion. There was no doubt that the Act of 1847 prohibited soldiers from parading during the time of an election; and there also was no doubt that if Regular troops were with the Volunteers at the Review they would come under the Act which he had mentioned. But it was held that if no Regular troops were to parade with the Volunteers, the latter would not come under the operation of the Act. It had been represented to his right hon. and gallant Friend the Secretary of State for War, that the Volunteers had entered into contracts which they would be unable to perform if a Review were not held, and that general inconvenience would be occasioned. It had therefore been decided that a Review should be held, and that the Volunteer Regulations, which alone stood in the way, should be suspended for that purpose. It would not be necessary to bring any Bill into Parliament on the subject.

THE MARQUESS OF LANSDOWNE could not help thinking it was to be regretted that the opinion of Her Majesty's Government on this subject had not been arrived at sooner, because very great disappointment and inconvenience had been occasioned by the delay. Precisely a similar inconvenience arose, he thought, last year in regard to the position of the Army Reserve. He believed the War Office had been advised that the Army Reserve could not legally volunteer in the event of an emergency. Subsequently however, it was found that that step—which would have avoided immense trouble, and particularly the necessity for indiscriminate drafting from other regiments—might have been taken without any departure from the law.

HYPOTHEC ABOLITION (SCOTLAND)
BILL—(No. 34.)*(The Earl of Haddington.)*

SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading, read.

THE EARL OF REDESDALE (CHAIRMAN of COMMITTEES) said, before the noble Earl moved the second reading of the Bill, he wished to point out the objectionable manner in which it had been taken. They had now arrived at a late period of the Session, when the attendance of noble Lords was very much limited, and therefore he hoped the noble Earl would not proceed with the measure. The Bill was one which entirely altered the whole relation between landlord and tenant in Scotland from one end of the country to the other; and he thought that without proper Notice it was not expedient to proceed with such a measure at a time when a great number of noble Lords who were connected with Scotland were not present, and were not likely to be in attendance before the Dissolution. The House sat most unexpectedly on Saturday, and up to then no Notice whatever had been given that it was intended to move the second reading of the Bill that day, so that, practically, a great number of noble Lords had had no Notice of the Bill. He, therefore, appealed to the noble Earl not to proceed with the second reading.

THE DUKE OF RICHMOND AND GORDON most sincerely hoped that the noble Earl would proceed with the Bill, which was one which very much affected all classes in Scotland. It affected the landlords, and it affected the tenant farmers. It was not now for the first time brought under the consideration of Parliament. It had been discussed during several Sessions of Parliament, and several Bills had been brought forward attempting to deal with the subject. He thought there were only two clauses in the Bill. He believed there was more unanimity of feeling in support of the Bill among all the Members of Parliament connected with Scotland than there had been with regard to any other measure for many Sessions past. The Bill had been very much looked for by the people of Scotland, and he should be very sorry if his noble Friend behind

him should agree to the proposal of his noble Friend the Chairman of Committees. He believed the Bill would require some Amendments; but those Amendments could be very easily put into the Bill in Committee.

THE EARL OF HADDINGTON, in moving that the Bill be now read a second time, said, it applied only to agricultural and not to urban populations. It reserved the rights of all existing landlords, and the time fixed for it to come into operation would be Martinmas, 1881. By the 2nd clause the landlord, when six months' rent was due, could take the tenant before the Sheriff, and obtain security for the payment of the rent; and if 12 months' rent was due, he could proceed before the Sheriff to have the tenant removed; but he could not have him removed without having given 14 days' notice of his intention. It had been proposed that the 2nd clause should be amended; but the Amendment would not in any way affect the principle of the Bill, as it applied entirely to procedure. He had briefly stated what were the objects of the Bill; and he hoped their Lordships would give it a second reading without a division, and let it pass to the other House. The subject was one in which he believed the landlords of Scotland to be unanimous; and it was also a Bill in which the tenant farmers in the South of Scotland felt very strongly.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2^a."
—(*The Earl of Haddington.*)

THE EARL OF AIRLIE was bound to say that it was quite clear the opinion of the great majority of the tenant farmers was in favour of the object of the Bill. Every county of Scotland, without distinction of Party, had returned Members who were prepared to abolish the Law of Hypothec. He gave his hearty support to the second reading. It was quite clear, that although the landlord had no right to be placed in a better position, he ought not to be placed in a worse one than other creditors. He should so far be placed in the same position as other creditors, that he would have a summary and quick process in his hand against the tenant. He did not know whether the arrangement proposed in the Bill quite met the case; but that was a matter which he would look for being dealt with rather in Com-

mittee than on the second reading. In the meantime, he concluded by giving the Bill his cordial support.

LORD BLANTYRE said, that England had, for some time past, imitated the laws of Scotland—as in their County Courts copied from the Scotch Sheriff Courts—and England would do well to imitate the Scotch Law of Hypothec; at least, it seemed a much milder law than that of “distress.” The right of hypothec gave the landlord a security over the crop of each year for the rent of that year, and over the cattle and stocking on the farm for the current year’s rent; but crop of 1801, for instance, could not be hypothecated for rent of 1800, because the creditor would, in such case, have no means of redress, and the interest of the landlord would be extended further than the principle on which hypothec was founded would support it. A reasonable security, such as hypothec afforded, was favourable to the improvement of agriculture, and its abolition would be injurious. Leases for 19 years would no longer be the rule—a manure merchant could drop a bad customer; but the engagements of a 19 years’ lease were not so easily put aside, so would not be entered into. Tenants would not have sufficient time allowed them to pay their rents out of produce. The desire for the abolition of hypothec was by no means general; on property he (Lord Blantyre) had in the West of Scotland, his tenants desired to maintain it. He thought that, in the interests of tenants generally in Scotland, the abolition of hypothec would prove a mistake, and, therefore, he objected to the second reading of the Bill.

THE EARL OF ABERDEEN supported the second reading of the Bill. He understood the noble Earl who moved it (the Earl of Haddington) to say that the Bill was regarded with general approval, both amongst the landlords and tenants in the South of Scotland. He (the Earl of Aberdeen) could tell them that it was not regarded in the North of Scotland with less approval than in the South. He was sorry he could not agree with the observations of his noble Friend (Lord Blantyre) regarding the doubtful character of the benefit they were about to confer upon the tenant farmers. It had been often remarked that the Law of Hypothec had done great things in the way of en-

couraging that class which their Lordships were desirous should be encouraged—namely, the small tenant farmers of Scotland; but it was also to be remembered that the law had encouraged many small farmers to undertake farming with insufficient capital. Recent experience had shown abundantly that when this was the case, it caused much difficulty, loss, and damage to the farmers, as well as to the landlords. He was one of those who looked forward with perfect confidence and satisfaction to the passing of this Bill. He knew it was regarded with great approval in the county with which he was more particularly connected.

THE EARL OF GALLOWAY said, he would do nothing in opposition to the Bill; but he entirely agreed with the remark of the noble Earl the Chairman of Committees about bringing it in at the very last moment. It was only this morning that he heard of it. A matter of such importance to the Kingdom of Scotland ought not to be dealt with so hurriedly.

LORD DENMAN entirely disagreed with the Chairman of Committees, and held it was the duty of those who had brought the Bill forward to press it. It was a very important Bill. He had seen a great many tenants in Scotland, and he had found them most anxious to have the present law abolished. He was sorry to see that a very short time was allowed to the tenant in which to pay his rent. Nothing could be more injurious to the tenant than to compel him to sell his stock or grain in a hurried manner. He hoped if the Bill were passed, the landlords would not enforce too severely this power which was coupled with the abolition of hypothec.

LORD ORANMORE AND BROWNE said, that in the part of Scotland in which he was interested a great many of the leases were drawn up in anticipation of the Law of Hypothec being done away with, and a condition of these leases was that the rent should be paid in advance. He was sure this would fall extremely harshly on small tenants, and would put them in a most difficult position. He thought it most undesirable that their Lordships should sanction this Bill. As to the unanimity said to exist in favour of the measure, he had not discovered it. It had excited but little interest, and what interest it had

excited was due to the approaching Dis-solution.

THE EARL OF STAIR said, the measure had been loudly called for in Scotland for many years; and he was in favour of passing it, though it was never pushed through the House with unseemly haste. He congratulated noble Lords opposite on having at last seen the error of their ways by passing a measure they had for years opposed; and he trusted that when the Law of Distress came to be considered, as it must be sooner or later, they would be found equally ready to support its repeal.

LORD THURLOW said, the subject must now be thoroughly understood by every Member of the House. He congratulated the Government on the prospect of this matter being soon settled, and heartily agreed with the suggestion that the Bill should be now read a second time, and that it would be possible satisfactorily to amend it in Committee.

THE EARL OF REDESDALE (CHAIRMAN OF COMMITTEES) said, he was sorry the noble Earl who had taken charge of this Bill did not accede to his request that further time should be allowed for consideration. He thought there was hardly any noble Lord who imagined until he received to-day's Minutes that this proposal would be made. He thought that was not a proper mode in which to bring on a Bill of such importance. A number of noble Lords connected with Scotland had expressed themselves favourable to this Bill; but the approaching Election had, no doubt, something to do with this. The English Peers present should ask themselves whether they were prepared, on so short a notice, to accept so important an alteration of the law relating to landlord and tenant as that proposed to be made in Scotland on the present occasion? The Law of Distress had been alluded to, and there was no doubt the abolition of the Law of Hypothec in Scotland might be urged in favour of the abolition of the Law of Distress in England and Ireland. He expressed, however, no opinion upon the Law of Distress. This question of hypothec was not a question that should be treated in a hurried manner, without allowing full opportunity for consideration.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR said, he was disposed to disagree with his noble

Friend that there was anything in this Bill which required longer time for consideration on the part of their Lordships. The question of the abolition of the Law of Hypothec was one regarding which people might hold diverse views; but whether they wished to abolish it or retain it, the Bill was so simple in its elements that anyone acquainted with the Law of Hypothec would know what it was. The subject of hypothec had been so often debated that he was rather surprised the noble Earl should say it was a new one. There had hardly been a Session for many years in which this matter had not been brought before one of the Houses of Parliament, and very frequently a Bill on the subject had passed at least one of the Houses. During the present Session, at least, a Bill had passed the other House of Parliament, and noble Lords must be perfectly aware of the fact. This was not a Bill introduced into the other House by the Government; but it had their support when introduced, and he thought it was a fact of much weight that the other House had shown itself so much in favour of this Bill. It would be a pity if the circumstances of this Session were to cause them to throw away the progress which was made with the measure. He, therefore, thought there was no ground for what his noble Friend had said—namely, that there was not sufficient time to consider the subject.

EARL GRANVILLE was not sure that the subject was so absolutely simple as to require no thought at all; but the fact that not only the other House of Parliament, but a Royal Commission, had reported in favour of the Bill, should weigh with those of their Lordships who were disposed to oppose the second reading.

On Question, *resolved in the affirmative.*

Bill read 2^a accordingly, and committed to a Committee of the Whole House To-morrow.

ROYAL SCHOOL OF MINES.

MOTION FOR A PAPER.

THE DUKE OF SOMERSET moved for—

“Copy of Correspondence relating to the transfer to South Kensington of the Metallurgical Department which has been conducted in Jermyn Street since the year 1851.”

The noble Duke pointed out that many competent persons entertained the greatest objections to the removal of the Geological Museum and Mining School from Jermyn Street. It would be a great misfortune if they destroyed a Museum which had done good work. He entered into some details, and said that when Parliament re-assembled he should propose the appointment of a Committee on this subject.

THE DUKE OF RICHMOND AND GORDON, in reply, said, he was not prepared to follow the noble Duke into all the details which he had laid before the House; and he thought the noble Duke would have consulted the convenience of their Lordships if he had deferred his speech until the Correspondence was before them. It was not fair to the Department over which he presided to have insinuations made at a time when he could not have an opportunity of replying, as he certainly should reply at the proper time. When that time came, he should be able to defend the action taken by the Department under his direction, as the Museum had been removed in pursuance of the recommendation of the Royal Commission; and he should be much surprised if the judgment formed by the House was not identical with that which he had formed. He need hardly say he had no objection to the production of the Correspondence. The noble Duke spoke of a handsome offer made on this subject, which application, it seemed, had received a curt reply. He should very much like to see the reply.

THE DUKE OF SOMERSET said, he had not got the answer. The Papers to which he had referred were printed most of them in the year 1871.

THE DUKE OF RICHMOND AND GORDON said, he had supposed the noble Duke had seen the reply, or he would not have criticized it. He should like to know the terms in which the application was made.

THE DUKE OF SOMERSET said, he had not got it.

THE DUKE OF RICHMOND AND GORDON: No; because I doubt whether that application ever was made.

THE MARQUESS OF LANSDOWNE said, the Royal Commission was presided over by the Duke of Devonshire, and among its members were Professor Huxley, Professor Henry Smith, Pro-

fessor Stokes, Dr. Sharpey, Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth, and Sir John Lubbock. The Commission found that the following Institutions were under the same roof in Jermyn Street:—The School of Mines, the Geological Survey, the Mining Record Office, and the Museum of Practical Geology. The arrangement was unsatisfactory in many ways. There were no adequate laboratories and no sufficient accommodation. Besides this, no Chair of Mathematics was attached to the School of Mines. The number of officers of the Survey had quintupled within the past 20 years, and the accommodation had not been increased. Persons, papers, and collections were all badly lodged. Under these circumstances, the Commission recommended that the Jermyn Street building be given up to the Museum and to the officers of the Survey; the School of Chemistry, which was in a separate building in Oxford Street, and the School of Mines being transferred to South Kensington, where there was ample space and where new buildings were in progress. These Institutions were not, as the noble Duke (the Duke of Somerset) suggested, to be mingled in scientific chaos with the Schools of Naval Architecture and Marine Engineering. What was proposed by the Commission was that the preliminary courses of mechanical drawing, mathematics, and physical science should be common to both; but the different sections of the School of Science which the Commission desired thus to establish at South Kensington were not to be in any sense confused together. He was anxious to make it clear that the conclusion of the Royal Commission had been arrived at after full deliberation, and not precipitately, or in ignorance of the facts.

THE DUKE OF SOMERSET said, he understood there was no objection to the production of the Papers.

THE DUKE OF RICHMOND AND GORDON said, there was no objection to produce whatever Correspondence there was.

Motion agreed to.

Copy of correspondence relating to the transfer to South Kensington of the Metallurgical Department which has been conducted in Jermyn Street since the year 1861: Ordered to be laid before the House.—(*The Duke of Somerset.*)

The Duke of Somerset

PEACE PRESERVATION (IRELAND) ACT.

MOTION FOR RETURN.

LORD ORANMORE AND BROWNE rose to call the attention of the House to the letter of the Prime Minister to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, dated 8th March 1880; and to inquire of the Prime Minister, Whether he does not consider the monster meetings, which have taken and still continue to take place through many parts of Ireland for the avowed object of inciting tenants not to pay their just debts, but by force or fraud to despoil the landlords of their property, destructive to law and order, and therefore tending to weaken "the strength of the Nation;" and, if so, is it not the duty of an English Minister to take such measures as may be necessary to stay such proceedings? Also, to move for Returns showing what parts of Ireland are proclaimed under the Peace Preservation Act; and also to inquire whether the Peace Preservation Act does not expire on 1st of June, and, if so, whether it is prudent to defer renewing it to a time so short after the assembly of the next Parliament? The noble Lord said, that this was the fourth year in which he had felt it his duty to call the attention of the House to the unfortunate state of Ireland. He should not weary their Lordships with details of crime, but should refer to the replies given in 1878 by the noble and learned Earl on the Woolsack and in 1879 by the Lord President. In 1878 he specially dwelt on the murder of Lord Leitrim and the two men with him. The noble and learned Earl on the Woolsack expressed his sympathy in the universal horror felt at that hideous crime, and stated that special measures had been taken to detect its perpetrators. Those measures entirely failed. No one had even been brought to trial for that crime. The noble and learned Earl then referred to several murders and other outrages "as a state of things that caused very great anxiety and pain to the Government;" and then, further, he said—

"These are not merely isolated acts, having their origin in purely local circumstances; but they are more or less connected with a larger organization—an organization having the double effect of leading to the commission of these crimes, and bringing to bear in the district where they are committed a system of terrorism

and alarm which prevents any evidence being given against the authors of the crimes."—
[3 *Hansard*, ccxxxix. 1209.]

And, further on, he continued—

"I believe that in the particular locality to which reference has been made the state of things is serious, and it certainly is a subject of very great anxiety to the Government. I am prepared to say on the part of the Government that, watching narrowly what is occurring, and deeply convinced that it is their duty to provide for the protection of life when in danger, whenever they are satisfied it is their duty to apply to Parliament for further powers on the subject, they will be prepared to do so."—
[*Ibid.*]

He would ask the attention of the House to this acknowledgment of dangerous, systematic, and increasing crime and its consequences, and of the apprehension of the Government that it would feel called on to demand greater powers than they possessed for its suppression. Last Session he again brought the matter before their Lordships' House, and the Lord President concluded his reply thus—

"Her Majesty's Government are determined that this illegal combination shall be grappled with at the outset in order to prevent it from spreading. They are determined to use every means that the law gives them to cope with the evil. They believe that the existing powers they have are sufficient, and that they will prove ample for the purpose. But should it unhappily turn out that the powers they possess are not sufficient, they will then lose no time in considering whether it is necessary to ask for further powers to enable them to do that which they certainly intend to do—namely, to restore order and maintain peace in these districts."—
[3 *Hansard*, ccxlviii. 1698.]

With these admissions before the House, it was unnecessary for him even to recall the details of serious crime undetected and, consequently, unpunished. Yet Her Majesty's Government had not applied for extra powers. He would, however, refer to a statement as to the present state of Ireland made by the Chief Secretary for Ireland, than whom there could be no better authority. The Chief Secretary said—

"By the Land Act of 1870 a considerable portion of the property was transferred, without compensation, from one class and given to another. The effect of transfer and confiscation has been this—it has whetted the appetites of those who have received the instalment, and they are now calling for the rest." . . .

The right hon. Gentleman went on to say—

"And now we find bands of armed men wandering over Ireland in the dark hours of the night, threatening, and not only threatening, but, I regret to say, perpetrating outrages on those persons who are guilty of the heinous offence of complying with their honourable obligation of paying rent. We are informed that the land is for the people, the people, I presume, being the murderers and assassins."

He thought their Lordships and Her Majesty's Government would hardly require any further evidence than those acknowledgments by different Members of Her Majesty's Government (in 1878-79-80) of the deplorable and dangerous state of Ireland. Was he not, therefore, justified in saying that the efforts of Her Majesty's Government had signally failed even to diminish crime, and in saying that they ought to have asked Parliament to give them stronger powers. In connection with the subject, he would ask their Lordships' attention to the following extract from the Charge of Baron Fitzgerald delivered at the Mayo Assizes, in which that learned Judge said:—

"The number of distinct cases in which bills^s were likely to be presented to them were 31. Those, together with five bills that had been found on a previous occasion, would constitute the criminal business of the Assizes. There was amongst those one case of homicide; but, as his Lordship understood, the bill would be presented to them in the form of manslaughter. As they were well aware, their inquiry would be as to whether the death of the deceased was caused by the criminal act of the accused, and he need not remind them that every act in which life was lost was *prima facie* criminal, and it rested with the accused, if possible, to rebut this *prima facie* presumption. He regretted to say that both the calendar and the usual police return of the more considerable of the offences committed in the county since the last Assizes showed an existence of a state of things calculated to excite a feeling of very deep uneasiness. Both the documents to which he referred showed the prevalence in their county of what was commonly called agrarian crime in nearly all its forms. There seemed to be sufficient evidence of an extensive combination for the purpose of forcibly interfering to prevent the payment of rent by tenants to their landlords. This combination had manifested its existence in various ways—partly by the posting of threatening notices throughout the county prohibiting the payment of rent or demanding such reduction as those persons judge themselves entitled to, by threats of violence to those who demand the payment of rent, and to those whom it was apprehended are willing to pay it, and in some instances by actual violence to those who had discharged their legal obligation by the payment of their rent. The feeling had further displayed itself by threats against the ministers of the law, whose duty it was to serve civil bill processes for the enforcement of this obligation, by

the use of violence to those who had discharged that duty, and in many instances by the attempt to resist the actual discharge of that duty by the violence of riotous mobs in the face of an armed force of Constabulary assembled to protect the ministers of the law. This last phase of agrarian crime was specially dangerous, for it was plain that on such occasions a trivial circumstance might at any moment lead to a scene of bloodshed, which no man in the community could contemplate with calmness. It was manifest that this condition of things, unless vigorously suppressed, will proceed to something very lamentable indeed. There could be no doubt that the country was passing through a season of great difficulty and hardship. The pressure was felt by every class in the community. The distress had weighed very heavily indeed upon the tenant farmers, and still more heavily on those who were entirely dependent upon their labour for their support. But there was no sign of any general indifference on the part of the landlords to the special obligations to their tenantry which this hard season of distress imposed. Efforts had been made in every direction to mitigate this distress. The Government had provided further facilities for employment. Charitable contributions had been received from all parts of the United Kingdom, especially from England, from the Colonies, and even from foreign countries, for the relief of their suffering poor. There were, however, in this country, as there are everywhere, persons by whom any general distress in the country is regarded as an occasion for endeavouring to weaken and defeat the law. Those men were actuated either by the hope of personal aggrandisement or by the craving after notoriety. They existed in every country; but the peculiarity in this unfortunate country appeared to be the facility with which the people were moved by inflammatory addresses to acts of lawless violence—the readiness with which they became the dupes of reckless and designing men. He wished that the voice of a very old man might be heard amongst them to warn those poor deluded people of the ruin they would incur by obedience to those dangerous counsels. He was sure the Grand Jury would use all their influence for the maintenance of the law and the preservation of the people from crime. He was there to-day to assist them, as far as possible, in the discharge of their duty. It was the duty of the Grand Jury, and it would be the duty of the Petty Juries, to repress, so far as the present condition of the law enabled them, those acts of lawless violence in their districts. He knew they would do their duty, and he hoped the result would be the suppression of those lawless and dangerous combinations, for which no man of sense could foresee anything but disastrous failure, whose results to the unfortunate dupes no man of humanity would contemplate without feelings of pain."

He would now make a few comments on the Manifesto of the noble Earl the Prime Minister of the 8th instant. The noble Earl said—

"The arts of agitators, which represented that England, instead of being the generous and sympathizing friend, was indifferent to the

dangers and sufferings of Ireland, have been defeated by the measures, at once liberal and prudent, which Parliament has almost unanimously sanctioned."

He did not think that those measures were liberal or prudent. They were amply liberal in one sense—they placed fresh and heavy burdens on the already impoverished districts; liberal in the sense of giving away liberally the money of others; but, assuredly, they had not defeated the arts of the agitators. He would refer to one of the resolutions adopted at a monster meeting at a village called Ballindine, to the effect that from the contemptuous manner in which Irish demands were treated in the House of Commons, nothing short of self-government would secure to Ireland peace and prosperity. This was moved by the Rev. J. Killen, a Roman Catholic priest, and the Rev. Canon Burke was chairman. How, then, had the action of Government defeated agitators? The noble Duke the Lord President of the Council asserted last year that the Roman Catholic clergy were hostile to the Fenian and land conspiracy. They were so, in so far as Fenianism was antagonistic to priestcraft; but their platform for long had been the infallibility of priestly rule, hostility to the British connection, and that the land belonged to the people. How that theory acted was well exemplified in the life of a priest as lately given in *The Pall Mall Gazette*. Their pay and their power would cease if they went back from their own teaching. The noble Earl the Prime Minister in his Manifesto referred to what had been done for Ireland by the passing of measures relating to Intermediate and University Education, and he evidently expected great effects from them. He (Lord Oranmore and Browne) did not believe it would gain one Roman Catholic vote to the Conservative Government. It was to be feared this was not the right way of dealing with Ireland. If the Government determined to endow the Roman Catholic Church the endowment should have been given, not to support these Institutions, but to support the parochial clergy, who would then have been more interested in the preservation of peace and order, and less dependent on the people. The next paragraph contained the appeal of the Prime Minister to the electors of Great Britain. It spoke of a danger scarcely less dis-

astrous than pestilence and famine—the attempt to sever the Union with Great Britain. Her Majesty's Ministers had complained of his exaggerating the unfortunate state of Ireland; but surely this appeal disclosed a danger as grave, as widespread, as could be conceived, and one that was sapping the very foundations of the Empire—graver, when we recognized the fact that none but the conspirators themselves had such sources of information as the Prime Minister. His opponents might say, "this is only an Election squib;" but that would be a gross injustice. It was the deliberate appeal of a great statesman to his fellow-countrymen, in an hour of national danger, to come to his assistance to preserve the integrity of the Empire. It was an appeal that would be responded to by all law-abiding classes in the Kingdom. His opponents showed that they knew this by the angry tone of their replies. The nominal head of the Home Rulers (Mr. Shaw), the Leader of the Liberal Party in the other House, and the late Premier, all united in the endeavour to slur over the danger of what was no longer Home Rule, but Nationality; and they said—"Change the Land Laws." They confiscated part of the landlord's property when last they were in power, and if they returned they would take the remainder. The only hope the Opposition had of coming into power was by gaining the support of the Nationalists. With the majority the Government had in both Houses, it was unfortunate they had not asked for the necessary power to check the extension of crime and to restore peace and order. Nothing more deplorable than the present state of things could be conceived. The Chief Secretary for Ireland had said at Kendal—

"On an occasion like this, I think you may very fairly expect me to say in what way I think Her Majesty's Government and the Conservative Party can contribute to the permanent settlement of Irish difficulties. The first thing is to say completely and openly what we will not do. Let it be clearly understood that under no circumstances have we the slightest intention of tampering in any shape or form with proprietary rights. (Cheers.) What Ireland requires is freedom and rest from agitation."

He hoped he had expressed himself moderately. He wished the Prime Minister to express the determination of the Government to put down this conspiracy in language which would have

the weight and force that everything had which came from him.

Moved, "That there be laid before this House, Returns showing what parts of Ireland are proclaimed under the Peace Preservation Act."—*(The Lord Oranmore and Browne.)*

THE EARL OF BEACONSFIELD: The noble Lord, I agree, addressed us in a moderate tone, but, at the same time, rather obscurely; and, though I listened to him with interest and attention, I do not understand what is the main object of his remarks. The noble Earl has frequently referred in his observations to the Question which he has placed on the Paper, and which he did me the honour to address to me. That Question is—

"To inquire whether the Peace Preservation Act does not expire on 1st of June, and, if so, whether it is prudent to defer renewing it to a time so short after the assembly of the next Parliament?"

I believe there is no doubt that the Peace Preservation Act does expire on the 1st of June next; and it is by no means imprudent to assume that the next Parliament will do its duty to the country, and that it will repeat that Act, or, if necessary, support it with stronger measures, if they are required by the circumstances of the time. That is my answer to the noble Lord, and that is the only Question which really the noble Lord has addressed to me.

LORD ORANMORE AND BROWNE: Will the noble Earl kindly refer to the first part of the Question?—

"To inquire of the Prime Minister whether he does not consider the monster meetings, which have taken and still continue to take place through many parts of Ireland for the avowed object of inciting tenants not to pay their just debts, but by force or fraud to despoil the landlords of their property, destructive to law and order, and therefore tending to weaken 'the strength of the nation;' and, if so, is it not the duty of an English Minister to take such measures as may be necessary to stay such proceedings?"

THE EARL OF BEACONSFIELD: My answer to that is, that I think these measures have been taken. I think the existing law is quite sufficiently strong to cope with the evils to which the noble Lord has referred. As I understand him, the Question has reference only to what he calls "monster meetings," the object of which

is to prevent the payment of rent. Now, I hold that the Peace Preservation Act and the existing law together are adapted to entirely meet that evil; and, if it were necessary, of course the Ministry, however composed, would take those steps which are necessary to protect life and property and preserve the public peace. So far as I can judge, we may indulge the hope that the excitement to which the noble Lord refers—these monster meetings to prevent the payment of rent—are rather subsiding than on the increase. If this be the case—and that is certainly the impression of the Government from the information which reaches them—I should certainly think it unnecessary and a very indiscreet thing to come down to Parliament and to ask it to increase the powers of repression under such circumstances. The chief part of the noble Lord's speech appeared to be a vindication of the step I have taken in addressing a letter to a noble Duke, who is a Member of this House; and, therefore, it is quite unnecessary for me to enter into any vindication of my motives or mode of expression. I leave my defence with confidence to the noble Lord, who has on this occasion entered into a minute criticism and vindication of that letter in a manner so gratifying to my feelings that I hope he will allow me to tender him my cordial thanks.

LORD ORANMORE AND BROWNE: Your Lordships seem to think that it was not my intention to laud the Manifesto of the noble Earl, or that it is a great liberty for so humble a Member of your Lordships' House to laud so great a man. It is my intention to take that liberty; but the noble Earl seems so satisfied with the disorderly state of Ireland that I now have some difficulty in understanding how he stated it to be in so dangerous a state. He says he listened to my statement; but, in his reply, he ignores the description given by the Chief Secretary, and also the Charge of Baron Fitzgerald on the present state of Ireland. More deplorable features of crime and demoralization I cannot conceive. They evidence, what the noble and learned Earl on the Woolsack stated a few years back when Leader of the Opposition, that the state of Ireland is not only "sad, but shameful."

Motion agreed to.

Lord Oranmore and Browne

THE EASTERN QUESTION.

MOTION FOR AN ADDRESS.

LORD CAMPBELL, in rising to call attention to the policy of Her Majesty's Government on the Eastern Question since the autumn of 1874; and to move,

"That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty for a Copy of the letter from the late Ameer of Afghanistan to the Sultan, dated 19th January 1878,"

said: The House will readily suppose that I should not be inclined to go on at such an hour with such a Motion unless the days of this Parliament were numbered. When I postponed it, on the ground that the noble Marquess the Secretary of State was absent, the Government had not announced a step of so much political and military skill as that of withdrawing from a Brighton field-day under the cover of a General Election—a cover which, to the amazement of the House, we hear to-day is utterly inadequate. The noble Marquess, it is known to me, will not return before the Dissolution, and I have no option as to going on without him. For two reasons, such a course is unobjectionable, although, perhaps, it is unusual. I shall advert mainly to transactions with which the noble Marquess was not connected by his present Office. His vindication of the Government on foreign policy is in our hands already. It was given at Manchester with much elaboration; no doubt, with much effect. It appeared in the morning journals of October 18th. It was not unworthy of himself, and little could be added to it. But there is something far more grave to be encountered. It is thrown out by various supporters of the Government that we are not entitled to look back on the transactions which have all flowed from the autumn of 1874, with a view to ascertain their merit or demerit. Why not? You cannot criticize a Government upon the future; you cannot on the pending; it is only on the past they are assailable; Is this not the time? It is the very time. If last Session the attempt had happened, the Government might have replied that until the Russian occupation was disposed of any general discussion of the kind was calculated to impede their labours to abridge it. My Lords, a great drama closed together

with the Russian occupation, and now admits of being reflected on. But the electors must review the foreign policy of the last five years in order to arrive at a judicial verdict on the conduct of the Government. Can it be said that the very question to be in a few weeks determined by the people is inappropriate and obsolete in Parliament already? Such language among friends of the Government would seem at first to be the paradox of terror and the sophistry of conscience. But the noble Earl the Prime Minister renounces it. With the impatience of a practised gladiator, he has complained from time to time that accusation was too fragmentary; that no Member of the Opposition would bring his policy under a general review; and even that no adverse Resolution was submitted to your Lordships. Now, as to an adverse Resolution, it seemed a doubtful thing whether an Opposition in an avowed minority should offer them. It was only done here on foreign policy in 1850 and 1864 by a Party whose majority was certain. But the Motion I propose is for a document which must be utterly obnoxious to the Government; which stigmatizes in the gravest terms their conduct on the Eastern Question; which brings before you the late Ameer in an attitude of protest verging upon scorn as regards the mode in which their infidelity to Treaties had estranged him from Great Britain. It might, therefore, well suggest resistance to the Government. At least, it ought not to be adopted till it is first shown that their policy upon the whole of these transactions is far, indeed, from irreproachable.

The only title I can urge to the indulgence of the House is that I began to follow the vicissitudes of the present Eastern Question two Sessions before they occupied the general attention, and continued to pursue them during one, at least, when others hardly did so. The first proposition I am anxious to uphold is that the Government were responsible, in a great degree, for the War between Russia and the Porte, which began in April, 1877. If I do not thoroughly establish it, it will only be because the desire to economize the patience of the House forces me to hurry over and mix up the facts, which, more distinctly traced and separately handled, would be sure to warrant the conclusion I have pointed to. Now, the union of Austria,

Germany, and Russia, in a sense hostile to the Ottoman Empire, has been attested by the noble Earl, at that time Secretary of State, who often sits on the Cross Benches. It may fairly be contended that a vigilant diplomacy would have succeeded in averting it. When, however, it appeared in the Identical Note of the three Powers announcing their intention to negotiate Commercial Treaties with the Vassal Principalities against the wishes of the Sultan, dated October 20, 1874, it was possible, at least, to check or counterbalance it. It might have been counterbalanced by some display among the Western Powers. It might have been checked by a particular and strong appeal to Austria, which Great Britain—if only from the Treaty of April 15, 1856—had every title to resort to. Nothing was attempted. Instead of being detached from the new and ill-omened alliance, Austria was induced to take the lead in negotiating with the Vassal Principalities; to leave Russia and Germany behind her in paving the way for the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire. The Herzegovinian insurrection, which rapidly succeeded, seemed, therefore, if not to be occasioned by her wishes, at least to start under her auspices. The discontented elements within the territory of the Sultan were thus enabled, in some degree, to look on Austria as a standard-bearer. Nor can it be disputed that during the autumn of 1875, by means of General Rodich, the Viceroy of Dalmatia, considerable aid was given indirectly to the Herzegovinian movement. In the spring of 1876 a great opportunity of influencing Germany to restore the peace of European Turkey was abandoned. The Berlin Memorandum, the Servian War, and other troubles followed. At the Conference of December in Constantinople, which, perhaps, it was desirable to enter by acceding to the scheme of General Ignatieff, we lost all grasp over the Sublime Porte, as regards the decisions it might ultimately come to, and gave Russia a considerable pretext for hostilities. When I condemn the scheme of General Ignatieff, I remind the House that the Ottoman despatch of January 25, 1877, which canvassed it exhaustively, which has long been in our hands, which I have brought down with me this evening, had no reply from either Russia or Great Britain. In this

manner war became very difficult to guard against. The unsuccessful Conference for a time threw the British Embassy into abeyance, and withdrew it altogether, so that the Sultan was left alone to contend with any diplomatic propositions Russia might address to him. His liability to error, of course, was very much increased. But during the months of February and March, 1877, it was not too late to bring the restraining voice of Berlin to bear in some degree upon the counsels of St. Petersburg. It was not too late to declare in this, or in the other House of Parliament, such general adherence to the Treaties of 1856 as might have led the Czar to pause before resolving to forget them. It was not too late to take advantage of the new latitude established in the Articles of 1871, and send the British Fleet into the Dardanelles before war commenced, to exercise a guiding and admonitory influence on both the possible belligerents. It was not too late to despatch a special Mission to St. Petersburg—far more required than that which had just left Constantinople—to uphold the Czar himself, who, as it is now revealed, was struggling against the warlike counsels which enveloped him. If it be true—as most probably the Government will urge—that within Great Britain many forces lured him to invasion, the class of measures I have pointed to was far more binding, far more indispensable than otherwise it would have been. As all such precautions were omitted, and some of them repelled, it cannot be denied that the Government had great responsibility for the decision to cross the Pruth which ultimately followed, which led to the disquietude of Europe, and brought this country face to face with the alternative of either hazard or dishonour. Some noble Lords, perhaps, are scattered in the House who look with more indulgence on the decision of the Czar from certain grounds with which it is endeavoured to associate it. The answer to them—which I can only glance at—is that the Russian movement on Constantinople began before the fall of the Byzantine Empire in 1453, before Ottoman dominion was established, before Russia could affect to represent the Cross, or to encroach upon the Crescent, when she directed Armies towards the Bosphorus. Whatever view these noble Lords may entertain,

the avowed object of the Government was to avert the war to the last moment. They did not share in any such interpretation. They recognized its danger and they proclaimed its illegality.

The period which now begins is far less intricate and tedious than that which I have passed over. However fraught with tragical events, it need not occupy the House for many minutes. The policy of the Government is summed up in the despatch of May 1, the despatch of May 6, the Proclamation of neutrality, and the inaction which succeeded them. The latter is the point which requires attention at this moment. If it was open to the Government to despatch the Fleet to Constantinople before war began, it was still more admissible when the rupture was precipitated. Among the practical advantages of such a measure would have been to restore the power of the British Embassy injuriously paralyzed, and thus to rescue the Sublime Porte from many errors and corruptions which weighed upon it in the struggle; to lay the ground for mediation, possibly to close the war before Plevna had been taken. It was the course which Lord Palmerston insisted on, in nearly the same circumstances, in 1853, when no Treaties called for its adoption. At the time in question, it was the course which Treaties made imperatively binding. In point of fact, it was a cheap and prudent method of adhering to them, although not wholly unaccompanied by risk, and, therefore, not entirely destitute of merit. It was no departure from neutrality; and, therefore, the Proclamation—undignified, uncalled for, as it may justly be considered—did nothing to preclude it. When the Fleet did advance, in the midst of circumstances which I am approaching, the Proclamation of neutrality continued. It was no more a bar in May than the succeeding January, although in either month it was an error. The Session and the autumn passed away. Remonstrances arose. Constantinople was endangered. Popular opinion was excited. In the beginning of 1878, debates were frequent in the Legislature. On the 26th of January, the Fleet ascended to the Dardanelles, with the concurrence of the Sultan. It was withdrawn by a telegram. In the opinion of those who watched these critical events upon the spot, its withdrawal

led the Russian Armies to San Stefano, and paralyzed the efforts by which they might have been arrested. On February 9 the Fleet advanced a second time, on this occasion in defiance of the Porte, whose confidence in British sympathy and British support had been inevitably lessened. If the Fleet withdrew to bring the hostile Army to their gates, there was little reason to assume that it came back under the sway of irreproachable benevolence. In this manner the House is led to see that the Treaty of San Stefano, which followed, is the immediate offspring of the Government, although, no doubt, they did their utmost to reduce it.

On the 28th of March the Secretary of State announced his resignation. A new era was anticipated. On the 1st of April such hopes became more sanguine from a much admired despatch, which it was judicious to issue on that day, which ought to have appeared before 2 in the afternoon, or whatever hour is supposed to check the period of licensed jocularly; so little did it ultimately sway the action of the Government. We are now in the season of preparatory measures for the Congress. I censure none of them, and do not even think with those who, on grounds of scrupulous legality, objected to the despatch of Indian troops to Malta. It seems a cumbrous and fantastic method of Imperial defence. But such cumbrous and fantastic methods are imposed upon a State, which keeps 300,000 men locked up at home, for an heroic struggle with an obsolete invader. The Convention with the Sultan appears difficult to reconcile with loyalty to European Powers, and tends to inconveniences which I may afterwards allude to. But the concession to Russia before a Congress was approached deserves more serious reflection, however little we may view the noble Marquess the Secretary of State as being exclusively its author. We may dismiss altogether the scandal with which the name of Mr. Marvin was associated. We may forget the mode in which, as a noble Earl now absent from his place remarked to us, the true intention of Great Britain flashed on an astonished Europe from the depths of the police court. We may excuse the contradictory instructions to Lord Odo Russell as a departure from routine, or rather a relapse to virtue, "a longing lingering look behind," in those who painfully

renounced it. But the fact, to be as far as possible divested of its incidents and measured by itself, is collusion with the Power which the rest of Europe had determined on restraining. In 1856 there was no mysterious concurrence between Russia and Great Britain. There was none with France in 1815. There is nothing of the kind on record, as far as I know, in the Congresses of history. The course pursued in 1877 of abnegating Treaties, no doubt, was fertile of embarrassment. But still the situation did not call for this irregular concession. In spite of her successes Russia was endangered. The Roumanian Army was opposed to her. The Ottoman retreat, through the exertion of General Baker, had been successfully and brilliantly conducted. The Black Sea, by public law, was open to our cruisers. National opinion had risen to a flood against the Russian progress in Great Britain. These circumstances did much to favour our diplomacy. They did much to favour the more legitimate proceeding of uniting the Powers which arrayed themselves against the Treaty of San Stefano in such a protest as was calculated to extort the limitation they were anxious for. However, in June the Plenipotentiaries arrived at Berlin. The Government can only claim a general acquittal of the past, if the Treaty of Berlin deserves all the eulogies which they—much more than their own friends—for many months have prodigally lavished on it.

As regards the Treaty of Berlin, there is an unfortunate impression—unfortunate for those who have to touch upon it—that the subject is exhausted. Men forget that every important Treaty has taken years before it was elucidated. The Treaty of Utrecht continued to engage dispute during the lifetime of Lord Bolingbroke. The Treaties of 1815 were being perpetually canvassed in the days of Lord John Russell and Lord Palmerston. As to those of 1856, during the last few years we have been constantly debating on them. Only the other day the whole House was thrown into perplexity as to whether one of them is valid. My conviction is that, so far from being exhausted, the Treaty of Berlin has never yet been placed in its true light before the Legislature or the country. In deference, however, to the feeling which exists—whether or not it is well founded—I pass over and

blot out a whole series of objections habitually present to me. Not a word shall this House hear from me of Batoum, Bessarabia, Greece, or even, in this connection, of the Ottoman Assemblies. I hurry on to these two propositions, hoping to maintain them. The Treaty of Berlin has much impaired the prospect of upholding Ottoman authority upon the Bosphorus. At the same time, the materials of replacing it by some untried and well-imagined combination have been dissipated and abandoned.

If the Treaties of 1856 were no restraint on Russian movement to Constantinople the Treaty of Berlin has no pretension to contain it. The pretexts of aggression which arose in 1877 are not exceptional and fugitive, but may recur at any moment. But foreign interference to defend the Sultan is no more to be depended on in the future than in the late emergency it was attainable. His power to defend himself is manifestly weakened, as he is no longer sheltered by the Danube, by the fortresses, or even by the Balkans, as he used to be. It is calculated that, in military force, he loses over 50,000 men, in Revenue about £5,000,000 sterling, by the territorial arrangements which have happened. Not long ago the Prince of Servia made war upon him, instigated from a distance. At any future time the Prince of Bulgaria may have the same encouragement to act in the same manner. He has a motive which the former Vassals were exempt from. He will always be impelled—not, perhaps, by his own mind, but by the circles which surround him—to aspire to equality with the position granted recently to those who rule in Servia, Montenegro, and Roumania. A much larger population might now be moved upon Constantinople than was formerly available. It is true—as the noble Marquess the Secretary of State is never tired of impressing upon us—that Austria is at Novi Bazar. But she is not under any obligation to advance beyond it. She is not bound by a Convention. She is not subsidized by this country or by Europe to defend Constantinople. The diplomatists in this House will hardly reprimand me for observing that the more they know, the more they meditate on Austria, the more they see her policy to be incalculable.

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lable. But if anything could be predicted with regard to her from study of the past it is unvarying reluctance to go to war with Russia, even for objects she appreciates, even for objects she considers as her own. In this way a situation has arisen which forces on reluctant thinkers, on reluctant politicians, the question how far Ottoman authority may be replaced upon the Bosphorus, with a view to guard the limitation against Russia which the Crimean War was meant to save and to immortalize.

Now, my Lords, the point to be submitted has nothing difficult about it. It may require knowledge of the Eastern Question to arrive at the conclusion; but it requires little to form a judgment of its accuracy. Whatever novel system is devised must absorb the population both of Servia and Roumania, or else be utterly unequal to the object of creating it. Whether Greece is to adopt Constantinople instead of Athens as a centre, whether Bulgaria is to recover something like its former nationality, whether you look to a regenerated Austria or a developed Hungary for the solution of the difficulty, it must agglomerate both Servia and Roumania, or else be wholly insufficient as a barrier against the numbers and against the power to be resisted. The existence of the two as independent States—if it endures—is fatal to the purpose we are contemplating.

No sort of ground existed for producing it. Had it been desirable for Europe, in 1856 it would have happened. But it was not desirable for Europe, and, therefore, sedulously guarded against. Had it been necessary for the races which vassal Princes used to govern, to be under reigning Princes, we should long ago have heard of it. The Servian Mission of 1868 would have impressed it carefully upon us. The project of an independent Servia and Roumania was never mooted till the Congress of Berlin. It was opposed to the whole line the Government itself upheld a few years back in 1875. To multiply small States incapable of self-defence is utterly opposed to the direction of the world and to the tenor of its history. If we wanted new States the Austrian Empire could furnish them. If we wanted new States there is a Poland to reflect upon. To guard against aggression those which now exist is found to be too difficult a labour.

In our quarter of the globe at least—it may be different in America—a new State is a new element of bloodshed and confusion. Such is the general idea which ought to limit their creation. But here a special object of commanding magnitude and paramount importance should have wholly interdicted it. By this gigantic error new discord is insured. When that discord overthrows the crumbling residue of Ottoman supremacy, the possibility which did exist, of otherwise withstanding Russian arms, is nearly evanescent. On the whole—however deeply we admire the industry of the negotiators—the Treaty of Berlin is fatal to the Porte itself, and obstructive in a high degree to all the efforts for replacing it, which must have taxed even at the very best the genius and sagacity of Europe.

It is now essential to remark a moment on the Paper which I move for, and which has certainly attained to some publicity already. It first appeared in the spring of 1878, and was reprinted in the European Press when Afghan troubles began to occupy us in the autumn. The *Mémorial Diplomatique* guaranteed its authenticity, which has not, however, been disputed. What it tends to bring out is the link between the Eastern policy I have adverted to, and the appearance of a Russian Mission at Cabul. Whatever opinion may be formed as to the necessity of the Afghan War, the appearance of a Russian Mission at Cabul, in defiance of the Heidelberg Convention, so much blended with the fame of the late Lord Clarendon, was a reproach and a calamity. In that letter the Ameer explained that the unchecked advance of Russia on Constantinople had estranged him from Great Britain. In about six months he gave effect to his conclusion.

Let no one think that I am going into the Afghan Question. Not long ago the noble Duke (the Duke of Argyll) in some degree exhausted it. Without concurring in all he uttered, with so much force and so much volubility, had he divided, I should have given an unhesitating vote in favour of his Motion. The only mode of thinking I am anxious to encounter is a most inaccurate and yet a most prevailing one in general society. It is that the Afghan War is a set-off to the deficiencies—in some degree avowed—on what by long

familiar use among diplomatists is termed the Eastern Question. On the ground of the Afghan War it is attempted to weave crowns, and even more than crowns, for the First Minister by the very persons who were on the verge of tumult because, in 1877, complete inaction against Russia persisted in. But it was not an Afghan war such persons were demanding. Now, even if we think the Russian Mission to Cabul could only be disposed of by the conflict it elicited; even if we grant the theory of the scientific Frontier; even if we forget the reckless Embassy together with its miserable consequences; even if the war should end in new security to India, it can do nothing to atone for losses nor to recover influence in Europe. The same remark applies exactly to the campaign in Africa, even if, judged alone, it would admit of being defended. So as regards Cyprus. Even if you hold its doubtful and contingent tenure to be useful as a means of guarding Egypt—the only praise it can extort—so far from being an expiation of inconstancy to Treaties and the Porte, it rather tends to aggravate and to enhance it. These subsequent transactions are the asylum of the Government; and now they ought to be dislodged from it. It is like a second picture placed obtrusively in front of that which we desire to judge, on purpose to conceal it. It is like the effort to redeem a play which has not terminated fortunately by an irrelevant explosion of artillery and fireworks. If anyone engages to stand upon a rope and falls, he cannot claim approval because, instead of going back to his task, he executes a series of highly interesting dances. This complicated after-piece may, and does, impose upon Great Britain for the moment. But we must look elsewhere for the criterion of its advantage. Does it impose upon the Continent of Europe? Does it secure confident influence at Paris, at Vienna, Berlin, or St. Petersburg? Does it give us any better *locus standi* to prevent a rupture between Germany and France whenever such a rupture is impending? Would these auxiliary transactions inspire Sweden, Portugal, or Belgium, who look to Great Britain as a defending Power, with any greater confidence than they would otherwise indulge? To recover influence in Europe, when something has de-

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stroyed it, at least a momentary firmness in regard to European Powers is essential. But none has been displayed. When Russia stepped over the Heidelberg Convention our diplomatic intercourse continued with her; while the Ameer, who had not violated any Treaty, who acted under the control of overruling force, was destined to absorb the whole of our resentment.

Whatever weakness or deficiency or error are connected with the period of 1877 are, therefore, unatoned for and uncanceled. No doubt, some pretexts have been offered to extenuate them, as it is seen that they will not admit of open vindication. It is not unusual to throw the whole responsibility on the former Secretary of State (the Earl of Derby). The noble Earl the Prime Minister, however, can never possibly resort to such a shelter. He can never be inclined to dispute—even if others do so—that each decision upon foreign policy involves the sanction of the person by whom the Cabinet is guided. It has been often said that the Opposition paralyzed the Government. The Opposition were always a minority in both Houses of Parliament. How could they dictate to the Government? Besides, the Opposition were divided on the Eastern Question. A Government, at least, is quite as much at liberty to follow the group which it approves, as that from which it differs. Again, in their preparatory measures, after the resignation of Lord Derby, the Government were not controlled by any section of the Opposition which discountenanced them. Why, therefore, could they not resist the section—if there was one—which frowned upon the measure of advancing the British Fleet into the Dardanelles at the beginning of the war instead of at the end of it? They would reply, perhaps, that national opinion had undergone a transformation. It is true, my Lords, that national opinion had matured itself. But it is untrue that in April, 1877, national opinion would have checked a step so moderate and limited, as well as so imperative in faith and requisite in policy, as that to which I have alluded. The complete inaction of the Government was at once the theme of systematic protest among the most important journals of the country. It called into existence, during the autumn, a number of irregular societies, resolved to put an end to

it. It brought on besides, and independently, a formidable movement in the open air which could not be resisted. You cannot urge that national opinion had demanded the course which, in a few months, it overwhelmed and reprimanded by its violence. You cannot satisfy the House that it was a dangerous outrage upon public sentiment to advance the Fleet in May, June, or July, if you like, even November; when, in the succeeding January, to advance it was the only course by which tumult could be quelled, by which mobs could be dispersed, by which security and peace could be restored to the Metropolis.

One further question only can present itself which there is any duty to reply to. It may be demanded—granting there was error in 1877, which subsequent transactions are incompetent to expiate, and current pretexts to defend—has it resulted in any actual inconvenience? In Europe the inconvenience is manifest. The triumph of aggression, the collapse of Treaties, always render war more probable than otherwise it would be. How was peace secured for 40 years in 1815? By the repression of the Power which, in that age, was the disturbing one. The converse will present itself. But I hold the scene of actual inconvenience to be much more Constantinople. Our position at Constantinople is most disastrous and anomalous at present. By the new Convention we are forced to aim at Ottoman reforms in Asia Minor. It is only as a defending Power, it has been repeatedly established, we have any title to exact them. But in 1877 we proved that we are not a defending Power. In 1877 we proved that engagements to offer even the slightest form of material assistance to the Sultan are illusory. The new Convention has no greater promise of validity than that which did belong to the old Treaties. The Sublime Porte inevitably reason in this manner—"We are not subsidized in order to reform; we are not coerced in order to reform; and by reform we get at no security whatever for ulterior protection. Why, then, should we carry it beyond our own idea of justice and expediency?" But, my Lords, they have another answer even more conclusive to any exhortation the Ambassador thinks proper to address to them. They may reply, that they organized political Assemblies; that Sir Henry Layard himself

attested their reality and efficacy in his despatches to the Foreign Office; that they sat before the war began; that they were sitting when it finished; that the first measure of the Russian Armies at San Stefano required their dispersion; that the Congress of Berlin might, by a single Article, have easily revived them; that it failed to do so; that the European Powers collectively interred the reforming agency which Russia had individually disposed of. "If you want reforms in Asia Minor," they naturally say, "you had better re-establish our Assemblies. We do not wish to prove their superfluity, or vindicate the conduct which destroyed them." By such language the Ambassador is silenced; and yet he must persist, to some extent, in measures which provoke it. It ought here to be remarked that in a number of debates it was repeatedly insisted on that if the Treaties of 1856 were wholly overlooked the power to interfere and improve in Ottoman dominion would afterwards escape us altogether. If the position at Constantinople is certainly embarrassing, and possibly humiliating, it is not unwarned or unenlightened that the Government have entered it.

The present is not one of the occasions when anyone at all conversant with the subject ought to insist on an Eastern danger which he realizes; or urge the country to the path of duty from the slumber of indifference; or recommend a course of action to a Government whose hesitation and disunion have been too openly revealed to us. During the last five years, however, such occasions have been frequent. They are alone sufficient to condemn the policy which leads to them. In this House Ministers are rich in Parliamentary and even oratorical ability. Great as it may be, it will not enable them to disprove a large share of responsibility for the unhappy war of 1877. They will never show that in May, June, or July of that year the British Fleet might not have been despatched into the Bosphorus to the incalculable benefit of Europe. They will not be able either to repudiate the parentage of the usurping Treaty, which they afterwards contended with, as I hold, unsuccessfully. The transactions are voluminous and intricate. They are beyond the range, perhaps, of industry to grasp, or utterance to mention them. But yet their history may be given in a

sentence. It is the record of wisdom faintly and imperfectly adhered to, of duty openly and systematically violated, of reparation eagerly but ineffectually grasped at. By submitting it, in outline, to this House to-night—although with many chasms and various deficiencies—I shall have, at least, attempted to perform a timely service to the Opposition and the country. The noble Lord then moved for the letter of the Ameer to the Sultan, dated January 19, 1878.

Moved, "That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty for a Copy of the letter from the late Ameer of Afghanistan to the Sultan, dated 19th January 1878." — (*The Lord Campbell.*)

LORD DENMAN said, that when his noble and lamented Relative was about to retire he particularly disliked the tune of "The Campbells are coming;" and it having been said by the noble Lord, doubly a Peer, that he would have voted with the noble Head of his Clan as to Afghanistan, the noble Pair would have assailed the Government from opposite sides—for, while the noble Duke (the Duke of Argyll) attacked the Government because they would not extirpate the Turks, the noble Lord (Lord Campbell) attacked them with equal vigour because they would not preserve them. He (Lord Denman) thought that each of those noble Lords should recollect the words of Horace—

"Est brevitatem opus ut currat sententia, neu se
Impediatur verbis lassas
Onerantibus aures."

He congratulated those noble Lords who, unlike himself, had heard the whole of the noble Lord's speech.

EARL GRANVILLE: It is impossible, my Lords, not to feel that, from his point of view, the noble Lord who brought forward the subject has a strong case against the Government. During the last few years he has not, in my opinion, been sufficiently alive to the evils of misgovernment by the Turkish Empire, or to the claims of its Christian subjects upon our sympathies; and he has not seen as clearly as I fancy I do the advantages of acting in concert with Europe, and the disadvantages of isolated action on our part in this Eastern Question. But he concentrated his view upon the necessity of checking Russia in different parts of the world, and of supporting, with a view to our interests,

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the independence and integrity of the Turkish Empire. He, therefore, with perfect consistency, applauded all the declarations and promises made by Her Majesty's Government in agreement with his own principles, and with equal consistency he now deplores how completely the performance of the Government has failed to keep pace with their professions. When the noble Lord's Notice first stood on the Minutes it was not my intention to take part in the debate, and the noble Lord was aware of the fact. But I will now ask leave to say a few words on the question which he has raised, and on other matters incidental to that question. One of the circumstances to which I wish to allude is that the present Parliament, already unduly prolonged, is now about to be suddenly closed. A Cabinet Minister, a few days before the opening of Parliament, had announced to us, as an agreeable surprise, that this, the last Session of the present Parliament, was to be a Session of real work. Her Majesty's Government in the Queen's Gracious Speech announced certain measures, and promised others of equal importance. In the House of Commons Her Majesty's Government obtained the concurrence of the Opposition and the ready assent of the House to certain Resolutions which they thought it desirable to adopt in order to facilitate the legislative Business in the other House. Excepting for the disturbance raised by a Bill the object of which is excellent, but which, for want of common care as to its provisions, is universally condemned and may be fatal to the reform so much required, there is hardly a ripple on the stream of Parliamentary work. In the midst of this calm the stormy petrels appeared. The noble Earl, in a few words and with no reasons, announced, the Dissolution of Parliament. The Chancellor of the Exchequer made a similar announcement in "another place;" but some reasons were given, but still reasons which appeared to me not in the slightest degree to justify the Dissolution of Parliament, or at least which would not have equally justified it last autumn. The Chancellor of the Exchequer said it was in order to pass the Irish Relief Bills; but if the Dissolution had come in the autumn Parliament would have met at the usual time, and the Irish Bills would have been

passed as soon as they have been now. There is no possible reason why, if it is right to dissolve Parliament now, it was not right to do so at a time which would not have interfered with the annual Parliamentary Business of the country. But, my Lords, be this as it may, so far from crying over spilt milk, I am rejoiced at the announcement that the present unsatisfactory state of things is drawing to an end, and that an appeal is to be made to the sense—I hope the good sense—of the people of this country. My Lords, on the next day, last Tuesday, there appeared a letter from the First Lord of the Treasury to the Viceroy of Ireland. I will not describe that letter, as it has been described this evening in the land debate, as an electioneering squib; but its form is a little unusual. I do not, however, complain of that. One hook is nearly as good as another upon which to hang a declaration of principles. My complaint is of another kind. It relates to the absence from that declaration of any principles of a tangible character. Literary critics have fallen foul of the language and the grammar; but I have no pretence to be a literary critic. My only object, if I write or speak, is to convey my meaning as clearly as I can to others. I am not convinced by the united authority of Prince Talleyrand, Dr. South, and Cardinal de Retz, that language was given to man to conceal his thoughts. And if I find that a singularly brilliant writer, a great master of English, puts together words which are understood neither by friends or opponents, I conclude that it is not that he cannot, but that he does not wish to explain his meaning. A first-rate judge, speaking of this Manifesto, said—

“You must not look at this design as if it were a picture intended to be hung on the eye line. It is a bit of stage painting, intended to be looked at from an immense distance and to produce a general effect, utterly irrespective of correct drawing or accurate details.”

Now, my Lords, what is the general effect intended? It appears to me that it is something of this sort—that the Government mean for the future to soar above the details of home reforms and social progress; that, with regard to Ireland, they not only desire to excite a firm desire to keep united the Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, but that they think

it convenient for election purposes to excite the popular feeling against that country, and to convey an impression that the Opposition are indifferent to the union of the two Islands; that the same difference of opinion exists between themselves and ourselves as to our relations with India and with the Colonies, and that as to the influence of England in Europe, this is the exclusive monopoly of the present Government, which has been used in the past, and which will be used in the future, with a splendid success perfectly unattainable by any other Party in the State. As this is the first opportunity of touching upon the remarkable Manifesto of the noble Earl, it is tempting to touch upon the home policy—or rather, the no-home-policy—of Her Majesty's Government. It is especially tempting to say something upon the attempt, and the utter failure, to fix upon the Opposition any desire for the separation of Ireland from Great Britain. But I will refrain.

THE EARL OF DUNMORE: Hear, hear!

EARL GRANVILLE: I am glad to hear that cheer from the noble Earl; and I repeat, that I resist the temptation to speak on those subjects.

THE EARL OF DUNMORE: I thought the Motion related to the Eastern Question?

EARL GRANVILLE: To that I am coming. Now, my Lords, with regard to foreign affairs, the first thing that strikes one is the singular declaration that Her Majesty's Government have maintained peace. Where have they maintained peace? In Europe? No. In Africa? No. In Asia? No. They have not maintained it even in South America; but with that they have had little to do. In Europe there has been a war, a war which, as was believed by us at the time, might have been prevented by a policy of united pressure by the whole of Europe to compel the carrying out of the Treaty promises—a war which the Prime Minister once told us could have been prevented if his strong Government had done that which they did not do. But that a long and bloody war took place, and that at an enormous cost of human life and suffering, is a matter of fact, which seems perfectly inconsistent with the repeated boast that Her Majesty's Government secured the peace

of Europe. The Chancellor of the Exchequer is much more cautious in his address. He says that, although we could not prevent war, we stopped its extension to other countries. But I want to know who were the other countries who wanted to fight and were prevented by Her Majesty's Government from doing so? That is a point on which I am ignorant. It is quite true we did not go to war ourselves. I am very glad, indeed, we did not. We avoided that war by conceding nearly every position which the Government, unfortunately, announced, two years ago, would be injurious if abandoned. The noble Earl, in his letter to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, talks not only of the influence, but of the ascendancy, of this country over the Councils of Europe. Where is this ascendancy shown? At Constantinople? With the Slavs? With the Greeks? Is it over France and Egypt? Is it in Vienna and Berlin? When Lord Salisbury announced at Manchester, with exceeding glory, the tidings of an understanding between Austria and Germany, he informed the astonished Manchester people at the same time that he had no information of what that understanding was. This appears to me very like the ascendancy of the Premier. Though there has been ascendancy, the noble Earl says it is now arrested. It would be interesting to know whether it has only been arrested during the last month, week, or ten days, or much earlier, and what is the nature of its influence? Influence is a good thing, and ascendancy is a better, if really exercised to defend ourselves from injury, and to promote peace, justice, and liberty among others. But can anything be less statesmanlike, less judicious, more certain to destroy our just influence, than to make these idle and public boasts of ascendancy? The noble Earl's ability, his courage, his experience, must give him great influence in his Cabinet. Would it increase his influence to boast in public of his ascendancy over those of whom he is the admitted Chief? Does he, then, think that to flaunt his boast in the face of the rival countries of Europe, jealous of their own position, and, unfortunately, submitting to the burdens of millions of men to maintain it, is a plan to strengthen the influence of England in the slightest degree? I cannot conceive

such a thought being not considered either offensive or ridiculous by some of those great military Powers, unless they looked upon it as being a matter of merely insular concern, arguing that, as long as England consented to pull the chestnuts out of the fire for them, they would not mind such election periods as those in this letter. But still more serious questions remain. The noble Earl, in his letter, most distinctly intimates that we are in the most critical period of foreign affairs, and he further says that it is only by the Government of England—with him and his Colleagues in the management of affairs—that that critical state of affairs can be dealt with. And it is at this critical time that he slightly diminishes not only the Army, but the Navy Estimates. But the extraordinary thing is that the Chancellor of the Exchequer is absolutely ignorant of this critical state of things. In his address he tells us that we are nearly at the end of our European troubles, and proposes to devote himself to questions of a homely character. It is a serious matter that Parliament and the country should be kept so much out of the confidence of Her Majesty's Government as to foreign affairs; but it really becomes a most grave question if the leading Members of the Cabinet are equally deprived of that information. Pessimism in politics is not good. Optimism, within certain limits, is of great advantage. It encourages self-confidence, and the confidence of others. It is a quality the possession of which I do not deny to the present Government. They take, as is natural to high-spirited men, a very favourable view of all that they do, and are not reticent in communicating that opinion to others. It is a most singular circumstance that the South African War, which the Government claimed the merit of endeavouring to prevent, they now speak of as having led to the most happy results. In India we had a North-West Frontier, which the great majority of Anglo-Indian civilians and soldiers thought excellent. It had the great advantage of the mountainous Kingdom of Afghanistan, consolidated under Dost Mahomed and Shere Ali, as a buffer between ourselves and Russia, and with this advantage—that Afghanistan was not continuous with Russia, or even with India, being separated by tracts of country occupied by inde-

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pendent Tribes, easily kept in order by a few Native regiments. All this has been changed. Her Majesty's Government are delighted to have got the gates of India, being, I suppose, those narrow passages mentioned in the Gunda-muck Treaty. But we do not know whether any further gates are required for Cabul, Herat, the Hindoo Koosh, and other places. All we know is, that in one of the gates already possessed the key is rusting in the keyhole; we have had 7,000 or 8,000 troops shut up there during the whole of last autumn. Lord Lawrence, Lord Northbrook, and others, equally entitled to speak with authority on this subject, have pointed out that the whole difficulty of our position in Afghanistan was, that while nothing was easier than to get there, it was quite another thing to get out. But, moreover, I find an extract of the Viceroy in Council, dated July 7th, last year. He there said—

“We had serious cause to apprehend that, if we temporarily occupied Cabul, we might, by thus precipitating the downfall of Shere Ali, irretrievably shake to pieces all the independent materials of government in Afghanistan, bequeathing to Shere Ali's successor no stable basis of authority, and placing ourselves in a position from which we could not afterwards retire without surrendering to anarchy and civil conflict a State which it was our object to strengthen and consolidate in the manner most conducive to peaceable and friendly relations.”

This is the state in which we find ourselves now. And yet all the language of the Ministers is rose-coloured on the subject. Some promise immediate tranquillity and prosperity to Afghanistan; and the noble Viscount (Viscount Cranbrook) actually worked himself up to tell us the other day that it was a question whether Afghanistan broken up was not better than the “strong and independent” Afghanistan which the Government, like all their Predecessors, considered essential to our interests. With regard to Turkey, the noble Earl has been the greatest optimist of all. I have not heard any opinion from him of late; but he was the last to declare his unchanged belief in the independence and vitality of the Turkish Empire. I have admired the cheery tone with which, at annual civic feasts, he has announced the eternal character of his Administration. But a change has at last arisen. In his letter to the Viceroy, he acknowledges that even his Cabinet is human, and

may finally be disposed of by the process of popular election. I am not going to make any rash prophecies as to the result of the coming Election. All I can say is that I have not the slightest doubt the result of that Election will be disadvantageous to Her Majesty's Government. But, supposing they return with the same majority, or even a diminished majority, I feel it is a serious consideration how perfectly uncontrolled they will be in directing the foreign affairs of this country. I believe them to be honourable men, striving, according to their views, to act for the advantage of the country. But I dissent from their views. I dissent from their way of dealing with our foreign policy, and complain of their not achieving the results which they profess to have achieved. But what I more especially complain of is, that they do not let the country take a share in the conduct of its foreign affairs, which I believe is the right and claim of every free country at the present day. If, on the contrary, we are successful at the Election, I can only feel that whatever Government may be in power, that Government will be most anxious to maintain the unity of this Empire, to support the dignity and honour of the Crown, and to protect this country from injury and insult from whatever quarter it may come.

THE EARL OF BEACONSFIELD: There is very great difficulty in following the speeches of the noble Lord who introduced this Motion. His style of rhetoric is very peculiar. It is framed upon a series of assumptions and, as we all willingly acknowledge, his acquaintance with the countries of which he speaks; and he has made himself, much to his honour and credit, master of the diplomatic details of the last few years; this combination gives a plausibility to his assumptions, for which there is really not the slightest foundation. His arguments are sound enough, if the assumptions could only be proved. The arguments and deductions of the noble Lord are always illustrated by a certain degree of local colouring, which of course, recommends them to the consideration of the House, who feel that they are addressed by an individual who, with personal experience, combines study of the subject, and that they are listening to a noble Lord eminently qualified to address them on such topics.

* The noble Lord says—"You had a great opportunity in 1876, and you lost it." What was the opportunity? The noble Lord never told us. Throughout his speech, which was not a short one, he dwelt upon the opportunity which was lost; but he never told us what the opportunity was. "Then," said the noble Lord, "after 1876 you had another opportunity." Here, I must say, he did condescend to give us some details for our guidance. "You ought," he said, "to have sent an Embassy to St. Petersburg and not to Constantinople; everything would then have been settled to the satisfaction of Europe." But here, again, is an assumption of the noble Lord. I suppose that we who are responsible for the conduct of public affairs, or any Gentlemen in our situation, would not have carried them on without some communication with St. Petersburg. The noble Lord assumes that during the two years that elapsed before the war commenced not the slightest communication had taken place between St. Petersburg and the Court of St. James's. Then the noble Lord says—"I make a summary of these six years, and that summary is this—You have deprived Turkey of all present authority on the Bosphorus, and you have impaired her to an extent which must inevitably lead to her entirely losing her position there." Well, that is the opinion of the noble Lord; but it is not the general opinion. It is not the opinion of persons—of statesmen, I will say—in several countries upon that subject. They have differed upon points in the settlement of Europe, and compromises necessarily have been made, and arrangements have been agreed to, without which no ultimate consent or decision could have been arrived at; but, if there was one point on which all were agreed, it was that command should be given to Turkey over the Bosphorus, and arrangements should be made with reference to that position which would render it most probable—unless there was a total want of energy and power—that Constantinople would remain in the hands either of the Sultan or of some Power whose position there would not menace the independence of Europe. Now, I say, in answer to the noble Lord at once, that I entirely deny his summary; and if the consequence of his studies has only been that he should call upon the House to

listen to a speech of an hour and a quarter in order to vindicate what he calls the summary of his convictions and researches, then I say one weaker, less founded, less true, less trustworthy was never brought before the consideration of your Lordships' House. Then there is another peculiarity about the oratory of the noble Lord. The noble Lord will not be offended by my noticing it, since he is the founder of a school, although that school does not yet exist. The noble Lord has given us so many specimens of this kind of diplomatic rhetoric during this Session, that I think it is necessary that some justice should be done to its peculiarities and its beauties. The noble Lord goes on arguing—forgetting, and thinking the House will also forget—that there is one great distinction between the noble Lord and all on this side of the House, and, I believe, with a sole exception, with all noble Lords opposite. The noble Lord is a man of war. He says—"You should have done this, you lost a great opportunity; you should have done that;" but all the things we ought to have done would have been acts of war; and our duty, as an English Ministry, was to save the country from being involved in war, and, if possible, to prevent war in any part of Europe. The noble Lord, of course, disapproves of the manner in which we managed affairs, because the noble Lord and ourselves were driving at an end perfectly different and contrary to each other. The noble Lord, from beginning to end, has only one idea for the settlement of the Eastern Question. It is from the beginning war, and in the middle war, and in the end war. The object of Her Majesty's Ministers, as I doubt not it would have been the object of our rivals, if they had sat on these benches, was to save this country from war, and, if possible, other countries also. Well, this great speech this evening, which has led to so much instructive and unexpected oratory, is founded on a Motion which ought not to be forgotten. This speech is made because the noble Lord is in possession of a letter from Shere Ali to the Sultan, stirring up the Sultan to make war against England, and to enter into an alliance with that Power which, of all Powers, is the one he should most avoid allying himself to; it descants on the great advantages of his alliance with Russia. The noble

Lord's Motion is that, on the part of the Government, we should produce this letter. We have no official knowledge of it; we have it only in the form in which the noble Lord has it, through its having been printed in the newspapers. The letter in question is, without doubt, a forgery, and the noble Lord has made it the foundation of a great debate in your Lordships' House, which has elicited some important revelations from the noble Earl opposite with reference to the politics and position of his Party. He has made them on a letter which is apocryphal and spurious. Now, the history of this letter of Shere Ali, your Lordships may rely upon it, is something in this way—It appeared in a Turkish paper, and was communicated to that paper by a European. When it appeared in the Turkish newspaper, it was, of course, copied into other papers, and a considerable controversy was occasioned by it. A communication was, in consequence, made to the Turkish Government, and the authenticity of the letter was immediately denied. The Sultan himself personally declared that it was perfectly apocryphal; and, therefore, no copy came into our possession, nor did we hear anything further about it. I must say this—that the Russian newspapers—at least, some of them, though copying the letter, treated it in a spirit of very judicious criticism. *The Golos* of the 15th of July said—

“This correspondence, which is undoubtedly false, has made a strong impression upon the Mahomedan population in India. It was reprinted in all the leading Indian newspapers, and gave rise to endless rumours in all the bazaars.”

I think if your Lordships were to read the letter—and probably you did read it some time ago—you would see immediately that it was written by a European. It is too epigrammatic for an Oriental; and the whole tone is evidently that of some experienced journalist, who used a small Turkish newspaper which no longer exists, published at Constantinople, and distinguished for its hostility to England. This letter, disclaimed by the Sultan, and by him personally denounced as utterly apocryphal, is the foundation for the debate of to-night. The noble Earl opposite (Earl Granville) has taken fair advantage of this discussion to make some amiable remarks on the state of public affairs; and the noble

Earl has taken the letter which I addressed to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland as his chief text. I think he ought to have assisted the noble Lord who produced the Oriental letter, and have made a speech which would have been more germane to the matter in hand. I do not collect from the noble Earl that his objections are of a very substantial or serious character. The first objection is, that we have advised Her Majesty to dissolve Parliament. I can conceive some familiar friend complaining that we had advised Her Majesty to dissolve Parliament; but I am surprised that the noble Earl, the head of a powerful Party, who for the last six months have been denouncing Her Majesty's Government because they did not dissolve Parliament—and some of whom have used language of the strongest invective against us, and who have laboured to impress upon the nation that it was nothing but our fear of the indignation of our fellow-citizens that prevented us from doing so—I say I am surprised that the noble Earl should have found that fault with us. I will make great admissions to the noble Earl. I will admit that there is hardly a higher function to exercise, or a more responsible duty to fulfil, than to advise your Sovereign to dissolve Parliament in any circumstances, except when the absolute lapse of time renders it the duty of a Ministry to do so. I look upon it as an act which involves the highest responsibility on the part of the Ministry who advise it; and if I did not feel certain that the noble Earl opposite and many of his Friends, whose great station in the country and whose distinguished talents we all acknowledge and honour, were merely speaking in a spirit of mockery, I should be alarmed when I read, as I do read, that some of these distinguished persons have absolutely insinuated that Parliament has been dissolved because there was some Water Bill in the House of Commons. If I believed that they sincerely entertained that view, I should feel that there was great danger for the country. But, as I know they are men well experienced in public affairs, and have well weighed the responsibility of the Ministerial conduct in making such advice as the Dissolution of Parliament to the Sovereign, I pass that over, and I am quite convinced that the noble Earl will allow me to notice his remarks on the

broad ground upon which they ought to be noticed. To advise a Dissolution is an act which involves great responsibility; and we have considered it in all its bearings. Nothing but a sense of duty—of overwhelming duty—induced us to take that step; and no other justification of our act, I should think, was necessary, especially as we are now appealing to our country. The noble Earl touched, I think, upon some domestic subjects which I ought to have noticed; but as the debate is on foreign affairs, I may, perhaps, be excused from referring to them.

EARL GRANVILLE: I referred to Ireland.

THE EARL OF BEACONSFIELD: I have already troubled your Lordships to-night with remarks upon Ireland, and I will not touch upon that subject again. I will rather come to that point in the noble Earl's speech in which he questioned my right to describe what my views were as to the position of this and other nations—as to the relations existing between this and other countries—and the degree of danger or security that might arise from them. He questioned my right, and I must assert that right in a manner which cannot be mistaken. I do not understand what the noble Earl means by perpetually impressing us with the necessity of publishing to the nation every single thing connected with our foreign affairs, as if we were to take every opportunity of shuffling off the responsibility which it is our duty as Ministers to encounter and to sincerely feel. My Lords, there is not an expression in the letter to which so much reference has been made which was not well weighed and sincerely felt. I believe the state of affairs is critical; and when I look at the condition of Europe; when I observe those mighty hosts in battle array; when I find increased armaments proposed, recommended, and agreed to with facility—if there were no other causes, these alone would make me impress upon my countrymen that this is not a time when vigilance can be neglected, and when resolution can be

"Sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought."

The noble Lord followed up those remarks. The noble Lord seemed to complain very much of my using the word "ascendency," and talked of my "boasting of the ascendency which Her Majesty's

Government now possesses in Europe." I said nothing of the kind. I laid it down, as I do lay it down here sincerely, that England ought to possess an influence, not to say an ascendency, in the Councils of Europe. I laid that down; but I did not say that we possess an ascendency. I said that the principle I have just enunciated should form the basis of a policy which a wise Minister would pursue, and which he ought to endeavour to attain. There are causes why England does not possess that degree of influence and ascendency in the Councils of Europe which I should desire her to possess. These causes are the conduct, not of the noble Earl, who has always conducted himself as a statesman should; but the conduct of those deeply connected in public life with the noble Earl, who have held language which has impressed the Courts of Europe, and the nations of Europe, with the idea that there is a want of sympathy between the existing Government and their countrymen; and that if one of those trials should occur which demand the utmost development of national energy, and the utmost display of national spirit, the Government would appeal to their countrymen in vain. My Lords, there is a great difference between the word "ascendency" and the word "supremacy." The word ascendency is one which involves important moral attributes, and is not a word of offence, but one which will always be accepted in a liberal and generous spirit. I maintain that the policy of England should be directed at preserving her ascendency. I maintain that unless we take our place in the Councils of Europe in a becoming manner, the peace of the world will be endangered. I maintain that the best security for possessing general peace lies in increasing and upholding the influence of this country. Why, the two systems have been tried! The opposite system has been tried by the Ministry of which the noble Earl was one of the ablest Members, and what was the result? If we have had to encounter troubles, if we have had to meet great difficulties, if we have found affairs in Asia and in Europe complicated and confused, why, they were the consequence, I will say, of the policy of those who preceded us. That policy we have not followed. Our policy we have fairly put before the country, and its verdict will

soon be given. If it is our fortune to remain upon these benches, the policy we ourselves have pursued will be pursued again; but if the noble Earl and his Friends are destined to occupy our positions, I promise the noble Earl that if the honour and the interest of England are ever concerned when he is Minister, his Government will be supported by the Tory Party.

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY said, that the noble Earl (the Earl of Beaconsfield) had made an accusation against the late Government which he did not remember to have heard made before—namely, that they left the relations of this country with foreign Powers in such a condition that the difficulties and dangers surrounding the present Government were largely caused by their conduct. Unless his memory deceived him, he had heard the noble Earl (the Earl of Derby) the Foreign Minister serving under the noble Earl opposite, declare that when he succeeded to power the opinions of this country had never been received with more respect. What, then, became of the extraordinary statement which the noble Earl had had the audacity to make? Could anyone who was not to be led away by magniloquent phrases believe that the state of Europe, when the present Government acceded to Office, could have been brought about by the conduct of the late Government? Why, it was notorious that the condition of Europe had been largely brought about by the great war between Germany and France, which upset all the previous relations of the Continent, and from which dated the disturbance which had continued up to the present time. Since the disturbance caused by that war, peace had always been more or less insecure. He quite agreed with the noble Earl in what he had said about the critical state of Europe. He agreed with him that ever since that disturbance there had been much more danger of war than before. The noble Earl's letter was as inconsistent with that statement of his own Foreign Secretary as the speech which he had just made was inconsistent with the letter. He said in that letter that the Government had, up till then, been able to secure the peace of Europe; and further on he said, that the peace of Europe rested upon the influence, not to say the ascendancy, of this country in the Councils of Europe. The noble Earl now said

that, owing to circumstances which were to be deplored, this country had not all the influence that it ought to have. Then, what became of the argument of the noble Earl that the peace of Europe rested on England having a dominant influence in the Councils of Europe? The noble Earl knew that England had not now, and had not for many years had, any such dominant influence in Europe; and it was not to our interest that this country should endeavour to obtain dominant influence in the Councils of Europe. He (the Earl of Kimberley) hoped this country would always have a just influence in Europe; but as regarded ascendancy, he believed that to be a chimera; and if it was not a chimera, it could only be bought by an expenditure of blood and treasure which this country could not lightly undertake. What the Liberal Party asserted was, that Her Majesty's Government had not secured the results which they ought to have secured. They said the result of the action of Her Majesty's Government was to leave Turkey dismembered; that, far from insuring peace, they adopted a course which must lead to war; that if they had interfered at a timely moment, they might have averted war. It was always comparatively easy to excite the passions of a high-minded people such as the people of England by appealing to national honour and national interests; but he ventured to think that such a proceeding was scarcely worthy of statesmen who were responsible for the government of the country. It was a far nobler duty to moderate these passions, which were generally not the highest which actuated mankind.

VISCOUNT CRANBROOK said, that the noble Earl who had just sat down had included among his observations the remark that he was not aware whether he spoke the views of anyone else on his own side of the House. In saying that, he had expressed the difference which existed between a Liberal and a Conservative Government. His noble Friend behind him (the Earl of Beaconsfield) had not been exactly represented when he was credited with saying that our relations with foreign Powers were in the slightest degree wanting in the due respect which one nation owed to another; but when the time had come for the voice of England to speak in Europe, the present Government had found that

we could not speak with due effect. The reason of this was that there existed on the Continent—and the noble Earl (the Earl of Kimberley) knew very well that this had been alleged by some of the most prominent men on the Continent—a belief that England did not intend to take any real part in the affairs of Europe. When the Government had been called upon to give their adhesion to the Berlin Memorandum, the noble Earl (Earl Granville), with that English sense which he could not divest himself of, had felt with the Government that they were right in declining to accede to it. Then had come the great agitation conducted in this country by a man of the greatest possible ability, in which again the inference was held out to Europe that England was not at one, and that her foreign policy was not to be depended upon. The noble Earl had spoken about exciting the passions of Englishmen on the subject of their relations with foreign countries; there was, however, an opposite change—namely, to excite those passions in another direction, by an appeal to their humanity, and by an exaggeration of events which were most lamentable in themselves, but which received even an undue importance from that exaggeration. The noble Earl told their Lordships he did not like the electioneering remarks of his (Viscount Cranbrook's) noble Friend in that House. He (Viscount Cranbrook) ventured to say, with great respect to the noble Earl opposite who led the Liberal Party with so much effect, he could not conceive for what object he made the speech he made to-night, except as a Manifesto on the part of the Liberal Party. If the noble Earl had spoken on behalf of the whole of the Liberal Party, no doubt, his Manifesto would have been received as a valuable representative utterance; but he did not, as a matter of fact, speak for the whole Party. The Party was broken up into shreds, and its voice was disunited to a degree which must make it weak in the Councils of Europe. The Conservatives, on the other hand, had spoken with one voice, and unequivocally, and they had taken that position throughout, which they would continue to adopt if they were left upon those Benches. They spoke still with that unanimity with which the Conservative Party had throughout spoken on this question. Great objec-

Viscount Cranbrook

tion had been made to the word "ascendancy." There was the ascendancy of violence, and the ascendancy of moral power. England had a power of her own. It might be that she had not the great armaments which existed on the Continent; but she could, as was well known, make her power felt in every direction. There was no State in Europe which, if England were really in earnest, would not value an alliance with her, and feel the importance of every word she spoke. He himself would certainly never have anticipated taking part in the discussion of that evening; but they had been invited to this electioneering contest, and, as he was now debarred from taking any part in it outside, he must thank the noble Earl for enabling him to say in that place that the Party he (Viscount Cranbrook) represented had the honour and interests of England at heart, and were prepared to maintain them in a way in which the noble Earl's Party could not, because it was divided against itself, and was therefore, one of those Parties that could not stand.

THE MARQUESS OF RIPON ventured to say that the sentiments which were expressed by his noble Friend at the conclusion of his speech were sentiments that were shared by the Liberal Party. The noble Viscount who had just sat down admitted that when Her Majesty's Government came into Office they were not acquainted with that great want of influence in the Councils of Europe from which England had suffered during the time they were in Office. He had the statement of the noble Earl (the Earl of Derby) that at the time when the present Government entered on Office, our relations with all foreign countries were on a satisfactory and honourable footing. As to the occurrences in Bulgaria, it had always been the custom of Her Majesty's Government and their supporters in the country to assert that the strong feelings which those occurrences aroused in this country were the result of Mr. Gladstone's pamphlet; but the fact was that the Earl of Derby's despatch, denouncing those outrages in the strongest terms, was written before that pamphlet. There was no doubt that Her Majesty's Government was suffering from a want of influence in many parts of the Continent and in many foreign countries. He would instance Turkey. The po-

licy of Her Majesty's Government had been a policy intended, in the main, to be friendly to Turkey. They had heard much of the integrity and independence of Turkey. But now the state of things was such—the influence of this country had fallen so low—that Ministers in that country, whose removal had been demanded, were not removed, but promoted and even decorated. Reforms had been promised in Asia Minor; but, after an interval of 21 months, they had not even been begun. The obligations undertaken by the Anglo-Turkish Convention had never been fulfilled. The noble Earl at the head of the Government, in a letter which had been much alluded to in the course of the evening, described the present state of Europe as being very critical. That phrase had been repeated that evening. From that their Lordships were desired to understand that unless power was again placed in the hands of Her Majesty's present Government, there would arise a general war in Europe, and that the peace of the world would be disturbed. It was, however, a curious fact, if the state of the world was so critical and dangerous, that Her Majesty's Government in the present year should have proposed no inconsiderable reduction in the Army and Navy Estimates. That course was certainly unjustifiable if taken in connection with the statements which had been made in their Lordships' House. Nothing could be more dangerous than a blustering policy unsupported by force. If Her Majesty's Government believed that the condition of the world was alarming, they were bound not to reduce armaments, but largely to increase them.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR said, he rose to reply to some remarks of the noble Marquess who had just sat down, and that he did not purpose to go into the question of Asiatic reforms. That question could only be discussed properly on a full and calm review of all the Papers bearing on it. The noble Marquess had stated that when Her Majesty's Government came into Office they found the relations of the country with foreign Powers satisfactory. It was not, however, till years afterwards that the time arrived when Her Majesty's Government found it necessary to make the voice of England heard. It was then that they found that, both by the traditions of the Government which had gone

before and from the language which had been held from time to time by Members of that Government, the influence of this country was becoming weakened. The noble Marquess had said that the noble Earl the Prime Minister had stated that Her Majesty's Government were suffering from a want of influence on the Continent. But he wished to be allowed to state to their Lordships what was really the fact. What his noble Friend meant was perfectly plain and distinct; and it was this—that at the Dissolution of Parliament in this country, when those who were interested in politics were stating in their Addresses and speeches that the opinion of the country disapproved of the policy of the Government, that that was a course which tended to impair the influence of England. In that sense, and in that sense alone, his noble Friend had spoken of the arrest of the influence of this country on the affairs of Europe.

LORD SELBORNE said, that the noble and learned Earl on the Woolsack had stated that Her Majesty's present Government had found the influence of this country weakened abroad by the proceedings of their Predecessors. That was diametrically opposite to what had been stated by his Colleague, the former Foreign Secretary; who said, not merely in the formal manner usual in Queen's Speeches, that they found the relations of this country with Foreign Powers satisfactory, but that there never was a time at which the influence of this country stood higher. It seemed, however, that Her Majesty's present Government had in view some line of policy in which they found themselves thwarted, either by the effect of the previous policy, or of the active opposition, of their Predecessors. He should like to know exactly what that line of policy was. Was it simply war for Turkey against the liberties of her subject-races? Now, the one happy result of that miserable war was that the rights of those suffering races were established; and he, for one, rejoiced that what had taken place would prevent those races from being further down-trodden as they had been in former times. When the Bulgarian atrocities occurred, and a thrill of horror ran through the country, his noble Friend (the Earl of Derby), who was then the Foreign Secretary, fully shared those sentiments. If, then, it were meant that Her Majesty's Go-

vernment were less moved by those sentiments of humanity and compassion and had a policy opposed to the liberation of those subject-races, he, for one, rejoiced and counted it a most happy thing that they had not been able to carry out that course of policy.

EARL GRANVILLE called attention to the fact that a few days after the present Government was formed, the noble Earl (the Earl of Derby), in his place, mentioned that he heard various reports about the waning influence of England. He found that was not the case, for at no time was the advice of this country more sought for or more effectual than at that time.

LORD CAMPBELL said, that, as the authenticity of the letter had been disputed, it was open to him to withdraw his Motion.

Motion (by leave of the House) *withdrawn*.

RAMMINGEN'S NATURALIZATION BILL [H.L.]

A Bill to naturalize Alphons Freiherr Von Pawel Rammingen (in the Empire of Germany styled Baron de Pawel Rammingen) and to grant and confer on him all the rights, privileges, and capacities of a natural-born subject of Her Majesty the Queen—Was *presented* (on petition); read 1^a.

House adjourned at a quarter past
Nine o'clock, till To-morrow,
half-past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Monday, 15th March, 1880.

MINUTES]—WAYS AND MEANS—*considered in Committee*—£6,000,000, Terminable Annuities; £60,000, Exchequer Bonds.

PUBLIC BILLS—*Resolution in Committee*—Sinking Fund Act (1875)*.

Resolution in Committee—Ordered—First Reading—Bills of Sale Act (1878) Amendment* [113].

Ordered—First Reading—Metropolitan Commons (Supplemental)* [112].

Second Reading—Probates of Wills, &c. [104]; Customs and Inland Revenue* [111]; Consolidated Fund (Appropriation); Glebe Loan (Ireland) Amendment Act (1878) Amendment* [81].

Withdrawn—Alkali Acts Amendment, &c.* [74]; Post Office (Money Orders)* [62]; Census* [85]; Census (Scotland)* [86]; Census (Ireland)* [101]; Local Courts of Bankruptcy (Ireland)* [110].

Lord Selborne

QUESTIONS.

LORD CLERK REGISTER (SCOTLAND) ACT, 1879.

MR. McLAREN asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, What steps have been taken to carry into effect the provisions of the Lord Clerk Register (Scotland) Act of last Session, giving the Treasury power to appoint all officers required in the Register House, and, with the consent of the Secretary of State—

“To regulate any of the said offices, and to change the designation thereof and the duties of officers employed therein, and the terms on which appointments shall be made thereto;”

and with power to the Treasury, to grant superannuations to such officers, and also to officers appointed under the former Acts?

MR. ASSHETON CROSS, in reply, said, there was at the present moment, and there had been for some time past, a scheme under consideration which involved the adjustment of the staff of the various Departments and the increase of salaries. He regretted that the revision of the scheme had been very much delayed from various causes, including among them that one referred to by his right hon. and learned Friend the Lord Advocate in the answer he gave the other night—a cause they all deeply regretted.

MR. McLAREN asked when it was expected the scheme would come into operation?

MR. ASSHETON CROSS could not say, but had mentioned that the matter had been very much delayed by the illness of the gentleman he had referred to, whose duties were very much connected with this Office. Of course, that was a matter entirely out of the control of the Government.

AFGHANISTAN—EXECUTIONS AT CABUL—GENERAL ROBERTS'S REPORT.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE asked the Under Secretary of State for India, If General Roberts's Report on the executions at Cabul has been received; and if he can explain the discrepancy between Lord Lytton's statement that only eighty-seven Afghans have been executed, and that of General Roberts that up to 15th December ninety-seven had already been executed by the Com-

mission without counting those executed without trial and those executed since 15th December?

MR. E. STANHOPE, in reply, stated that he could not quite say when the Report referred to by the hon. Baronet would be circulated, but it was put into the hands of the printer on Saturday morning.

THE BRITISH MUSEUM—SALE OF DUPLICATES.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE (for Mr. CHAMBERLAIN) asked the Right Honourable Member for Cambridge University, If the Trustees of the British Museum will consent to give to local authorities, having charge of museums, the opportunity of purchasing the duplicates which the Trustees propose to dispose of, at prices less than might be obtained by public auction, but sufficient to provide the balance of the sum required by the Trustees for the purchase of the collection offered to them?

MR. SPENCER WALPOLE, in reply, said, that it had been deemed advisable to issue advertisements announcing that the sale of these prints would take place on the 21st April by public auction. Those advertisements were issued, not merely in this country, but in France, Germany, and the United States, and he thought that if they were to withdraw any portion of the prints they would injure the sale of the others. He might say that the authorities of the Museum were now, and had been, considering how far they could aid local authorities by granting duplicate prints to local Museums. They had already given some, and were intending to set apart others for this purpose.

MUNICIPAL AND PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS ACT, 1872—GOOD FRIDAY.

MR. SCOTT (for Mr. GREGORY) asked Mr. Attorney General, Whether Good Friday would count as one of the days in the computation of time prescribed by the Act 35 and 36 Vic. c. 33, Part I., for giving notice of an Election or in computing the interval of time required between such notice and the day of Election?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir JOHN HOLKER), in reply, said, Good Friday would not count in either case.

CONTAGIOUS DISEASES (ANIMALS) ACT—GLANDERED HORSES.

SIR WILLIAM FRASER asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether his attention has been drawn to a statement made on the 3rd of March in the Kensington Vestry to the effect that no less than 116 glandered horses have been slaughtered in that parish during the last six months; whether he considers that efficient means are taken to ensure the burial of the whole body of each animal; and, whether he will cause inquiry to be made as to the spread of this disease? He added, that from information subsequently received, he found that 40 of the horses mentioned were affected in an adjoining parish, and he was also informed that the fat of these animals was sold for the manufacture of a compound known as "butterine."

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON: Sir, I am informed by the head of the Veterinary department that 60 cases of glanders and 50 of farcy have been returned in the period named. No facilities exist in the Metropolis for burying carcasses. The local authority, under licence from the Privy Council, cause the carcasses to be disinfected and removed under charge of one of their officers to a "knacker's" (approved by the Privy Council), where they are destroyed by boiling. I have heard nothing as to the manufacture of butterine. The increase in the number is probably due, not so much to any increase in the disease, as to greater activity on the part of the local authority in prosecuting persons under the Contagious Diseases (Animals) Act for not giving notice of disease.

MR. MITCHELL HENRY would like to know if it was possible to disinfect the body of a glandered horse? He considered it very doubtful.

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON said, the information he had given was on the authority of Professor Brown, the head of the Veterinary department. He said the carcasses were disinfected, and he presumed, therefore, that it was possible to do it.

CONTAGIOUS DISEASES ACTS.

MR. SULLIVAN asked the First Lord of the Admiralty, If it is true that the Contagious Diseases Acts are, or have

been, enforced beyond the fifteen mile radius from Queenstown; and, if so, what legal authority is there for such a proceeding?

COLONEL LOYD LINDSAY: Sir, as far as the War Office is aware, these Acts have not been enforced without the radius of 15 miles of Queenstown. If, however, the hon. and learned Member is in possession of any information which would lead him to suppose the contrary, I will have an inquiry if he lets me know of it.

NAVY—CAPTAIN BEDFORD PIM.

SIR GEORGE BOWYER asked the First Lord of the Admiralty, In reference to the Petition presented to this House by the honourable Member for Gravesend, praying that an inquiry may be held into the justice or otherwise of keeping back his Rear Admiral's rank, to which he was entitled in March, 1878, and whether he will refer the matter to Mr. Attorney General, or some other competent and impartial Member of this House?

MR. W. H. SMITH, in reply, said, he had no right to inquire into any Petition which was presented to the House. Promotions on the Retired List were made in strict accordance with the regulations under the Orders in Council. Those regulations had been followed in every case with great exactness, and he did not think it would be right to refer a question of this kind to the Attorney General or anyone else.

SUPERANNUATION OF POOR LAW OFFICERS—THE TENTERDEN GUARDIANS.

SIR TREVOR LAWRENCE asked the President of the Local Government Board, Whether he has been furnished by the guardians of the Tenterden Union with reasons satisfactory to himself for their refusal to grant superannuation to Mr. Terry, late their medical officer, who is seventy-four years of age, and incapacitated, after forty years' service?

MR. SCLATER-BOOTH: Sir, I have been furnished by the Tenterden Guardians with their reasons for declining to grant a superannuation to Mr. Terry, their medical officer. I cannot say their reasons are satisfactory to me, because they are to the effect that the Guardians disapprove the principle of such super-

annuations, especially when the whole time of the officer has not been engaged in the public service, whereas the law expressly authorizes superannuations to be given under those circumstances. On the other hand, I am not prepared to say that the Guardians have failed to exercise a right judgment in this case without more information than I possess, because the real question would generally be, what proportion or relation the salary and public service of a medical officer has borne to his whole professional emolument and duties?

CRIMINAL LAW (IRELAND)—THE POLICE AND CROWN WITNESSES.

MR. SULLIVAN asked the Chief Secretary for Ireland, If it is true that on the trial of Michael Kelly, Luke Brown, and Simon Brown, at the last Mullingar Assizes, the Crown applied for a postponement of the trial on the ground of an affidavit sworn by police constable Fitzgerald that he had material evidence from a person named Gibbon, who had, he alleged, disappeared and could not be found; whether it turned out that Gibbon was at the moment sitting in court close by the constable so swearing, who, affecting to look around the court, avoided looking at the place where Gibbon was in waiting; the judge thereupon refusing the postponement; whether it is true that the principal of those Crown witnesses and several others examined for the prosecution swore that they had been frequently, in the course of the summer of 1879, supplied with porter and other intoxicating drinks by the above mentioned constable Fitzgerald and other members of the force in charge of Curraghmore police station, such drinking having gone on both in the station and in the fields; whether constable Fitzgerald admitted that he had so supplied the witnesses with drink, the mother of the principal Crown witness stating to the court that her son Patrick was constantly supplied with whiskey and other drink by constable Fitzgerald, and that she found about her place a large number of bottles, whiskey, beer, and porter, given by Fitzgerald to her son; and, whether any and what censure has been passed upon such practices on the part of the Irish constabulary towards those persons whom they desire to produce as witnesses on criminal prosecutions?

Mr. Sullivan

MR. J. LOWTHER: Sir, it is not the intention of the Government to institute any proceedings in connection with this case. The charge against the persons named was one of agrarian outrage, and I fear their acquittal cannot be regarded as otherwise than a failure of justice. I am disposed to think that, although the conduct of the police witnesses was perfectly satisfactory, there was a good deal of perjury committed at the trial; but it would not be the Crown witnesses against whom proceedings should be taken if any were to be instituted at all. It is the case, I understand, that a postponement was applied for upon the ground of the absence of a witness named Gibbon, who, it subsequently transpired, was in Court at the time. This witness eventually gave evidence differing materially from previous statements he had made, and I understand that he was found, after the postponement referred to, in an obscure part of the Court, behind the Crown witnesses, by whom he would not naturally have been seen at the time the affidavit was put in. With reference to the supply of drink to witnesses, I gather from the reports that the statements are considerably exaggerated, though it appears that the constable, when engaged upon special duty of a detective character, had occasion to meet some of the parties who afterwards appeared as witnesses, and supplied them with refreshment. It would manifestly be undesirable to lay down any very definite rule as to the liberty of action in that respect of a constable employed upon detective duty. I have arrived at the conclusion, after considering the report made to me, that the constabulary did not exceed their duty in the matter.

MR. SULLIVAN asked, if anyone had contradicted the statement that the police plied the men with drink while getting up their evidence?

MR. J. LOWTHER said, that it was admitted at the trial that drink was partaken of by parties at the constable's expense; but it was some time before the trial.

CRIMINAL LAW (IRELAND)—DISTURBANCE OF A TENANT RIGHT MEETING AT PORTADOWN.

MR. SULLIVAN asked the Chief Secretary for Ireland, What measures

have been taken to bring to justice the rioters at Portadown?

MR. J. LOWTHER, in reply, said, parties assaulted on the occasion must prosecute the assailants in the ordinary way before an inquiry could be instituted into the occurrence.

PUBLIC HEALTH—SMALL POX (METROPOLIS).

MR. LYON PLAYFAIR asked the President of the Local Government Board, Whether he has observed that smallpox is increasing in the Metropolis, though not in the other large towns of the Kingdom; and, if he is satisfied that the arrangements for public vaccination are efficiently carried out in the various districts of London?

MR. SCLATER-BOOTH: Sir, I am aware that at the beginning of the year there was an increased prevalence of small-pox in the Metropolis—not a very serious increase, and confined, for the most part, to four or five parishes. During the last four weeks the returns from the asylum hospitals show the number of patients to have been stationary. I could refer the right hon. Gentleman to the Report of Dr. Bridges, recently circulated, on the last two small-pox epidemics, as illustrating his Question. He enters very carefully into statistics, and I think the Report throws a good deal of light on the special circumstances of the spread where has it taken place. The vaccination arrangements for the Metropolis work well and give me satisfaction, though it cannot be said that the Metropolis is so efficiently vaccinated as the rest of the Kingdom, in consequence of the fluctuating character of much of its population. The right hon. Gentleman will find this subject specially noticed in the recent Reports of the Local Government Board.

THE CRIMINAL CODE BILL—LETTER OF THE LORD CHIEF JUSTICE.

MR. DODSON asked Mr. Attorney General, Whether he will lay on the Table a letter which has been addressed to him by the Lord Chief Justice of England containing a comment on the Criminal Code and Indictable Offences Bill?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir JOHN HOLKER): Sir, I have already had the letter in question printed, and I was

prepared to circulate it among the Members of the Committee appointed to consider this Bill. I shall be happy to lay it on the Table.

ARMY — AUXILIARY FORCES — THE
EASTER MONDAY VOLUNTEER REVIEW—THE GENERAL ELECTION.

MR. ASHBURY asked Mr. Attorney General, Whether there is any Statute which renders the holding of the Volunteer Review at Brighton on Easter Monday illegal; and, having regard to paragraph 419 of the Volunteer Regulations, if the review and march-past could take place without infringing or straining the Constitution, provided that no Brighton Volunteers took part in it or were in uniform on that occasion; or would Her Majesty's Government facilitate a short Bill to be passed whereby Volunteers could assemble at any time, except on polling days?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (SIR JOHN HOLKER): Sir, by a Statute passed in 1847 it is provided that soldiers quartered within two miles of any place where an election is going on shall not leave barracks, except for the purpose of mounting guard or giving their votes. This Statute, does not, in my opinion, apply to Volunteers, although, no doubt, the assembling of armed Volunteers in place were elections are being held, would come within the mischief the Statute was intended to prevent. I may, however, remark that the Act in question does not provide that soldiers should remain in barracks after the issuing of the Writ for the election, but "on every day appointed for the nomination, or for the election, or for taking the poll." This being so, there seems to me nothing in the Statute which should prevent even troops of the Line attending the Review on Easter Monday if the Writs are not proclaimed before the Thursday; for, as Friday and Sunday are *dies non*, the nomination could not take place till the Tuesday, by which day the Review will be over. I must add that under the Order for regulating Volunteers, issued in April, 1878, which, I presume, can be modified, no Volunteers can be assembled in the neighbourhood of their headquarters between the issue of the Writs and the termination of the elections. As to the latter portion of the Question of my hon. Friend, it seems to me that a Bill is unnecessary.

The Attorney General

MR. ASHBURY asked whether, in all the exceptional circumstances of the case, Her Majesty's Government would arrange for the Volunteer Review to take place on Easter Monday at Brighton?

LORD EUSTACE CECIL: Sir, since my right hon. and gallant Friend the Secretary of State for War answered a Question on this subject on Friday, he has been compelled to go on pressing business into the country. He has, however, been communicated with, and it has been decided, subject to the legal opinion of my hon. and learned Friends the Law Officers of the Crown, and to the nomination day not being earlier than Tuesday, that the Volunteer Regulations should be suspended, and that the Review shall take place. I may add that there is reason to believe that many of the Volunteer regiments may suffer loss if the Review does not take place, as they may be unable to extricate themselves from the contracts into which they have entered.

MR. FAWCETT asked, with reference to the reply of the Attorney General, whether the holding of the Review depended on the nomination day for the particular borough of Brighton being not upon the Tuesday in Easter week?

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL asked the Attorney General, if he would be good enough to inform the House whether Good Friday would count as a good day in Scotland, where it was not recognized?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (SIR JOHN HOLKER), in reply, said, in his opinion, Good Friday would not count in Scotland; but the whole question was dealt with in the Ballot Act, 1872, and he would refer the hon. Gentleman to that Act. With regard, however, to the Question of the hon. Member for Hackney (Mr. Fawcett), he believed that the Volunteer Review depended on the nomination day at Brighton being not prior to the Tuesday. The Writ would probably not be proclaimed in that borough till the previous Thursday; and therefore, as Good Friday and Sunday would not be counted, the two clear days between the proclamation of the Writ and the nomination would not expire till the following Tuesday.

PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS AND
CORRUPT PRACTICES (NO. 2) BILL.

MR. ANDERSON asked the Chancellor of the Exchequer, what course he

intended to take with regard to the Parliamentary Elections and Corrupt Practices (No. 2) Bill, against which a page of Notices of Opposition and Amendments had been given?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: Sir, I am aware that there are a large number of Notices of opposition to the Bill; but the Bill has been introduced, I believe, with a view to the general convenience of a large body of Members who wish to have the point which is raised by it decided. I, therefore, think it would be right that we should proceed with the Bill.

PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—THE DISSOLUTION.

MR. DILLWYN asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer at what hour the House would meet to-morrow, and what would be the Order of Business up to the day of Dissolution?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said, he would take that opportunity of moving—

“That, for the remainder of the Session, Orders of the Day have precedence of Notices of Motion, Government Orders having priority, and that Government Orders have precedence on Wednesday.”

He thought that it would probably be convenient for the House to meet somewhat earlier than usual on Tuesday and Thursday. They might sit either at 2 o'clock or at 3 o'clock, and he thought the latter hour preferable. The course of Business would be to take day by day the different stages of the various Money Bills now on the Order Paper. They had before them the Probates of Wills, &c., Bill, which, he hoped, might be read a second time that evening, the Customs and Inland Revenue Bill, and the Sinking Fund Bill, which would require a short time every day up to Friday. He was not aware of any necessity for the House to meet on Monday or Tuesday in next week, unless the state of Public Business required it. As far as he could judge, by sitting every day they might be able on Friday to send the last of the Money Bills to the House of Lords, who would sit on Saturday, and those Bills might receive the Royal Assent in time for the Dissolution on the Wednesday. On that day the House would meet, probably at 1.30 p.m., to be prorogued, and immediately after the prorogation the proclamation of Dissolution would be made

and the Writs would go out that same evening.

Motion agreed to.

Ordered, That, for the remainder of the Session, Orders of the Day have precedence of Notices of Motions, Government Orders having priority; and that Government Orders have precedence on Wednesday.—(Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.)

ACROBATIC PERFORMANCES BILL.

(Mr. Edward Jenkins, Mr. Ashley, Mr. Ritchie, Mr. Justin M'Carthy, Mr. Edge.)

[BILL 66.] WITHDRAWAL OF BILL.*

MR. E. JENKINS: Sir, the third Order of the Day on Wednesday is the Acrobatic Performances Bill, which is brought to an untimely end by a dangerous performance on the part of Her Majesty's Government. I wish to say, in withdrawing it, that although personally I shall not be able to bring it forward in the next Parliament, I hope it will be brought forward by some other hon. Member. As a large number of persons have been thrown out of employment by the introduction of the Bill, arrangements have been made to render it of such a character as will prevent its interfering with ordinary and legitimate acrobatic performances.

Bill withdrawn.

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

PROBATES OF WILLS, &c. BILL.

(Mr. Raikes, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson.)

[BILL 104.] SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER, in moving that the Bill be now read a second time, said, as it was late in the night, or early in the morning, when he asked leave to introduce this measure, his statement was necessarily brief. He would, therefore, ask the House to let him make a few remarks upon the second reading. The arguments for an alteration in the scale of probate duties rested upon two main grounds. He was aware that the hon. Member for Stockton (Mr. Dodds), who brought forward the subject last year, introduced it on another ground; but the two motives which influenced the Government were—first, the unfairness of charging a higher probate on small

estates than on large; and, secondly, the unfairness of charging intestate estates higher than those received by will. Hon. Gentlemen would see from the Schedule in their hands that an intestate estate under £1,500 paid as much as 3·6 per cent; and, on the other hand, that a testate estate under the large sum of £500,000 paid only 1·33 per cent. The difference was, therefore, enormous, and pressed very heavily upon the lower as compared with the higher grades of estates. They had, therefore, adopted in the present Bill a new code, which abolished the distinction between testate and intestate estates; and, at the same time, they made the percentage charged on the different classes of estates more nearly equal. They made it on the average $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. That amount was taken because it was the mean between the two extremes—between 3·6 and 1·33 per cent. They had not found it possible, however, to do what the hon. Member for Stockton desired—namely, to substitute an exact percentage upon all the different values of estates. It had been found on examination that such a course would cause very great inconvenience, and that it would be impossible under it to maintain the principle of paying the duties by stamps. It would be impossible, without enormous inconvenience and waste, to have a sufficient supply of stamps available, and, moreover, there would be a considerable amount of inconvenience to administrators if they were obliged to put forward the exact amount of the estate at the time they obtained probate. It would be said that this would be a heavy burden upon the property of the country, and undoubtedly, as it would yield a considerable addition to the Revenue, it followed that there must be a larger amount of income derived from personal property passing under will. But then they ought to take into account the remissions on the one hand, as well as the additional burdens on the other. In comparing the scale under this Bill with that which existed before, there were two points to which attention must be directed. In all testate estates of £2,000 and upwards the scale became sensibly heavier, and that was the case also with intestate estates of £18,000 and upwards. Keeping these two sums in mind as the points where the new scale operated in increasing the charge, and taking the year 1878-9, they found that the number

of wills under £2,000 in that year was 23,744, whereas the number over £2,000 was only 8,296. An enormous number, therefore, would not be affected or would obtain relief. In the case of testate estates the difference was more remarkable. There were 10,310 under £18,000, and 53 only over £18,000. The result of the alteration, therefore, was that while in 1878-9 some 44,000 estates would have obtained relief, there were only 8,349 on which the scale would have been raised. Then he would point out that the small properties would obtain relief, while the large properties would be more heavily charged; that was to say, they reversed the weights which now pressed against the small properties and made them press against large properties. Small estates under £500, which were charged less than 2·50 per cent, and of which there were in the year referred to 13,238 testate and 6,878 intestate, making a total of 20,000, would receive relief by this measure. Another clause in the Bill relieved from legacy duty small sums under £100. That exemption was given now in the case of succession, but had not been applied to legacy duty. The measure was, in his opinion, a reasonable one, and rectified an evil long complained of, and which it was not easy to defend. But it had been said—"If you are dealing with personal property, you ought to deal with landed property also." That might or might not be right; but he did not see that it necessarily followed. The right hon. Member for Greenwich (Mr. Gladstone) took occasion to make some rather sharp remarks on that subject the other night at Marylebone, and very amiably endeavoured to set the farmers and landlords at issue, for purposes which were tolerably evident, by contrasting the position of the one with the other. But the right hon. Gentleman omitted to say that the scale as proposed did not bear very unfairly on the farmer. The question really was, were they to wait until the time came for dealing with landed property before doing an act of justice? If they were to take the right hon. Gentleman's view, they would have to wait a long time. Why was it that the right hon. Gentleman himself never made that change in the succession duties while he was in Office? As he understood the argument, it was that a change of the probate duty might in itself be quite right, but it

ought to be accompanied by a corresponding change in the succession duties. He thought a proposal made in that direction some years ago had been withdrawn by the Government which made it, although in a Parliament under their own guidance, because it was found impossible to proceed with such an alteration. Whether it was intended to bring it forward again, or whether it was one of the "judicious re-adjustments" of existing taxation they were told to expect as the work of the next Liberal Government, he could not say; but this he knew—that the scheme had been recently under consideration, and it had not been found possible to recommend it with any success to Parliament. It would, therefore, be unwise and altogether futile to wait to see how they could deal with that question before dealing with probate. Indeed, there was an obvious difference between the charge in the one case and the other. Probate duty was on personal property; it could be levied and paid with only the effect of diminishing, to a certain extent, the *corpus* of the property; but to levy the succession duty on land was a more complicated transaction, because the land ordinarily could not be sold, and was subject to several charges to which personal property was not subject. He would say but a word or two about the financial effect of these proposals. The hon. Member for Stockton (Mr. Dodds) told the House the other day that they would add £1,500,000 to the Revenue. He would be curious to know how the hon. Member made that calculation, and if it were correct, he would be exceedingly pleased at it, but he could not bring himself to expect it. He had made a very fair estimate himself—£700,000—and he did that with reference to certain peculiarities of the future. The manner in which the calculations were made was that the averages of 1877-8 and 1878-9 were taken as an estimate. If, next year, the amount was in the same proportion, there would be an increased income of considerably more than £700,000—in fact, it would come to about £900,000; but then they had to consider, in the first place, that they were dealing with a class of taxable material which was very uncertain. There might be only a small number of large estates, and when dealing with large estates there might be, and there had been, great disappointment as to

what they were expected to yield. It should also be borne in mind that, the announcement of the new scale having been made, it was uncertain as to the number of wills that might be proved in the financial year. He therefore thought it better that he should make a very cautious statement, and £700,000 appeared to be a fair calculation—it might be £100,000 more; it did not materially affect the question. He could not help remembering the great disappointment which occurred in the productiveness of the succession duty in 1853, when it was first imposed, and he was anxious to avoid a similar disappointment by making his calculations moderate. He begged to move the second reading of the Bill.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.*)

MR. GLADSTONE said, he would avail himself of this opportunity of making some remarks on the Chancellor of the Exchequer's Financial Statement. He understood the right hon. Gentleman to say that he had created £20,000,000 of assets in the nature of the reduction of Debt—it was not material whether the amount was £18,000,000 or £20,000,000. Under the *régime* of the present Government there had been a great number of novelties introduced, among other things in the manner of reckoning the National Debt. The old-fashioned way was for the Government to charge themselves with whatever liability they incurred, but they now credited themselves with assets that they created; those assets, of course, being open to a great deal of question, the obligation undertaken by the State to the creditors being of the highest order, while it was a matter of a great deal of question whether the counter obligations on the part of the creditors were likely to prove of equal value. He admitted at once that there were some important considerations which tended to recommend the introduction of that new system, one of them being the large augmentation of the amount that was asked. They had become lenders to so great an extent, and it was certainly quite right that the assets should be kept in public view; but whether it was quite right that they should be reckoned as they had been by the Chancellor of the Exchequer was a different question. He would give an

instance. They had borrowed £4,000,000 to purchase Suez Canal shares, and that was in the nature of a loan to the Khedive of Egypt. The immediate security was the Khedive's estate—the £4,000,000 rested on his liability; but the credit of the Khedive was not equal to that of the Chancellor of the Exchequer; consequently, the two things did not correspond, and, therefore, it was doubtful policy to place the two in the same scale, or to say that the £4,000,000 of assets in the hands of the Khedive went against the loan, and the country stood in the same way as before the transaction. Not only was this a novel principle, but it was not quite consistently carried through. The Chancellor of the Exchequer received everything under the head of Miscellaneous Revenue—assets of that kind he put down as Revenue, and he spent them as Revenue. He would give an illustration. In the time of the Crimean War, it was his (Mr. Gladstone's) duty to borrow £2,000,000 and lend it to the Sardinian Government. That stood against him; but he was not allowed to credit himself with the assets created in the form of obligations of the Sardinian Government, although in respect of that loan there had been regularly paid every year not only interest at 3 per cent, but 1 per cent by which the capital was extinguished. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, however, absorbed what he put into Revenue, and claimed to be allowed to reckon assets when he created them. They should not be allowed to class as Revenue, and to spend as Revenue, assets of the country which they had destroyed. The old and vulgar method was to estimate the Surplus by the annual balance-sheet of the country. Now, he admitted that it was so far right, in stating the condition of the National Debt, to point out the reduction that had been effected in the value of Terminable Annuities, and through the medium of the payments on their account; but it was when they came to see the difference between the two methods of paying off Debt in this country that the comparison was most apparent. The system by Terminable Annuities was what was called automatic. The Chancellor of the Exchequer could not help paying the debts, for he was as far bound to them as he was to pay the salaries of the Civil servants; and,

therefore, it was somewhat surprising to find a claim made by the Government to take credit for their involuntary action in doing what the law required when payment was to be made by Terminable Annuities. The manes of defunct Chancellors of the Exchequer, if they were conscious of the debates, would wonder that this ingenious method of reckoning had never occurred to them. He was old enough to recollect the time—although none of the right hon. Gentlemen opposite were—when the public judgment and inclination of the country passed over from one political Party to the other on financial grounds, because in the time of the Melbourne Government, when Mr. Spring Rice (Lord Monteagle) was Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Mr. Baring was Chancellor of the Exchequer, there were several deficiencies of the Revenue nearly as great as that which signalized the reign of the present Government. But those Chancellors of the Exchequer had not the wit to fall back on the Terminable Annuities, or they might have shown that every year of the existence of the Melbourne Government they had been paying off the National Debt. But they had not that ingenuity which had at length been extracted from the secrets of finance, and proclaimed to the country as proof of the diligence and economy of the Government in dealing with the National Debt. The right hon. Gentleman had referred to what he (Mr. Gladstone) had stated in Marylebone on Friday night. He was ready to repeat what he had stated. He would certainly repeat it elsewhere. Particularly as the present Government were supposed to be eminently the farmers' friends, it would be his duty—and he hoped to succeed in the attempt—to make the matter tolerably clear to the country. He would say no more about the National Debt; and he came, in the next place, to the probate duties. With respect to the plan of his right hon. Friend in regard to those duties, anything, of course, which he might say in that House would be simply in the way of protest and manifesto. It was not in his power to check the career of the Government. He and his Friends were entirely at their mercy. They might pass whatever measure they pleased, unless the majority were prepared to resist it; and

as to the chance of any such resistance, those who had watched the progress of affairs for the last six years were quite as competent as he was to form a judgment. He had not the slightest intention, therefore, to try to stop the progress of the Bill or to alter its provisions; but he must confess that when so important a measure, imposing a tax of £750,000, was introduced without a word of explanation from the Minister of Finance, he had not the smallest notion of what its effect would be, and it was only on Friday last that he had been enabled to make himself acquainted with its provisions. He was not prepared to deny that the probate duties required to be altered, or that some of the elements of the proposed alterations were not good. It was, however, in his opinion, an alteration which the House ought not to be asked to sanction at the present time. He entered his protest against it under the circumstances in which it was proposed. He was glad the Chancellor of the Exchequer had at last given some explanation of the reasons upon which the Bill was founded; but the broad and fundamental objection to passing such a Bill was that it was impossible it could have due consideration under the present circumstances. It was evident, from his right hon. Friend's speech, that it had been very partially considered by himself. He made that no matter of blame, because his duties in the House had been so severe and so assiduously performed, that he was not surprised if he had found it difficult to descend into all the minute particulars of a subject like this. The right hon. Gentleman had stated two reasons why it was necessary to alter the probate duties, the one being that they were so unjust as regarded intestate estates, the other because they bore hardly on very small estates. But the injustice in cases of intestacy might have been removed by striking out the column of intestate estates; while it would not have been at all difficult to obtain even a greater Revenue, without altering the general amount of the scale of those duties, and it would have been perfectly possible to approximate with indefinite nearness to a uniform scale. His right hon. Friend said it was impossible to have the requisite number of stamps, but such an answer was, on the face of

it, futile, and one which ought not to proceed from the mouth of a Finance Minister. It must be one which had been supplied, and it was quite evident that with stamps for £1,000, £500, and £100, the account could be kept as indicated by the smallness of the stamps. There was another point also, with respect to which his reading was totally different from that of his right hon. Friend, who had treated testacy and intestacy as if they were of something like equal importance, while he, in the second place, took credit for relieving all testate estates of upwards of £2,000, and all intestate estates of upwards of £18,000. Now, he found that between £1,000 and £1,500 the old testate duty was £30, and the new duty was to be £31. Going lower, he found that between £500 and £600 the present testate duty was £11, while the new was to be £13. If, therefore, he had heard his right hon. Friend aright, his own description of his measure was perfectly inaccurate, for he did not give uniform relief up to £500, and at £500 he aggravated the testate duty. His right hon. Friend, he might add, had not mentioned at all a consideration which had a most important bearing on the reform of the probate duties. The subject was one which was not new to the minds of Chancellors of the Exchequer. He himself had often and often to consider those duties; but he could not have found a Parliament so destitute of reforming spirit as to assent to such a measure as that before the House. His right hon. Friend had not presented to the House that which was the most salient feature in their system of probate duties—that a person taking out probate or letters of administration was compelled to pay duty on the assets of the estate without deducting the debts. If, for instance, there were £10,000 of assets and £9,000 of debts, he had to pay duty on the £10,000. His right hon. Friend said he had to pay it out of the estate, but he was not legally entitled to touch the estate until he had paid the duty; and he must pay it subject to whatever hope he might have that, after two or three or four years, during which he remained out of his money, he might go before the Board of Inland Revenue and prove the debt, and then obtain the return of the duty which he had paid, without interest, even though he might have been obliged to borrow the money to pay it. If

the Chancellor of the Exchequer had been in communication with Mr. J. Wood, Mr. Stephenson, or Mr. Herries on the subject, he would have found that they all felt that, in attempting to reform the probate duties, it was necessary to abolish that monstrous system of the payment of duty upon debts. The right hon. Gentleman spoke of the reform of the probate duty with regard to small estates; but he not only maintained the system in full vigour, but he was going to augment the whole amount of the duty so paid on people's debts, and he had got a Parliament which was likely to agree to the act. Parliament would in that, as in other things, distinguish itself from any of the 11 he (Mr. Gladstone) had had the honour of a seat in. He had not the least expectation that anything he could say would have any influence on the judgment of the House. He was, however, making those remarks, as he had said before, merely by way of protest and manifesto, and the whole responsibility of passing the measure must rest on the House. These duties, in their way, were relatively good as a means of raising money; and if levied at all, they ought to be levied by considerable rates; for this reason, that the main charge upon them was the legal or professional charge, which remained the same, whether the rate was high or low. His hon. Friend had taunted him with wishing to increase the succession duty. When it occurred to him that if they had endeavoured to augment the succession duty, they would not have been able to carry it, he did what his right hon. Friend had done with his Water Bill, only he did not dissolve Parliament on it. The whole subject of these duties was one fairly admitting of consideration; but he could only describe as barbarous the proceeding of the Chancellor of the Exchequer in compelling people to pay aggravated duties upon that which did not belong to them. Now, one word, in passing, about intestacies. He was of opinion, certainly, that the present irregular scale of duties upon intestacies was excessive; but he hesitated to adopt in its breadth and simplicity what seemed to be the opinion of the Chancellor of the Exchequer—namely, that the rate on intestacies ought to be exactly the same as probates taken out under will. To that proposition he demurred. It seemed to him that a moderate and reasonable sum—they could call it if they

Mr. Gladstone

pleased a fine—was a notion which had always been embodied in their laws; and he could not for the life of him see why it should be struck out. His right hon. Friend gave no reason. He could give no reason, except that intestacies were usually of very small estates; but he should deal with that by making the rate very small, and not, as his right hon. Friend was going to do, by raising the rate on estates of £500. Now, what he had said out-of-doors, and what he now said in-doors, was that it was a most serious matter, in this hasty way, without a word of explanation, in the dying days of Parliament, when the matter could not be deliberately entertained, to add £750,000 to the duty levied upon personalty, when the duty upon personalty was already three or four times as great as on realty. [*Opposition cheers.*] That did not draw a single cheer from hon. Gentlemen opposite. What they were thinking about was the rates. But houses as well as land paid rates. Let them take the case of the farmer and his landlord. The value of the farmer's stock would usually be a quarter of the value of the landlord's interest in the farm. The farmer died and the landlord died, and were both succeeded by their sons. What was the result? The farmer paid a great deal more duty upon his stock than the landlord had to pay upon the farm, which was four times the value of the stock. Now, that was what the farmers ought to understand, and what, to the best of his power, he would endeavour to make them understand during the next few weeks. So far from redressing the inequality between the landlord and the farmer, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the friend of the farmer, came down and proposed to add heavily to that inequality. Did not the farmer's stock bear the chief incidence of the rates? And yet he was to be made the victim of a fresh burden, while the inequality as between him and the landlord remained unredressed. These were serious matters for the digestion of the House; and they might depend upon it, they would be heard of within the next few weeks, as they ought to be. If hon. Members opposite were well advised, they would, even now, force the Government to abstain from that most unwise act. The Members of the Opposition had no choice; but their tongues were not yet tied, and they

would be used to expose the truth to the world. There was one more point which he must notice. It was felt—he did not say it was unnaturally felt—that there was something to be said, much to be said, as to the manner in which personalty and realty respectively were burdened in respect to rates. The Chancellor of the Exchequer was going to aggravate the rates upon all personalty, except the personalty of estates of a few hundred pounds. Now, his contention was, that whatever inequality prevailed between personalty and realty as regarded the payment of rates was almost entirely confined to the possessors of very large personal estates. In cases of large estates the duties were comparatively insignificant, and they could easily show great masses of personalty which had been unduly favoured under the probate scale, and which were exempt in a great degree and were not represented in the payment of rates; but when they came down to small estates, estates of from £10,000 or even £20,000, the estates of farmers and traders and people of moderate means, the case was different. He would not deny that they did pay rates; but what he did say was, that those were the estates of people who paid rates in a very peculiar degree. The farmers of England had had to bear the whole brunt of the increase of rates in the counties, and in towns the traders had to bear the whole burden of increased rates. It was all these shopkeepers in towns—the men of moderate means constituting the middle classes of the country—whose case they were going to aggravate by this species of legislation. If the scale was to be reformed at all, why, he would ask, not reform it effectually? No doubt it was to be made better at the upper end, and also, he would not say at the lower, but at the very lowest part of the lower end. But did the right hon. Gentleman augment the duties on estates of £500 or not?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: It is rather inconvenient for me to undergo a catechetical examination at the present moment. There is no doubt that the new scale, in one respect, does increase the rate. At present the scale from £300 to £450 is £8, and from £450 to £600, £11. Instead of that, it is proposed that from £300 to £600 there should be three grades. From £300 to £400 pays £6, £7, and

£8 respectively; from £400 to £500 pays £9, instead of £11; and from £500 to £600, £13 instead of £11.

MR. GLADSTONE: Well, catechetical or not, it was easy to answer the question by a plain “yes” or “no.” Upon estates exceeding £500 there was to be, it appeared, an increase. But while they were making a new scale, why not make it with some care? For what reason was an estate of £1,000 or £2,000 personalty to pay £3 2s., while an estate of £10,000 paid £2 15s., and an estate of £350,000 only £2 13s. 6d? He did not believe there was any answer to that question. It was a proposal which ought never to have been made without a most careful explanation of all its details: the explanation given utterly failed to convey an idea of its details. On the majority of the House rested the whole responsibility in this matter. If his right hon. Friend had not thought fit to compliment him by an allusion to what he said the other night elsewhere, he would not have detained the House so long. He had now made a clean breast of the matter, and he thought he had shown there were solid objections to all hasty proceedings in this matter, and to passing such a measure as the present one without a great deal of careful consideration. He thought he had laid before the House solid and good reasons to that effect; but he confessed he was not sanguine enough to believe that they had a chance of producing the smallest effect.

MR. GREGORY thought, that if a man did not choose to make a will, it was not unreasonable to make some difference in the rate of duty which had to be paid by his representatives. As regarded the general question that had been raised of the exemption of real estate from probate duty, it must be remembered that landed property was subject to many stamp duties and taxes from which personalty was exempt, and, moreover, it bore the largest amount of the burden of the rates. The Resolution he proposed last year was to the effect that there were inequalities in the scale of probate duties, and that, so to speak, the steps in the ladder were too large. He thought it would have been better to levy a duty of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent all round instead of the differential rate now proposed. He quite concurred, however, in the

proposal with reference to the deduction of debts. He ventured to lay these considerations before the House, and hoped that in another Parliament the whole question might be re-opened.

MR. J. W. BARCLAY, as one of those who had requested the Chancellor of the Exchequer some time ago to initiate a reform in this matter, wished to say that this Bill appeared to him altogether inadequate to the requirements of the case, and he could not see what reasonable excuse there was for not making land pay the same succession duty as personal property. He thought the Chancellor of the Exchequer had been much misled as to the changes he proposed to make by the new adjustment. According to the statement which he had before him, the duty, instead of beginning at a small amount and increasing as it went on to large estates, was very much the reverse in its operation. No doubt, with estates of £500 and under, there was a certain amount of saving; but on £500 and upwards the charge advanced extremely irregularly. Large estates, there could be no question, ought to pay a larger percentage than small ones, and he thought it would have been better if the Chancellor of the Exchequer had excepted altogether estates under £200. He found from a Return made to that House two years ago that the sum levied on estates under £300 was only £8,350 altogether; so that the sacrifice of Revenue by exempting estates under £200 would not be very great, whilst the gain to the legatees would be a great boon, inasmuch as the legal expenses involved in the payment of these duties were generally as much as the duties themselves. The right hon. Member for Greenwich (Mr. Gladstone) had called attention to the great hardship of the charge being imposed upon the gross value of the estates, without allowing any reduction for the debts that might have to be paid out of them. He could not see why there should be any difficulty in carrying out the suggestion which had been made to allow the debts to be paid before any part of the sum was distributed to the legatees. The Chancellor of the Exchequer's excuse for not having a fixed duty did not recommend itself to his (Mr. J. W. Barclay's) mind. It would be quite easy to make the probate duty payable in the form

of stamps, and on a fixed amount throughout, instead of by the anomalous system which, it appeared, was still to be continued. He did not think hon. Members realized what anomalies existed in the Schedule proposed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Taking an estate of £400,000, the probate charge was put at £1,250. Now, an estate of £499,500 would not, according to this scale, pay any more, although if the duty was levied at the same percentage, it would pay £2,800 more. That was surely so great an anomaly that some attempt should be made to remedy it. The present Bill did make some improvements on the present system; but it appeared to him that the changes proposed were altogether so inconsiderable as compared with what they ought to be, or might be, if the system was to be dealt with at all, that he thought the House should refuse to accept this measure at the hands of the Government, and leave the new House of Commons to see if it had not sufficient reforming force to carry forward the scheme sketched by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Greenwich.

SIR GEORGE BOWYER observed, that the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Greenwich had taunted the Government, as the farmer's friends, with injustice to the farmer in their dealings with him and his landlord, and had said that the landlord paid no probate duty on succeeding to land, while the farmer had to pay probate on his stock, implements, and all on his farm. The answer, however, on that point was that no farmer ever took out probate on stock &c.—a fact that rendered the anomaly very trifling. With regard to the anomalies of the Bill, he admitted that they existed, but it was to be remembered that no kind of taxation was wholly without them. On the whole, however he had no objection to the Bill, and believed it advisable to tax succession rather than income. He only hoped that the change would be more profitable than the Chancellor of the Exchequer expected it to be. He approved the prudent course followed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer in not adding to the Income Tax or laying on new Customs or Excise taxes, the effect of which would be to retard the improvement in trade, now on the increase. The right hon. Gentleman had also acted

wisely in dealing with the Sinking Fund. Do what you would, you could not get anything more out of a Sinking Fund than you put into it. If they could afford to pay off Debt, let them do so; but there was no use in borrowing with one hand to pay off Debt with the other.

MR. CHILDERS recommended to the consideration of the Chancellor of the Exchequer the remark of the hon. and learned Baronet as to the evasion of the payment of the probate duty. Perhaps the hon. and learned Baronet was speaking from knowledge of the acts of some of his constituents.

SIR GEORGE BOWYER said, his remark had no such application, nor did he speak with reference to particular cases.

MR. CHILDERS said, it struck him as an inconvenience, though, perhaps, now it was unavoidable, that they were obliged to discuss the Budget and the details of the probate duty at the same time. In respect to the new scale of probate duty, he believed the Chancellor of the Exchequer had been misinstructed to a much larger extent than the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Gladstone) had pointed out, if he thought relief was given under the new duties up to the limit of £2,000. So far from this, it was undeniable that the testate duties would be increased in the case of every estate exceeding £500, with the single exception of an estate between £800 and £1,000, where they would remain as now. Again, it would be admitted by all who knew anything of the incidence of the probate duty that it was very capable of being corrected; but this Bill did not correct it fully or satisfactorily. He thought the argument of his right hon. Friend unanswerable, that if they were dealing with the probate duties as a whole they should allow the debts to be deducted before probate was paid, and that also was the view of hon. Gentlemen on the other side. He had no doubt that the Commissioners of the Inland Revenue had pointed out this great blot in the system; but, as it would affect the Revenue of the fiscal year, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer could not afford to do without the money, he omitted the necessary reform. He would give one or two figures in corroboration of some of the remarks of his right hon. Friend the Member for Greenwich. If a landowner died possessed of real estate of the value of £100,000, the maximum amount his son or sons were likely to

have to pay in respect of succession duty was £600—in all probability it would be only £450. But if 10 farmers possessed of £10,000 a-piece were to die, and their estates were to come to their sons, they would have to pay £100 each, or £1,000 in all, for succession duty; and in respect of probate duty—under the scale hitherto in force—they would have to pay £2,000. That was £3,000, as compared with £450. The additional probate duty under the Bill would be £750; so that while £100,000 real property paid at the maximum £600, and might only pay £450, £100,000 personal property would pay under the Bill £3,750. Now, was it reasonable, when the incidence of death duties on personal as compared with real property was already the subject of so much complaint, to add to the grievance at such a time and to such a serious extent? It did not follow, however, because this proposed scale was open to objection, that there could not be a fair and proper re-adjustment of the present probate duties. He came now to the Budget. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had said the Budget was one of extreme simplicity; and so, no doubt, it was. It was a simple matter enough to abandon all former promises to add six years to the three over which the deficit since 1878 was to be spread; to give up, practically, the Sinking Fund; and to force a new tax through Parliament after the announcement of a Dissolution made opposition futile. But with what a retrospect was the finance of the present Parliament now to be regarded? The Chancellor of the Exchequer, when he took over the finances in 1874, held a clear surplus of £5,500,000 or £6,000,000 a-year. Out of this he gave away £2,000,000 to the owners of lands and houses, and remitted between £3,000,000 and £4,000,000 of taxes. But what followed? A succession of sanguine Budgets, over-estimating Revenue and under-estimating expenditure; heavy deficits, increased taxation, and a final deficiency of £8,000,000. He would prove this in a few words. In three out of six Budgets he had over-estimated the receipts from Customs, in five out of six those from Excise, and in three out of six those from Stamps. On the other hand, in each of the six Budgets he had under-estimated the expenditure; in almost every year irrespectively of the Votes of Credit. Between 1876 and 1880, £7,000,000 a-year was

proposed to be raised by additional taxes; and from this they were now told that no relief could be expected until 1886. And so with regard to the Debt. Even taking credit for the capital value on paper of the Annuities, it had increased; and on the basis of the actual capitals of the Funded and Unfunded Debts, the only criterion dreamt of in former days, the increase was about £13,000,000. And as to the Sinking Fund, to which the Chancellor of the Exchequer had succeeded in obtaining approval from some Gentlemen on this side of the House, where was it? It had to a very limited extent taken effect for two years; during the three next it virtually ceased to operate, as the deficit on each year exceeded its balance; and for the remainder of its term of 10 years to 1886—after which, on the falling in of the Terminable Annuities, it would have to be entirely reviewed—it was practically abandoned. These were plain facts, which he left for the consideration of the House and the country.

SIR HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON said, he was not surprised at the attempt which had been made on this occasion to make electioneering Addresses founded on the statement of his right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer; but the House should remember the circumstances in which they had been called upon to deal with the probate duties. It would be in the recollection of the House that the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Greenwich (Mr. Gladstone) some time ago proposed to alter the succession duty, and no one could forget the debate which took place, and the points which had been raised on that occasion with reference to the different duties charged on testate and on intestate estates, and again with respect to the disproportion between those charged on large properties and those charged upon small ones. The question had also been brought under discussion last year. The present Bill, however, did not propose to deal with the whole question of the succession duties on real property, but only with the duties on personal property. It ought not, he thought, to be forgotten that so far as personalty was concerned, it was not subject to the same amount of taxation as real property. All those local charges which fell upon real property added so much to the burdens which it had to bear, that it could not be justly said to be so unfair

as had been suggested to raise the scale of duties on personalty. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Greenwich (Mr. Gladstone), had dwelt on the way in which the farmers of the country would be affected under the Bill, as compared with the landlords; but the comparison was not a fair one, and there were, he might add, practical difficulties in the way of the adoption of such a percentage scale of duties as had been advocated. There would be such an enormous quantity of stamps required throughout the country as would render it impossible to carry out such a plan, and in those cases in which the amount of large properties had to be immediately declared there would be great difficulty in arriving at the exact amount. With regard to the question of debts, why did not the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Gladstone) deal with that question in 1871, when he dealt with the probate duty? No doubt, the right hon. Gentleman experienced the same difficulties with which the present Government had to contend, and which seemed insuperable. As to the whole scheme of the Budget, although there were, no doubt, some hon. Gentlemen who would prefer to see taxation increased by the Government, the majority of the House would, he thought, be of opinion that, after a long period of depression, the moment at which trade was showing signs of revival was not exactly the time in which to impose fresh taxes on commodities, or to make an addition to the Income Tax. It had been made a complaint against the Government that they had added largely to the taxation of the country; but it was wrong to say that the addition of 3*d.* to the Income Tax was entirely due to their action. The fact was that the real addition which they had made to it was not more than 2*d.* But, on the other hand, how great had been the relief to local taxation effected by the Government! What wars and difficulties had they not to contend with, and that, too, during a period when the Revenue, instead of increasing by bounds and leaps, had been suffering under a depression of trade and commerce which was almost without parallel in modern times! When those circumstances were borne in mind, and when it was recollected that the taxation per head at present was below the point which it had reached when the Government succeeded to Office, the amount of Debt which had

to be met could scarcely with justice be spoken of, particularly as his right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer proposed to meet it as constituting an enormous charge on the public. The scheme of his right hon. Friend, was, he thought, the best way of raising the sum required, and he looked with confidence to the approval by the country of the Budget as a statesmanlike mode of dealing with the finances of the country in the present position of affairs.

MR. DODSON said, he did not think the Secretary to the Treasury had done much to remove the criticisms of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Greenwich (Mr. Gladstone) and the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Pontefract (Mr. Childers). His argument really amounted to this—if the farmer were the landlord and the landlord the farmer, their respective positions would be reversed. Both he and the Chancellor of the Exchequer spoke of the large burdens which land had to bear compared with personalty. But the principal complaint made was that they disturbed the existing apportionment of charges, because, while increasing the charge upon personalty, they in no way added to the burden upon real property, and that complaint remained entirely unaffected by what the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Secretary to the Treasury had said. The scale again was heaviest in its incidence between £600 and £4,000, and he failed to see the justice of that. Why should they not have a minutely-graduated scale? It would work much more fairly than the one proposed, with its great leaps here and there. As regarded the question of testate and intestate estates, he thought the latter might fairly be called upon to pay more than the former. It was advisable that people in all cases should make wills. If they left the distribution of their property to the law, he thought the law was fairly entitled to inflict upon them something in the nature of a fine. Speaking about the increase of the country's liabilities under the present Government, the Secretary to the Treasury forgot that since 1876—a period during which the taxation of the country had increased by £7,000,000 a-year—there had been no relief to local rates, except some £300,000 or £400,000 a-year under the Prisons Act. The Chancellor of the Exchequer claimed to have reduced the

National Debt by £18,000,000. But, while taking off £18,000,000 with one hand, he put on an equal amount with the other. But, said he, the added millions were repayable Debt, and, therefore, ought not to count as Debt at all. Well, all he (Mr. Dodson) could say was, that if that principle was to obtain in private life, there would be much less private embarrassment in financial matters than there was. The security which the Chancellor of the Exchequer obtained for his investments was, it was to be hoped, good; but the right hon. Gentleman was not entitled to say that such investments were not Debt as regarded himself and his creditors. Let them take the case of the Suez Canal, the shares in which were acquired for political purposes. The right hon. Gentleman would hardly say that the security he had in these Suez Canal shares was equal to the security which he offered to the creditors, while for the interest they depended entirely on the solvency of the Khedive. The difficulties of their position were, in fact, rather increased since the acquisition of those shares, for, instead of having in Egypt that ascendancy which the Prime Minister said was so desirable everywhere for England, they were the joint protector of Egypt with one nation, and, perhaps, with several other nations. He pointed out, when the right hon. Gentleman first projected the new Sinking Fund, that notwithstanding all the arguments advanced in its favour, it had the weakness inherent in all Sinking Funds, however much their conditions might be varied. Such a fund was a standing temptation to every Minister in need to put his hand upon it. A Sinking Fund of a large amount, which could be depended upon for a long series of years, would be an excellent thing for the reduction of Debt, and would strengthen the credit of the country. On the other hand, a Sinking Fund of a small amount, which was liable to be seized upon at the first moment when a Chancellor of the Exchequer was in straits, was a fund which, instead of tending to strengthen the credit of the country, was really calculated to impair it. This Sinking Fund was a virtuous resolution to provide every year a surplus of an uncertain amount for the reduction of Debt; but since the establishment of the Fund, five years ago, the Debt had increased by £1,000,000. Consequently, the Sinking Fund had only paid off a portion of the

Debt by means of borrowed money. He pointed out, at the time when this Fund was proposed, that the only way of permanently paying off Debt was by means of Terminable Annuities. The Chancellor of the Exchequer then sneered at such Annuities, and spoke of his Sinking Fund as something which was highly superior to them. Now, by a most strange Nemesis, it had come to pass that the right hon. Gentleman not only determined to sacrifice the greater part of his Sinking Fund to his financial necessities; but the mode in which he proposed to sacrifice it was by creating Terminable Annuities. Reverting to the subject of the new probate duty, he might remark that very great discrepancies existed as to the amount of money it might be expected to yield. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had spoken of £700,000 a-year, but other persons had put the amount as high as £1,500,000 a-year. Perhaps some Member of the Government would state whether any increase of the duty was expected in future years.

MR. J. G. HUBBARD thought the right hon. Member for Greenwich (Mr. Gladstone) and the right hon. Member for Pontefract (Mr. Childers) had made a great mistake by constantly arguing on the present conduct of the finances in regard to deficits and surpluses, as if no step had ever been taken by the present Chancellor of the Exchequer, who fixed on £28,000,000 to be provided, under all circumstances, as the charge for the Public Debt. This was an excessively unfair way of comparing the present management of their finances with that which preceded it, and of making a contrast between the present deficit and the past surplus. That surplus was obtained by a very crude and coarse expedient—namely, by under-estimating the Revenue and over-rating the expenditure. His right hon. Friend had spoken of the Terminable Annuity system, and he believed that by that plan there would be a much greater diminution of Debt than by any other. He was quite ready to accept the figures given by the Chancellor of the Exchequer; but as, according to that computation, the Debt had been reduced by £18,000,000 within the last six years, he could not justly describe the finances of the country as being in an unsatisfactory position. Passing next to the Probate Bill that was before the House, he re-

garded it as unfortunate, because it proposed to destroy the present distinction between testate and intestate property. He could not see why that should be done, and thought it cruel that those who had been careful with their property should be punished in order that the estate of the careless might be relieved. Yet such, he believed, would be the effect of the Bill, by throwing them both into the same Schedule. He objected also to the very large steps by which the duty was now regulated. They were told of administrative difficulties in the way of an *ad valorem* charge, but he saw none of those difficulties, and did not believe in them. Our whole fiscal system was very unscientific and unjust; and he trusted the Government would not press the Bill forward in its present form, but would find some means of leaving so important a subject open for further consideration by another Parliament.

GENERAL SIR GEORGE BALFOUR remarked, that in May, 1878, there was an important debate on the probate, legacy, and succession duties, and several hon. Gentlemen expressed a strong opinion with regard to the injustice and inequality of the incidence of these duties, particularly in respect to the unequal tax raised from personal profits in relation to the much smaller rates levied on real properties under the succession scale. He expected that something would be done to remedy that unfair state of things; but now they had only a partial attempt to do so, and only in respect to one of the three duties—namely, the probate; and the changes proposed were far from satisfactory, even in respect thereto.

Notice taken, that 40 Members were not present; House counted, and 40 Members being found present,

GENERAL SIR GEORGE BALFOUR resumed. He thought the change which had been made in abolishing the distinction between testate and intestate property was a right course, and, in doing so, it practically lowered the scale of duties in the case of small estates, and was not only unobjectionable, but, as affecting the poorer classes especially, most just and proper, because in such estates the property was left without a will; and as the new scale was less than the old intestate scales, the incidence of taxation was lowered. The one scale was consequently framed on a much

more simple plan than the double scale of the old one. But there was one great defect still left, that of levying the probate duty on the gross value, leaving to the parties interested to recover the tax charged on the debts, a costly action to the poor estates, because the lawyers' fees often amounted to the full sum sought to be recovered. This evil was not felt by the large, only by the small estates. The question of the succession duties, he hoped, would be dealt with by the Chancellor of the Exchequer next Session; for he should have no objection to see the Chancellor of the Exchequer in his place next Session, provided he dealt with these unjust taxes. There was no earthly reason why both probate and legacy duties should not be combined, and the same rate of duty paid, all objectionable features in the scale being also removed.

MR. WADDY observed, that the debate, by some means or other, turned from being simply a discussion on the probate question into a kind of Budget debate. For his own part, he did not mean to deal with the probate question as such, but with the general financial question, which appeared to him to be of far more importance. The position in which the House was now placed was that, while they were considering the Budget of 1881, it was impossible to forget that they were called on to review more or less the general financial policy of the Government during the time it remained in power. The initial difficulty they had to contend with, was that with regard to this year, at all events, in consequence of the precipitancy or haste in which Parliament was dissolved, comparatively in consequence of that, they had not the accounts made up to the 31st of March, the end of the financial year, before them. Therefore, the materials on which any calculations were to be based, were, to some extent, vague and uncertain. When they were called on to come to a conclusion there was this difficulty—that the Estimates were by no means in accordance with the actual facts. Documents had recently been constantly published, and one had been published either on Saturday last or that morning, giving an estimate of the charges on the Consolidated Fund for the year. By this document a comparison was enabled to be made between what was called the Estimate for the year and the actual results.

Of course, the Estimate made in the first instance was not the real Estimate for the year, but only one of an approximate character. He found that the Estimates of the Government, if not looked into a little more closely, were likely to deceive. For instance, he found that the Estimate for 1879-80 was stated as being £85,999,871, and, no doubt whatever, when the Supplementary Estimates were taken into consideration, those figures would probably be correct. But what was the fact? That which was stated to be the Estimate for 1879-80—namely, in round numbers, £86,000,000, was given to the House a year ago, not as £86,000,000, but as £81,000,000. That was not only true with regard to last year, but with regard to the year before. He would take one or two years, and show the House what the facts really were. The Estimate in 1878, by which, of course, he meant the financial year ending in that year, was £79,500,000, but the total actually spent was £82,500,000. Next year the Estimate was £81,000,000, but the expenditure was £85,000,000. What it would turn out this year, it was impossible to say. When they got the total, he feared it would bear a very close resemblance to former Estimates. Well, the question they had to consider very much was, what had been the net result of the financial policy of the Government during the time it had been in power. Something had been said that night by the Secretary to the Treasury on that point, and the subject had been alluded to by the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the First Lord of the Admiralty, and by other Members of the Government, at meetings held in the country. Certain reasons—he might call them excuses—were given for the increased expenditure of the Government. Some of those reasons might have had good force, but others of them he was surprised to find proceeding from the Treasury Bench. The Secretary to the Treasury (Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson) told them that the increasing expenditure was to be accounted for by relief to local taxation, the expenses of the war which had occurred, and the difficulties of the Revenue, which had not come in as formerly by leaps and bounds. And that hon. Gentleman would apply the curious remark that, after all, what they had to consider was, what was the taxation per head of the United Kingdom? But one thing

which the hon. Gentleman sometimes pleaded as an excuse was not pleaded by him that night, and that was—the additional expenses in consequence of the increase of education in the country. Now, the amount spent on education, and on the relief of local taxation, was not drawn out and given in anything like connected form in the pages. It was not a fair way to calculate these, to take, as had been done persistently, the last year of the last Government and then put against it the last year of this Government. They knew perfectly well that the increase in these various charges during the last year of the present Government was out of proportion to the sums spent in the earlier years of their Office. The fair way was to consider what had been the expenditure under these two heads during the five years in which the late Government had been in Office, and the five years in which this Government had been in Office; but it was impossible to carry out the comparison, because they had not got the account before them. Nevertheless, they knew the Estimate fairly tolerably for the purpose of comparison. In making this comparison, he had to confine himself to those things actually printed. In the reference which the Chancellor of the Exchequer made to him (Mr. Waddy), two or three weeks ago, the right hon. Gentleman fell into the mistake of supposing that he had forgotten to take into account “the extraordinary expenditure,” as it was called, of the present Government. He could assure him he was not going to leave that out of his calculation. If anybody would take the trouble to find out what was the difference between the ordinary and the extraordinary expenditure of this Government and of their Predecessors during the whole period of Office down to the time when the accounts were submitted to the House, they would find that the result was what he would shortly state. It was difficult, he knew, to distinguish between ordinary and extraordinary expenditure. No doubt, it might be said, and with some show of justice, by the Ministry—“When there has been anything unusual, you ought not to make us account for that, as though it had been a part of the regular outflow of our expenditure.” The only way, therefore, as far as any person could make a comparison, who desired

to be fair and conscientious in the matter, was to take all those items which, in the opinion of the Government themselves had been considered of sufficient importance, and of so extraordinary an expenditure as to be dignified under a separate head. The only rule which could be applied, and the rule which was fair to both sides, was the rule to which he had referred. If that were done, the result would be thus—That if the ordinary expenditure of the Government, so calculated, and putting out of question the Suez Canal and everything in their Vote of Credit by way of confidence, and not to be spent, and all accounts of that kind, the result would be that, coupling the ordinary expenditure of this Government with the last, the present Government had actually spent £38,750,000 more than their Predecessors. Now, he would endeavour to see what deductions he could make out of that; and he believed, if those deductions were fairly made, the case would stand thus—Take the question of local charges transferred to Imperial Revenue, prisons, police, and lunatics; and take, on the other hand, the extra expenses for education. Take the Education Vote, and add together, and the difference would be, that this Government had spent, during their tenure of Office, £5,290,000 in round numbers more than the last Government did. Then, with regard to the local charges, they would amount to more than £4,820,000; consequently, there was a total of £10,112,000. But it had been said—“You must take into account that we have met re-payable loans; we have been advancing money to local bodies, and that will involve further expenditure.” That was perfectly true. Those loans did not come into the account at all, for in the balance sheet the principal was not included, although the interest was included. But if all the deductions claimed by the Government were admitted, they would amount only to £11,500,000, which, if deducted from the £38,750,000, left, practically, £27,250,000 of extra expenditure. For that amount of money, which had nothing to do with the National Debt, and which did not include the Vote of Credit for the Maltese troops, or the Zulu War, not one single penny was on account of the “extraordinary expenditure” he had mentioned. If that were so, what was the excuse for the £27,250,000 of extra

expenditure in which the country had been involved, and which amounted to nearly £5,500,000 per annum ever since the present Government came into power? But it was sometimes said that there had been war expenditure which had not come out as a separate item, and more money had been spent on the Army and Navy than was anticipated. The Government were entitled to take credit for that in their calculations; but the excuse cut both ways. Another excuse was, that we should consider the difficulties of the Government in regard to the Revenue. The deficiency of Revenue, not coming in by bounds and leaps, had nothing to do with the question, for the House were talking, not about Revenue, but expenditure. Then came the amazingly foolish excuse, "But you should consider what has been the taxation per head." But the taxation of the country was not a test of expenditure or extravagance. He protested against the cry—"Oh, see what a much better Government this is for the country, for we have actually taxed you less than the last one did."

Notice taken, that 40 Members were not present; House counted, and 40 Members being found present,

Mr. WADDY, continuing, said, the argument as to the amount of taxation per head was about as fallacious as anything could be. The question for consideration was, what amount of money had been paid. The other night, the Chancellor of the Exchequer reduced the nominal amount of the Floating Debt by referring to the loans for public works which had been carried out more extensively by the present Government than the last; and by the courtesy of the Secretary to the Treasury, he held in his hand an account of the amounts so spent, which account he should propose to be printed for the use of the House. There was no account for 1879-80, because it was not yet made up; but the sums borrowed by the Government during the preceding five years amounted to £12,460,000; but of that they had repaid to them £4,781,000, exclusive of interest. That made their real outlay under this head £7,678,904. But what was the amount of the total increase of the Floating Debt in the same five years to which he referred?

The Floating Debt had increased to £21,390,000. Therefore, allowing the deductions which the Chancellor of the Exchequer thought should be made, there was still an increase to the Floating Debt of £13,711,596. The Government could not point to any reduction of the National Debt that was originated by them apart from their Sinking Fund, which they had now slaughtered. The present Government had increased the Floating Debt by £13,711,000; the late Government decreased it by £4,415,000; there being thus a difference of about £18,000,000 on the whole, after the deductions had been made which were claimed by the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for the City of London (Mr. Hubbard) had asserted that the surpluses of the late Government were made by wild Estimates, and by their asking for too much. This statement was inaccurate. The late Government steadily diminished the Income Tax, but the present Government had steadily increased it; and the result of five years' Administration showed that, whereas the late Government decreased taxation by £12,500,000, the present Government had increased it by £1,250,000, without taking into account the diminution of taxation which was consequent on the surplus left to them when they came into Office. Then, again, it had been said that there was a large diminution in the National Debt in the years 1876 and 1879; but the fact was, that there was an increase in the former year of £521,000, and in 1879 of £297,000. In five years the late Government decreased the National Debt by £26,000,000; but the present Government, after giving them credit for everything, had decreased it only to the extent of £1,000,000. According to the statement of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Government were entitled to an additional decrease of £7,750,000; but still the result was only £9,000,000, as against £26,000,000. Matters would be worse still if other figures were taken into account; but, unfortunately, the House could not obtain the figures, and they would be unable to get them during the life of the present Government. They were told the other night that the expense of the Zulu War was £5,100,000; but it should be remembered that the accounts of the Abyssinian War were

not yet closed. Therefore, it was only reasonable to suppose that during the next two or three years accounts would come in which would raise the expense of the Zulu War to a very serious amount. Then, again, did anyone know what the expense of the Afghan War would be? Was it to be £10,000,000 or £20,000,000? If so, he did not believe there was a Member of Her Majesty's Government who thought the people of India could or would bear it; and this he knew, that it would be an unjust and iniquitous thing to seek to impose it on them. On all these grounds, and because the financial course of the Government had led to deficits instead of surpluses, to the great increase, instead of the great diminution of Debt, he charged them with extravagance in the face of the country.

MR. CHADWICK said, he would not follow the last speaker in charging Her Majesty's Government at random with extravagance. When the present Chancellor of the Exchequer proposed, many years ago, to put aside a sum of £800,000 a-year for the reduction of the National Debt, he regarded the proposal as a wise and proper one, and he hoped that whoever held that high office would set it before him to make provision for a permanent, settled, annual reduction of Debt. He was auditor of several companies having a capital of £50,000,000, and if the managers of those institutions did not allow for depreciation in bad times he should not certify their accounts as correct. He looked on the Chancellor of the Exchequer as the auditor of the nation. After 12 years' Parliamentary experience, and having looked over the Budgets of the last 25 years, he was bound to say that no Chancellor of the Exchequer, with the exception of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Greenwich (Mr. Gladstone), had ever placed before the House and the country clearer and more complete statements as to their financial affairs and position than the present Chancellor of the Exchequer had. Therefore, it was the policy of the Government, and not with the exposition of its financial results, that he quarrelled. He hoped the Government would take warning by the great expenditure of the last four years, and that, if they continued to hold Office, they would come back with "peace, retrenchment, and reform" upon their lips. With respect to

Mr. Waddy

the probate duties, the scale of differential duties proposed constituted a perfect labyrinth of figures. He would venture to make a practical suggestion to the right hon. Gentleman which, if adopted, would reduce the scale to five lines, and would have the further advantages of securing an increased Revenue. He would suggest a charge of 1 per cent on any amount of personalty not exceeding £500, $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on the next scale up to £1,500, 2 per cent up to £10,000, $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent up to £20,000, and 3 per cent on all sums above that amount. These scales would be felt to be unjust to no one, and would be readily understood by every one. For his part, however, he believed that the probate duty should be incorporated with the legacy duty, and be paid by the person who received a gift from a deceased party. Who was there so capable of bearing the taxation as such a person? For he received property for which he had never worked, or money which he had never earned. He would support the Bill, because it was a step in the right direction—a step in the way of simplifying that which was at present extremely complicated.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said, he was aware that he had no right to address the House again, although he might take advantage of one of the following Orders to say a few words in reply. It would, however, be more convenient if, by the favour of the House, he were allowed to say what he thought was necessary to lay before them. He would not enter in detail into a great deal of the discussion they had listened to, and partly for this reason, that many of those who had taken a leading part in it, after firing their shot, had left the House. He must remark, however, in regard to one charge which the right hon. Member for Greenwich (Mr. Gladstone), who was now absent, had made against him, that, so far from having introduced a new practice in estimating the reduction of the Debt by the action of the Terminable Annuities, he was only following a practice of which the right hon. Gentleman himself set a notable example in 1865, when he arrived at exactly the same amount of reduction thus effected as himself (the Chancellor of the Exchequer) upon the present occasion. The hon. and learned Member for Sheffield (Mr. Waddy) said—"You

have no right to claim any credit for these Terminable Annuities; the credit belongs to your Predecessors." Well, that was perfectly true; to a great extent Terminable Annuities were commenced by their Predecessors; but the present Government provided some also. Besides, it must be borne in mind that that was nothing in itself, unless they provided something to meet the charge. All he could say was, that they had endeavoured to provide means for carrying on the operation. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Chester (Mr. Dodson) laughed at the fate of the new Sinking Fund. He did not altogether admit the justice of the remarks of the right hon. Member for Chester, and he was anxious that the House should not misunderstand what had really been done. He did not propose to extinguish the Fund. Not at all; he proposed to make use of a portion of it for a particular purpose for a certain number of years. He quite admitted that that was so far in derogation of what was done in 1875; but, at that time, he did not expect that any new Debt would be added on which this Fund was to operate. He entirely demurred to the idea that he had departed from his original intention, which was to set apart a fixed sum to pay interest and relieve a portion of the principal of the Debt. Besides the reduction which had been made since 1875, they had provided a Fund which, he was thankful to be able to say, could be made of use at a critical moment like the present. The whole thing turned upon this—Was it justifiable to add £6,000,000 to the capital of the Debt? Under the old system that would have been added at once to the Debt, and it would have been thought a proper arrangement. He had endeavoured, as far as he could, to treat it by renewing Exchequer Bonds, and by paying them off—or hoping to pay them off—as surpluses arose. He had been twitted with maintaining this inconvenient arrangement, by which the deficiencies were dangled before the country, and the Government felt there was some force in that, more because so much was made of it, than because it was inconvenient to anyone. The Government, however, felt that it would be better some arrangement should be made for the Debt, and the arrangement had been made by which it took precedence

of all other obligations. They would be bound to provide in five years for the sum of £28,800,000, which would extinguish the Debt of £6,000,000, and perform such other services as it was possible for it to perform. He did not for a moment extinguish the new Sinking Fund by this arrangement. Supposing there was the surplus which they hoped for, that surplus would, in the first place, be applied to the payment of Annuities, and the Sinking Fund might be as large or larger than in former years. The Sinking Fund would go on all the while. It was only fixed at a higher sum in consideration of the Debt to be redeemed by it being increased by these £6,000,000. He, again, entirely disputed the idea that he put an end to the arrangement made at the creation of the new Sinking Fund. He admitted it was put to a use somewhat beyond that which was contemplated when the Fund was created. He was satisfied the arrangement was one of the most reasonable that could be submitted, unless they increased taxation. That was the alternative, and he did not think they would be at all justified, in the present state of affairs, in increasing taxation. They were only just beginning to recover from a period of depression and suffering in trade, and they could hardly say that they were sure the country had recovered from corresponding depression in agriculture. At such a moment as that it was not desirable that they should increase the burdens of the country. They were told to recollect what Sir Robert Peel did in 1842. Sir Robert Peel put on the Income Tax; but, on the other hand, he took off a great number of duties, relieving what were called the springs of industry. But the country was blessed with a good harvest when those springs took place; and if they were to attempt now to increase the Revenue by putting on heavier burdens, they would accomplish, not what Sir Robert Peel accomplished, but something else. Now, with regard to expenditure, the hon. and learned Member for Sheffield (Mr. Waddy) took great pains in giving them an ingenious calculation; but he hoped the hon. and learned Member would not be affronted when he said that this calculation reminded him very much of the equally extraordinary calculations made with reference to the Liverpool election—calculations which showed

that if the figures were properly analyzed, the side which had not won the seat was the side which had really gained. It was hopeless to follow step by step calculations of that kind. That there had been an increase of expenditure under the present Government was a matter which nobody would deny. That there had been a failure of the Revenue was a fact which, alas! he was unable to dispute. There was no doubt, for some reason or other, which he need not now inquire into, the sources of Revenue had not been so fertile as in former years, and that, with the increase of expenditure, had naturally led to an unfortunate result, and to a greater amount of deficits than in former years. All that was perfectly clear; but what had been the cause? That was the great question—had the increased expenditure been incurred for purposes worth incurring it for or not? The hon. and learned Member excluded all the expenditure that related to extraordinary services—war services, and matters of that class; and the hon. and learned Member had certainly treated a good deal as ordinary expenditure which was in reality extraordinary expenditure. No doubt, the Government had incurred extraordinary expenditure for purposes which they believed the country would approve, and those purposes could not have been attained at smaller cost. It was very unfair to take such an item as Education, and to compare five years of the expenditure of this Government with five years of their Predecessors'. The measure which involved the addition was the measure of their Predecessors, and they were, therefore, responsible for a system the very success of which must lead to increased expenditure. It was admittedly a good object, and it was worth while that the expenditure should be incurred; but having claimed the credit of the measure, they had no right to turn round and complain of the increasing expenditure, which was the effect of their policy, to which the present Government was obliged to give effect. The unfairness of the comparison made was still further evident when it was remembered that the measure was passed in the second year of the last Parliament, and only came into operation in the third, and was gradually developed; while in the five years of this Government, the measure had been in

fully-developed operation. There were many other things that ought to be explained in the same way. By far the greater part of the increase in local loans arose from measures taken by their Predecessors. They instituted these loans for education and for sanitary purposes, and these loans had gradually assumed almost gigantic proportions. It was rather hard that the Government should be charged with extravagance under these circumstances. There were other sources of expenditure the increase of which was inevitable. For instance, it was necessary to raise the pay of the soldier; with increasing wages it was impossible to obtain the men they formerly did. Were not the Government compelled to make that addition to their expenditure? These were only specimens of the charges that had been thrown upon them, and which must have been thrown on any Government. It was altogether unfair to draw the sort of comparison which had been instituted. The principles of the Bill had not been injured by the discussion. He quite admitted that there was a good deal to be said against large jumps on a scale of this kind. On the other hand, it was difficult to do that which the hon. Member for Macclesfield (Mr. Chadwick) wished them to do—to have a percentage scale. The arguments as to the great advantage of collecting Revenue by stamps were arguments it was impossible to ignore, and that involved the difficulty of keeping large stocks of all sorts and sizes in many parts of the country. Still, the matter was one which might very well be kept under consideration, and, if it should be found possible to get over the difficulties about the stamps, there would be no objection in principle to the adoption of the system advocated. That matter had been carefully considered by gentlemen of experience, without prejudice, and the conclusion at which they arrived was embodied in the Bill. He did not say it was impossible to make an improvement; but he did not at present see any reason why they should not adopt this scale. He did not at all commit himself in the answer he gave with reference to testate and intestate estates; he distinctly said he did not wish to pledge himself until he had given the matter further consideration, and it showed that hon. Gentlemen were

hard pressed when they tortured such an innocent answer into an argument against him. He was surprised at the arguments coming from the Colleagues of the right hon. Member for the University of London (Mr. Lowe), who, when he brought forward his scale, made a great point of doing away with the difference between testate and intestate estates; but, of course, hon. Gentlemen were not bound to be consistent in Opposition. He could not admit that there was any reason in what was called the obligation of persons to make a will, to give those who made one an exemption from the duty that was charged upon them if they did not make a will. The amount of the additions on small estates had been very much overrated. Taking the whole scale, the additions were infinitesimal up to £2,000. Intestacies generally occurred with small estates, and in these there was a very considerable reduction. There was a great reduction on the intestacies and upon the small estates. It was just the persons with small estates who did not like to incur the expense and trouble of making wills. By far the larger number of the wills that were relieved were those of very small amount. The discussion had been to him very satisfactory. He had almost expected a terrible, pelting storm, when the whole finance of the Government was brought under review; but it was a satisfaction and relief to find that the proposals of the Government had been made the subject of ordinary criticism, and that the thunderbolts launched by gentlemen of great authority in distant parts of the country were reduced to very diminutive proportions in the House, where answers might have been given. Looking at the finances of the Government as a whole, he believed the country would not say they were liable to the charges that had been brought against them. It would undoubtedly be said that they had fallen upon evil times in regard to the Revenue they had received and the elasticity of the sources of Revenue. Undoubtedly, they had had cast upon them the necessity of making provision for a large expenditure, some of it of an entirely exceptional character, and much of it of a character which was perfectly inevitable. They had endeavoured to meet that expenditure fairly, and to meet it by casting the smallest possible burden upon the people of the country. They had

been fortunate enough to succeed in carrying on their years of administration in such a way as to leave the country not poorer at the end than at the beginning, not more heavily taxed at the end than at the beginning, and with an amount of Debt not more, but less, than at the beginning, and had accomplished, as they believed, services which would be of material and permanent value to the country.

MR. ANDERSON believed that there were several very serious objections from a legal point of view to the Bill, and in particular to the 2nd and 3rd clauses. If, as he had been told, the legal Profession regarded the measure as unworkable, as it certainly seemed to be in the case of persons dying abroad, their doubts deserved every possible consideration. He himself had a great dislike to some of the main provisions of the Bill, and most of all to the method of raising money by means of stamps. It seemed to him absolutely unfair that while the stamp for sums varying between £1,000 and £1,500 should be £31, no less than £44 should be payable as soon as the £1,500 limit was exceeded. In like manner an equally unjust increase was imposed at every step. At some future time he hoped it might be possible to give up that system, and to raise the necessary money by a proportionate percentage. With regard to the Sinking Fund, the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer attempted to defend his policy by saying that he had not extinguished, but reduced the Fund. Now, he recollected the year 1875, in which that Fund was instituted, and in the debate on that occasion he had told the Chancellor of the Exchequer that a Fund so constituted would not last, but would be used by the first Finance Minister who found himself in a difficulty; but he had certainly not foreseen that the Chancellor of the Exchequer would himself, like Saturn, have to devour his own offspring. He had thought failure evident and unavoidable from the first; but he did not think it was equally clear that the Fund would some day be made up again. No doubt, the right hon. Gentleman had been reduced to great straits, of which he would only give one instance—the fact, namely, that in 1876, power had been taken to raise certain taxes, which, however, had never been raised till the year 1880, when, by virtue of a

Treasury Minute, a Customs duty of 3*d.* per pound had been put on transparent soap. By such and similar means, by postponing taxation, and by Terminable Annuities, to which, however, he had no objection in a general way, the right hon. Gentleman had succeeded in slightly raising the Revenue. He fully understood the difficulty in which the right hon. Gentleman had been placed, and the shifts to which he had had recourse, and he found in them an explanation of the fact that the cost of the Afghan War had not been mentioned in the Budget. The state of the case was abundantly clear—the Government, knowing that the time was most inopportune for the imposition of new taxes, had been compelled to argue that India could, by herself, pay the whole expense of the war, although many Members of the Cabinet had, on one occasion or another, expressed the opinion that the war was an Imperial one.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL thought it unfortunate that the question of the alteration of the probate duties should have been merged in a general discussion on the Budget. In dealing with the proposed change, the House had before it a topic of such great importance that it might very well have devoted an evening exclusively to its consideration. With regard to the change introduced by this Bill, there were two questions to be considered—first, the re-adjustment of the rate; and, secondly, the increase of taxation. He entirely approved the re-adjustment of the rate. It was a great improvement, and would go far to remedy a great inequality which had been allowed too long to exist. The first part of the proposal of Government gave him the greatest satisfaction. It would give very considerable relief, in the case of small estates under £500. It was wrong to tax the prudence and the small savings of the poorer classes. Entire relief was to be given where the property was under £100, and he thought the Chancellor of the Exchequer would have done well to extend the exemption to £200. The re-adjustment of the rate did not necessarily involve the increase of taxation; but if taxation must be increased, it was just to tax property. The question, however, arose whether one species of property alone should be taxed. The fact was, that while the tax upon real property amounted to 1 per cent of the

annual income, or 2½*d.* in the pound, the amount falling upon personal property under the Bill would be 3½ per cent, or from 9*d.* to 9½*d.* in the pound. It was said that, on the other hand, rates fell upon real rather than personal property. The rates upon houses were very heavy; but the real answer to the objection was that the rates falling upon landed property were but a substitute, and a small one, for the feudal burdens which fell formerly upon land. Of late years, too, under the administration of the present Government, land had been considerably relieved from rates. It appeared to him that financial reasons had great weight with Her Majesty's Advisers in inducing them to dissolve Parliament in so sudden a manner. In the Budget there was no provision whatever for the expenses which must necessarily be incurred in South Africa in the coming year. They had occupied the Transvaal against the will of the inhabitants, and must keep troops there. They were about to try the effect of a new Administration in Zululand, and there also troops must be kept. Griqualand and Secocoeni's country, with the whole great region behind it, would be additional sources of expense. Then, there was Afghanistan, there was the great and glorious Treaty they had made with Turkey; and it was not unlikely they would have to guarantee the independence of Persia. No provision had been made for meeting the expenses under these heads, and he could not but think that a future Administration would have to pay a heavy supplementary Bill for the spirited foreign policy of Her Majesty's present Government.

MR. E. JENKINS said, that the Chancellor of the Exchequer had that night proved himself to be an optimist, and that some of the right hon. Gentleman's Estimates were such as the country ought not to believe or rely upon. If the right hon. Gentleman was unprepared to answer the charges brought by the hon. and learned Member for Sheffield (Mr. Waddy), it must be clear that the discussion that night was a mere delusion and farce. He did not suppose that there ever had been such a misuse of Majesty, as when the Queen was asked to open Parliament at the commencement of this Session. He thought it was very wrong that the Session should have been opened with such parade, and that the Queen should herself have opened a

Parliament with such pomp which was so soon to be dissolved. The country had been assured that this was to be a real working Parliament, that obstruction was overcome, and that Parliament was going to buckle to and get through a great mass of work. But they had just had an incomplete Budget. The fact was that the Chancellor of the Exchequer was afraid to go to the country with a complete Budget. As to the Anglo-Turkish Convention, it had brought us nothing but expense. The Government had placed the House, the country, and itself in a ridiculous position. The country would see through the hollow pretensions of the Government. Instead of substance, they had offered nothing but a miserable sham. When they asked whether what they had achieved was not worth the money that had been expended on it, the answer from that side of the House was, "No;" and that, he believed, would prove to be also the answer of the majority of the country. The hon. Gentleman was proceeding to comment upon Lord Beaconsfield's letter to the Duke of Marlborough, when—

MR. SPEAKER observed, that the hon. Member was wandering beyond the legitimate limits of discussion on the Question before the House.

MR. E. JENKINS said, he would refer to the Army Estimates. In 1878-9 the Estimates had been £15,595,800; but the Expenditure, excluding the South African War and the Afghan War, was £17,653,000, showing a deficit of more than £2,000,000. In 1879-80 the Estimate was £15,645,700, and they had not yet ascertained the Expenditure up to the end of March. But, from the analogy of the preceding years, they might expect a great increase. And the expenses of the South African War might have been £1,000,000 or £1,500,000 less, if the Government had withdrawn the General who was in command. They had very little to gratify them as the results of this large expenditure, which had put the Budget into so complicated a state.

MR. RAMSAY said, the Chancellor of the Exchequer had endeavoured to change the incidence of taxation in a manner which would prove most detrimental to large classes in the country. While professing to be solicitous for the welfare of the agricultural classes, the right hon. Gentleman was taxing the savings of the farmers. In his (Mr.

Ramsay's) opinion, the probate duty on personal property should not be increased without a corresponding increase of duty in the case of real property.

MR. MORGAN LLOYD said, it was impossible, owing to the time when the Budget had been introduced—namely, after the announcement of an intended Dissolution of Parliament—to have the proposals of the Government discussed in a full House. The Probate Bill ought to have been brought forward at a time when its provisions could be carefully considered; but now it was placed on the Table in the last days of the Parliament, when the Government were in a position to force it through the House. He regarded the Bill as a mere makeshift and attempt to raise a sum of money on no principle whatever. Probate duty, in his opinion, ought to be altogether abolished, and an equal duty placed upon all estates of testate and intestate persons. There was no real reason for the wide distinction which now existed between real and personal property; and any change in the law should be in the direction of equalizing the succession, legacy, and probate duties. This Bill aggravated the inequality, and imposed an additional burden upon those least able to bear it.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE wished to say a few words by way of protest against the principles of the Bill. It appeared to him that it would aggravate the already great difference between the way of treating real and personal property on the death of the owner. Before dealing with the special point which he wished to bring under the notice of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, he would observe that he thought the right hon. Gentleman had greatly under-estimated the amount of increased Revenue which the proposed change would produce. Instead of £750,000, supposing the amount of property assessed to be the same as during the last two years, the increase of duty would be £1,000,000. The last year for which they had any definite information was 1876, and in that year the amount assessed for probate was £131,000,000, and the duty paid was £2,280,000, which was about $1\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. The present Bill was apparently framed on the basis of charging, as far as possible, an uniform duty of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, with some little deduction in the case of estates under £500, which

did not materially affect the calculation ; $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent upon £131,000,000 would produce as nearly as possible £950,000 in addition to what was actually paid in 1876. Therefore, there was every prospect that in future years the Chancellor of the Exchequer would receive an extra £900,000 or £1,000,000 in respect of this tax. If the amount fell in one year it might rise in another, and this was not to be a temporary but a permanent tax ; and, therefore, they might look forward to a constantly increasing amount of receipt. What he wished especially to point out was the injustice of this tax upon one class of property—namely, leasehold houses. He thought the Chancellor of the Exchequer could hardly have appreciated the importance of the tax upon that class of property, and could hardly have considered how very large a proportion of the property of the country was invested in houses. In the assessment to Income Tax, the value of the houses in this country was considerably more than the value of the land. The houses were valued at £90,000,000 a-year, and the landed property at £60,000,000 a year ; so that the houses were valued at half as much again as the land. He wanted to point out the difference in the treatment of leasehold houses as compared with freehold houses. What the actual proportion of value of each class of houses was he could not accurately state ; but his impression was that about half the total value of the houses in this country was represented by leasehold houses, and, looking at the enormous amount of leasehold property in London and other parts of the country, he thought that was a reasonable estimate. Now, leasehold house property paid both succession and probate duty ; but freehold house property only paid succession duty. A case came under his own notice recently, in administering an estate, which was not a bad example of the effect of this difference. There were two houses, one leasehold and the other freehold, and each was valued at about £5,000. On the leasehold house there were payable £70 probate and £50 legacy duty, or £120 altogether. The freehold house paid only a succession duty of £27. There was a difference, therefore, of between £120 and £27 in the two cases. This Bill would aggravate the matter considerably, because it would increase

the probate duty to £90, and the total would be £140 in the case of the leasehold house, and £27 in respect of the freehold house of the same value. That appeared to him to be a very grave inequality in the treatment of the two classes of property. The Chancellor of the Exchequer gave as a reason for the different treatment of land that the land paid local taxes ; but leasehold houses paid local taxes just as much as land, and, in fact, considerably more, because local taxes were higher in towns than in the country. That was certainly the case in the borough he represented, where the rates amounted to something like 8s. in the pound, and he did not think there was any rural parish where they reached anything like that amount. But he thought he might, at any rate, take this as a general rule—that leasehold houses paid as much local rates, if not more, than land. [Sir HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON dissented.] He saw that the Secretary to the Treasury shook his head ; but that was his experience. At all events, there was this argument—that they did pay local rates ; and, therefore, if land was to be exempted on that ground, houses ought also to be exempted. He would venture to quote another case which recently occurred. A very large owner of house property in London died not many weeks ago, and his rental was stated by the papers to be no less than £120,000 a-year. Nearly the whole of that property was freehold ground rents, which might be valued at 30 years' purchase, or no less than £3,600,000. It was left to three ladies, all of whom were over 70 years old ; and the House would, perhaps, be surprised to hear how small the succession duty on that enormous property would be. Of course, the amount of duty depended very much upon the age of the parties, and he had taken them at 70 years in his calculation. He found the duty would be no more than £8,040. Moreover, payment was spread over four years, and discount was allowed at 4 per cent, so that the amount would be reduced to £7,200. If the property had been leasehold, under the present law there would have been payable £54,000 probate and £36,000 legacy duty, or a total of £90,000 ; and under the Bill now before the House the probate would be £90,000 and the total payment £126,000, as compared with £7,200 which was now payable on the

property as freehold. It should also be remembered that in this case the property did not pay local rates at all, because, by the custom of all these leasehold properties in London, the taxes were paid by the tenants, and not by the ground landlords. Here, then, they had the grossest inequality that could possibly exist, and which clearly could not be allowed to continue. Looking at the matter from the landowner's point of view, he should have thought it would be most dangerous to increase that inequality. The Chancellor of the Exchequer might, perhaps, think he knew better what were the interests of the landowners; but he now proposed to increase that inequality by at least 40 per cent. On what possible ground could the distinction be justified? He had shown that the one class of property had to pay eight or ten times as much as the other. He would put one other case. Let them suppose a property of £4,000 a-year invested in land, the value of which he took to be £120,000, and let them suppose that it came into the possession of a person aged 40. The total amount of succession duty payable by the new owner would be only £540. But if that £120,000 were invested in leasehold house property or in Consols, under this Bill it would pay, in the shape of probate duty, £3,750, and legacy duty £1,420, making a total of £5,170 as compared with £540, or almost ten times as much in the one case as in the other. Many other objections had already been offered to the measure which he need not repeat; but this special inequality between the treatment of freehold and leasehold houses he earnestly commended to the attention of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, hoping that the right hon. Gentleman would give some reason and explanation on the subject.

MR. W. HOLMS called attention to the very great falling-off in the Customs and Excise during the past year, amounting to between £2,000,000 and £3,000,000. Looking at the Customs and Excise as the best barometer of the condition of the great mass of the people, that decrease seemed to indicate a great depression, from which they could not reasonably expect the country speedily to recover. In certain manufactures great progress was being made, and there were indications of returning prosperity; but it must be a somewhat

slow process. The duty of the Chancellor of the Exchequer was to keep down his Expenditure as much as possible; but he found that, whilst in 1878-9 the Exchequer issues amounted to £84,200,000, in the ensuing year the Chancellor of the Exchequer proposed to expend the enormous sum of £86,000,000. The amount of £1,400,000, which was required to meet the new charge for paying off the £6,000,000 of deficit was proposed to be raised in two ways, both of which were extremely objectionable. The new scale of probate duties was, to some extent, an improvement so far as regarded proportionate charge in large estates; but it should have been accompanied by an increase of the succession duties, as all the proposed increase of taxation was upon personal estate. He understood, from an actuarial calculation, that the succession duty on real estate was only about a third of the probate duty on personal estate; so that whilst the probate upon £10,000 of personal estate would be £240, the succession duty upon real estate of that value would be only £80. And, under the new arrangement, the difference would be increased from three to one to four to one. He protested against this distinction, and could not understand why real property should pay less duty than money, or bank shares, or manufactured goods. Property of all kinds should be placed in the same position. There were some peculiarities in the scale of probate duties. For instance, if £10,000 paid £240, one would imagine that £30,000 would pay £720, but it would only pay £690; and there were other like inconsistencies. He objected also to the Chancellor of the Exchequer appropriating the new Sinking Fund. When it was established the Chancellor of the Exchequer remarked that it would be to the interest of future Chancellors of the Exchequer to keep it for the purpose for which it was intended; and it was surprising to find that right hon. Gentleman, who was usually cautious and prudent, now seizing that very Fund. Having done so, he could scarcely expect that it would be left untouched by future Chancellors of the Exchequer. He thought it was right to state these objections; and it was to be hoped the inequality of the treatment of real and personal estate would not be allowed to drop.

MR. O'DONNELL had not intended to take part in the debate; but, as he understood there was hardly any other important Business before the House, except, perhaps, the Government Bill for the promotion of corrupt practices in borough elections, he would contribute his small share to the discussion of the Budget. Inequality was a very mild word for the different treatment of leasehold and freehold and real and personal property; but as the electoral contest was likely to bring hard words he would content himself with that term for the present. There was no justification for the system of heavily taxing wealth that was earned and lightly taxing wealth that was naturally inherited; and he questioned whether it was to the advantage of the landlords themselves that scandalous inequalities of that kind should be perpetuated and aggravated. He was afraid, however, the maxim of the landlords would be to keep all they had and get all they could; but that would hardly entitle them to be dignified by the title of pillars of the Constitution. The proposal of the Chancellor of the Exchequer was scandalous and notoriously unjust, and was perpetrated under such peculiar circumstances, just on the eve of a General Election, that the attention of the country would be called to it, and all the more, because the Government had prevented the attention of the House from being properly directed to it. The little move of the Government on behalf of their friends the landlords would result in the present arrangement between the landed and other interests of the country being carefully scrutinized, and in a re-adjustment upon a very different principle to the want of principle which the Government proposal displayed. The Budget was characterized by an enormous deficit, and no honest attempt had been made to pay the War Debt out of current Expenditure and taxation. If India had not been grossly burdened, and if Ireland had not been grossly overtaxed, the results presented by the Chancellor of the Exchequer would have been still worse. Glancing over a book, entitled *Twenty Years of Financial Policy*, written by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, he found in it a passage which he thought fully explained why the war expenses incurred by the present Government were not to be paid out of taxation. At page 247

he found an extract from a speech by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Greenwich (Mr. Gladstone), who, in 1854, laid down this proposition—

“The expenses of war are a moral check imposed on those who are slaves to a desire for conquest. Among many nations this excitement about war is an important element. Notwithstanding the miseries which it entails, it is invested with charms in the eyes of the community which tend to blind men to its evils. They have, therefore, the disagreeable necessity of defraying from year to year the expenditure which it entails. This is a salutary and wholesome check making them feel what they are about. It is by these means that they may be led to consider a war policy carefully; and it may be, perhaps, that they will keep their eyes well fixed upon the necessity of the war in which they are about to enter, and will entertain a full determination to look carefully for the first prospect of concluding an honourable peace.”

That quotation contains an explicit explanation why the Government, having entered upon wars that were not necessary ones, and which were in no way to be justified, preferred to take that measure of meeting them which is as near as possible calculated to address itself to rational intelligent beings. He need not then go into the details of the discussion with reference to two of the points; but there could be no question that India had been treated with the grossest unfairness, and that whatever might be the decision of this country, unless he was very much mistaken, that course of injustice to India would result in a new crop of evils which would carry with it a larger expenditure than that to which he had already referred. So close on the discussion of the hon. Member for Youghal (Sir Joseph M'Kenna) on the over taxation of Ireland, it was unnecessary to refer to the third point at the present stage of voting the Budget. Ireland was over-taxed; and if she had been taxed in due proportion there would be an additional item towards swelling the deficit in which the general mal-administration of the finances had placed the Budget Statement of the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

MR. SULLIVAN said, he should only make a few remarks. He should ask permission of the House, before the Question was put from the Chair, to detain them for a moment. He thought he should be perfectly in Order in making reference to the cost entailed upon them by the Afghan and South African Wars. He had an idea that the country would

not be willing to approve this Budget, and to ratify the expenditure of the millions of money which had been squandered on African and Asiatic Wars. The country, too, would be taxed considerably to defray the expenses of the unnecessary prosecution of a most unjust war in South Africa; and he thought that, before the expiration of the coming 12 months, the rich as well as the poor would feel the strain of paying the aggregate of millions of money expended in the redemption of military honour, or rather, he was sorry to have to say it, what would be more properly characterized as an unholy thirst for vengeance. It was his lot to rise in that House at the earliest moment when the House was voting the money for the Zulu War, and place on record his protest against it. He was told then that the money should be voted quietly, and he was asked to say nothing whatever with reference to the purposes of the war, as the proper time of taking objection to the expenditure would be when the country was required to pay the money or the House to vote it. He wished that night, in one or two sentences, to perform a like duty, which for a long time he had owed to his own conscience, which he had, in fact, owed ever since the occasion he had just referred to, by protesting against the first step in that House in connection with the taxation for that war; and as that was the last opportunity that he should have of doing so, he would ask the recollection of the country to a series of questions which had been put by so humble a Member of that House as himself, from time to time, last summer, with a view to relieving the expenditure and terminating the effusion of blood. He had asked the right hon. Baronet the Secretary of State for the Colonies on one of those occasions, whether it was the intention of Her Majesty's Government to make peace with the Zulu King? He should be in the recollection of that House when he stated in how cool a manner, and how evasively and delusively he was answered. Again and again he strove to press upon Members of the Government to let the country know whether they really intended to give that Zulu King the chance of acceding to reasonable terms, which, no doubt, it was the right of this country to demand, more especially because the

Government were engaged in prosecuting a war which was unjust; and they knew from the papers that they themselves did not believe that the course they had pursued was necessary or just in carrying sword and flame into that country. The position the Cabinet maintained upon that occasion was delusive and intended to deceive the country. When Sir Garnet Wolseley was being sent out they were told that he was to be a messenger of peace; and he asked the right hon. Baronet the Secretary of State for the Colonies, for the third time, whether the Government would state to the House what were the proposals of peace which that General was charged to take with him, in order that they might have an opportunity of saying whether they considered them satisfactory? What was the answer to that request of his? That answer was successful for the moment; but he did not envy the emotion of that Minister of the Crown when he reflected upon it, and when he came to ask himself whether it was worthy in candour, straightforwardness, and truthfulness, and whether it was characteristic of the responsibility necessarily attaching to a Minister of the Crown? The answer he received was that, for certain reasons, the question must not be replied to. The Zulu King might, forsooth, have had a special wire. He might, forsooth, get a telegraphic hint beforehand what the terms were to be, and, therefore, to give an answer might be prejudicial to the magnificent results which were to be expected strategically, politically, and diplomatically in that quarter, and would probably destroy the settlement that might otherwise be arrived at. There were sitting at that time Gentlemen, on the other side of the House, who had stood to their guns and followed their Leaders like men; but even those Party men would have their moments of reflection—and Conservative Gentlemen had consciences as quick to the sense of honour as other hon. Members—and he would put it to them whether the answers that were then given, in reply to his questions, were true? From that hour to the time when that war had been prosecuted to its conclusion, he had charged the Government with a waste of money and a waste of blood. That was his reason for speaking then on the Motion before the House. In imposing these taxes the country were

paying the penalty on account of carrying out that unholy war. On one occasion, the right hon. Baronet the Secretary of State for the Colonies had even gone so far as to let fall an expression which was received with murmurs from the Conservative Benches. That expression had been then quickly withdrawn. He would not say that the phrase then used by the right hon. Baronet expressed his sentiments correctly. He did not, then or now, think that the right hon. Baronet the Secretary of State for the Colonies was personally accountable for those proceedings, because the Government were aware that they had been precipitated into that course of conduct by the action of Sir Bartle Frere against, as he believed, their own sentiments and convictions; and he believed that the right hon. Baronet, as well as some other Members of the Government, personally condemned the precipitancy of that conduct, and would most gladly have avoided it altogether. But the war was continued, taxation was heaped upon Africa and us, in order to wipe out the disgrace which was supposed to have befallen the arms of this country at Isandlana. The Zulu nation was a Pagan nation, and we were Christians; and that was the true Christian spirit of warfare we were to show the Zulu people and King that we practised general morality and did to others as we would be done by. He would say that night, and remind the right hon. Baronet the Member for Tamworth (Sir Robert Peel) that, in every instance, he was not deterred by those evasive answers, but returned again and again to that subject in the House, thereby following out his conviction. The Government had determined not to make peace, but to crush, exterminate, and wipe out that Zulu nation. It made no matter whether the elephant tusks were or were not sent into the British camp. It was of no avail that we had an able Christian Prelate who would willingly have been the ambassador of peace—who would gladly have borne the Gospels in one hand and the olive branch of peace in the other. He referred to Dr. Colenso, who had again and again testified to the fact that, at any stage of the war, it was perfectly practicable to avert any further expenditure or shedding of blood by simply

being just to this Pagan race. Her Majesty's Government were determined to carry out their dark purpose. They had long before determined to accept no terms whatever of peace, and to give the King no chance. His doom and ruin were already settled in Downing Street, London, and there was nothing before him but exile. But a day would come when the passions of that hour would have subsided, and there yet would come a time when the English people would read the story of the war with the Zulu nation and of the capture of their King, and blush for the statesmen who had accomplished it. Wherever they went, in whatever quarter of the globe they looked, civilization was pushing its frontiers, and everywhere they saw White races in close proximity to savage ones. In the United States of America they saw them face to face with the Red Indian, and in Zululand and Afghanistan a similar state of things between our own countrymen and the Natives of those parts; and he would merely ask the question what justification there was for any outlay in that direction? He did not deny but that he had opposed the Resolutions that night for the same reasons that he opposed the justice, policy, wisdom, and necessity, as it was called, of that outlay in the very earliest stages of that struggle. But all was over now. They had seen traced for them by journalists the ruin of the Zulu nation; but it might turn out—as in the case of the annexation of the Transvaal, which that House had approved and had withstood any opposition with such intolerance—that the fracture of Zululand into five or six chieftainries would not effect its purpose, but, on the other hand, that there would be a continual expenditure upon future Budgets, and charges for future generations to defray. In those matters, the conduct pursued by the Government was not creditable to this country. The Zulu King had been chased and hunted down——

MR. SPEAKER: The hon. and learned Member seems to me to be speaking on the question of the Zulu War; and, no doubt, that has some bearing on the matter before the House. At the same time, I must remind the hon. and learned Member that he appears to be rather trying the patience of the House.

MR. SULLIVAN said, that he bowed to the ruling of the Chair, which was,

no doubt, perfectly correct. A speaker was not always aware when he was travelling from the subject under discussion. But he desired now simply to conclude by saying that, so far as the discussion was concerned, he did not feel inclined to proceed any further with the argument; but that being the last stage in that Parliament when he should have the opportunity of discussing it, he had thought it his duty to protest against the imposition of taxes to defray expenses that had been incurred in war that was revolting to his heart and conscience.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS - BEACH said, that the spirit, if not the letter, of the speech of the hon. and learned Member for Louth (Mr. Sullivan) seemed to be utterly irrelevant to the Question before the House; and there was not a sentence of that speech which appeared to him to affect the discussion of that evening. But if anyone would examine the promises which had been made by him and other Members of the Government as to the course that had been pursued, from the time of the commencement of the Zulu War to its end, he would see that those promises were that every means should be taken to obtain a secure peace as soon as it could safely be done, and that they had been adequately and honourably fulfilled. He would further say, with reference to the speech of the hon. and learned Member, that he thought it very culpable that anyone should come down to the House and make charges against him or anyone else of want of truth, straightforwardness, and of giving evasive answers to Questions, without Notice first being given, in order that a full and particular reply might be made to any charges of the kind. If the hon. and learned Member really believed the charges which he had made, either against the Government or himself (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach), the proper way to bring such a matter forward was in the shape of a Motion, when he would have been prepared to meet him, and to give satisfactory proof to the House and the country that the charges which had been brought against him were entirely without foundation.

MR. SULLIVAN said, he had not the remotest idea that he had made personal charges against the right hon. Baronet, and he thought a reference to what he had said would show that to

be so; and, further, he had no idea that the right hon. Baronet was not in his place when he had commenced his speech. He intended to bring no actual charge against the right hon. Baronet.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS - BEACH: Why did you say so, then?

Question put, and agreed to.

Bill read a second time, and committed for To-morrow.

CONSOLIDATED FUND (APPROPRIATION) BILL.

(Mr. Raikes, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson.)

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."

MR. MELDON said, that he had a few observations to address to the House. He would move, as an Amendment to the Motion proposed from the Chair—

"That it is inexpedient to proceed with any legislation at this period except such as is absolutely necessary for the government of the country."

He said he took this course unwillingly, on account of the policy of exasperation which had been carried on by the present Parliament. Most of the Irish Members were now amongst their constituencies, and there were not more than half-a-dozen remaining in London. Some short time since it had been arranged that no Business should be transacted except what was absolutely necessary; and, in fulfilment of the pledge, the Government had withdrawn most important and pressing legislation that had been before the House, yet, notwithstanding, they had persisted in keeping before the House many measures which it was by no means necessary to pass, and which were highly interesting to Irish Members. He was referring, amongst others, to the Local Courts of Ireland (Bankruptcy) Bill, which, he was sorry to see, was being pressed on at that late stage in the proceedings, and which was opposed by nearly all his Irish Colleagues.

MR. SPEAKER: The terms of the Amendment before the House have no reference to the Business before the House.

MR. MELDON said, he would bow to the decision of the Chair. He would raise the question at a later stage of the Bill—the Local Courts of Ireland (Bankruptcy) Bill.

MR. CALLAN said, he hoped that the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland would ease the minds of himself and his Colleagues by yielding to the wish generally expressed by Irish Members not to proceed at this late stage in the Session with any unnecessary legislation referring to Ireland.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. GIBSON) said, it would be impossible, with due regard to the convenience of hon. Members, to attempt to carry the Bill through its remaining stages; and, therefore, he proposed to move that the Order be discharged. It was the intention of the Government to re-introduce it at the earliest possible period in the new Parliament.

MR. SPEAKER said, he must point out that the House was discussing the second reading of the Consolidated Fund (Appropriation) Bill.

Question put, and *agreed to*.

Bill read a second time, and *committed for To-morrow*.

PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS AND CORRUPT PRACTICES (No. 2) BILL.

(*Mr. Attorney General, Mr. Solicitor General.*)

[BILL 107.] COMMITTEE.

Order for Committee read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Committee upon the said Bill be deferred till To-morrow."—(*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.*)

MR. MONK appealed to the right hon. Gentleman not to proceed with the Bill this Session. The present Act would not expire until December 31st; and, therefore, no legislation was necessary at this period. The right hon. Gentleman was aware of the number of Notices of opposition and Amendments which appeared on the Paper, and which pointed to the conclusion that such a measure ought not to be considered when there were not 100 Members of the

House left in town. After the statement of the other night, that no Bills would be proceeded with which were not absolutely necessary, this might well be postponed; and he would again remind the Chancellor of the Exchequer that the few Liberal Members who remained were strongly opposed to the measure. He was sure they would offer no factious opposition if the Government were entirely determined to proceed with the Bill; but, as one who had never offered any factious opposition to the Government, he put it to them whether the present was a time when an important Amendment of the law should be proceeded with?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER would only remind the hon. Gentleman that when he announced the intention to dissolve he mentioned this Bill as one that it would be desirable to proceed with. He understood that it was the wish of a large number of Members that before the Dissolution the questions involved in the Bill should be settled one way or other. He hoped the House would be able to give the measure their attention.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON did not intend to discuss the question now, but must take the opportunity of expressing a very earnest hope that the Government would, before to-morrow's Sitting, take into consideration the appeal which had been made to them by the hon. Member for Gloucester (Mr. Monk), and consider whether it was desirable, at this stage of the House, to press on the further consideration of this Bill. No doubt it was desirable that the point should have been settled before a General Election, and it could have been settled by the entire House; but the Government must be aware that there was a very wide difference of opinion on the subject, and it was hardly fitting—in fact, it was hardly decent—that a question of this importance should be settled in the state to which the House was now reduced.

MR. RAMSAY said, the ground of complaint now was that the Bill could not be properly discussed. The number of Members now in London was not nearly equal to the number of those who took an interest in the Bill, and it would be only fair to withdraw it for the present. It should be re-introduced when it could be fully considered, because

there was a strong feeling that instead of repealing the provision against payments for conveyance of voters in boroughs the provisions should be strengthened.

Mr. ANDERSON was quite aware that the Government could, if they chose, force the Bill through the House; but it would be unfair to do so. The Bill was only printed on Wednesday, the second reading was taken on Thursday, and the country knew nothing about it, although it was a most important Bill, affecting every borough throughout the country. The country had had no opportunity of saying a word about it; and it was a most uncalled-for thing, at this period, to introduce such a Bill. He appealed to the Government to follow, in this matter, the example of the Attorney General for Ireland just now. He had withdrawn an important Bill on the appeal of Irish Members, because so many were absent, and Government should withdraw this Bill also, as the Scotch Members, who were strongly interested in the Bill, were nearly all away; but those who remained were much opposed to it, and, whilst they knew they could not resist the mechanical majority of the Government, he appealed to the Leader of the House not to use it.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Committee *deferred till To-morrow.*

BANKRUPTCY LAW AMENDMENT BILL AND THE BANKRUPTCY ACT (1869) AMENDMENT BILL.

Leave given to the Committee to make a Special Report:—

Special Report *brought up*, and read, as followeth:—

Mr. Attorney General *reported* from the Select Committee on the Bankruptcy Law Amendment Bill and the Bankruptcy Act (1869) Amendment Bill; That they had agreed to the following Special Report:—

Although your Committee are of opinion that, in several respects, the Bills submitted to them require Amendments, they are unable, on account of the approaching Dissolution of the present Parliament, to proceed further with the consideration of the Bills. They have

therefore agreed to report the Bills to the House without Amendment.

Bills *reported*, without Amendment; Report to lie upon the Table, and to be *printed.* [No. 123.]

Minutes of Proceedings to be *printed.* [No. 123.]

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

SINKING FUND ACT (1875).

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Resolved, That it is expedient to amend "The Sinking Fund Act, 1875," and to increase the annual charge on the Consolidated Fund for five years by eight hundred thousand pounds.

Resolution to be reported *To-morrow.*

WAYS AND MEANS.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

1. *Resolved*, That the Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury be authorised to raise a sum, not exceeding Six Million Pounds, by the creation of Terminable Annuities.

2. *Resolved*, That, towards raising the Supply granted to Her Majesty, the Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury be authorised to raise any sum, not exceeding Sixty Thousand Pounds, by an issue of Exchequer Bonds, Exchequer Bills, or Treasury Bills.

3. *Resolved*, That the principal of all Exchequer Bonds which may be so issued shall be paid off at par, at the expiration of any period, not exceeding three years, from the date of such Bonds.

4. *Resolved*, That the interest of all such Exchequer Bonds shall be paid half-yearly, and shall be charged upon and issued out of the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom, or the growing produce thereof.

Resolutions to be reported *To-morrow.*

MOTIONS.

BILLS OF SALE ACT (1878) AMENDMENT BILL.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Resolved, That the Chairman be directed to move the House, that leave be given to bring in a Bill to amend "The Bills of Sale Act, 1878."

Resolution *reported*:— Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. MONK, Mr. SAMPSON LLOYD, Mr. MERREWETHER, Mr. MORLEY, and Mr. BARRAN.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 113.]

METROPOLITAN COMMONS SUPPLEMENTAL
BILL.

On Motion of Sir MATTHEW RIDLEY, Bill to confirm a scheme under "The Metropolitan Commons Act, 1866," and "The Metropolitan Commons Amendment Act, 1869," relating to Staines Commons, *ordered* to be brought in by Sir MATTHEW RIDLEY and Mr. Secretary Cross. Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 112.]

House adjourned at a quarter
after One o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Tuesday, 16th March, 1880.

MINUTES.]—PRIVATE BILLS—*Second Reading*
—*Report*—Rammingen's Naturalization*.

Report—Katz Naturalization*.

PUBLIC BILLS—*Second Reading*—Municipal Corporations (Property Qualification Abolition) (40); Common Law Procedure and Judicature Acts Amendment (44).

Committee—Hypothec Abolition (Scotland) (34).

Report—Companies Acts Amendment* (35-48).

Third Reading—Artizans Dwellings Act (1868) Amendment Act (1879) Amendment* (21); East India Loan (East Indian Railway Debentures)* (36); India Stock (Powers of Attorney)* (37); Army Discipline and Regulation (Annual), and *passed*.

Withdrawn—Facilities for Interments (45).

RAMMINGEN'S NATURALIZATION BILL [H.L.]

Certificate read; petitioner took the oath; the Queen's consent signified by the Lord Chancellor; Bill read 2^a (according to order) and *committed* forthwith: Order for considering Standing Orders Nos. XXXVII. and XXXVIII. read, and *discharged*; *Reported* with Amendments.

PRIVATE AND PROVISIONAL ORDER CONFIRMATION BILLS.

Resolved, That the promoters of every Private or Provisional Order Confirmation Bill which has been introduced into this House in the present Session of Parliament, and which shall have passed this House and been sent to the House of Commons, or which shall be pending in this House, shall have leave to introduce the same in the next Session of Parliament, provided that notice of their intention to do so be lodged in the Private Bill Office not later than Three o'clock on the day prior to the close of the present Session; and that all fees due thereon, up to that period, be paid:

That an alphabetical list of all such Bills, with a statement of the stages at which they shall

have arrived, shall be prepared in the Private Bill Office, and printed:

That such Bills shall be deposited in the Parliament Office not later than the third day on which the House shall sit after the next meeting of Parliament, with a declaration, signed by the agent, annexed thereto, stating that the Bill is the same in every respect as the Bill at the last stage of the proceedings thereon in this House in the present Session; and where any sum of money has been deposited, as required by Standing Order No. 57, that such deposit has not been withdrawn, together with a certificate of that fact, from the proper officer of the court in which such money was deposited:

That the proceedings on such Bills shall be *pro forma* only in regard to every stage through which the same shall have passed in the present Session; and that no new fees be charged in regard to such stages:

That as regards all Private and Provisional Order Confirmation Bills which shall have been brought from the House of Commons in the present Session such Bills shall be allowed to proceed to the same stage at which they shall have arrived in the present Session, on the same conditions as those set forth in the preceding Orders in respect of Bills originating in this House; the declaration to be signed by the agent, stating that the Bill is in every respect the same as when brought to this House in this Session:

That if any such Bill shall have been amended in this House in the present Session, the same Amendments shall be inserted by the Committee on the Bill:

That the Standing Orders by which the proceedings on Bills are regulated shall not apply to any Private or Provisional Order Confirmation Bill which shall have originated in this House or been brought up from the House of Commons in the present Session, in regard to any of the stages through which the same shall have passed:

That all petitions presented in this Session relating to any Private Bill shall, if necessary, be referred to the Committee on the Bill in the next Session:

That no petitioners shall be heard before the Committee on any Bill unless their petition shall have been presented within the time limited in the present Session, unless that time shall not have expired before it closes, in which case, in order to be heard, their petition shall be presented not later than the fourth day on which the House shall sit in the next Session.—(*The Chairman of Committees.*)

MUNICIPAL CORPORATIONS (PROPERTY QUALIFICATION ABOLITION)
BILL—(No. 40.)

(*The Marquess of Lansdowne.*)

SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading, read.

THE MARQUESS OF LANSDOWNE, in moving that the Bill be now read a second time, said, it was one to do away with an ancient monument in the shape

of a property qualification at present required under the existing law for members of Municipal Corporations. That qualification was that in burghs of four or more wards the candidate should be rated at over £30, or be able to declare that he was worth £1,000; and in the case of burghs of less than four wards, the candidate should be rated at £15, or be worth £500. This was productive of much inconvenience, especially in small boroughs, in some of which it had been shown that no less than one-eighth of the whole constituency were prevented from being candidates for municipal offices. The object of the Bill was to make the qualification for a seat in the Council the same as that of the voters for a Town Councillor—namely, occupation for 12 months of premises in the borough, full age, rating to the poor rate, and actual payment of the rate. This would be a much more simple qualification than one of those that now existed, for it was, under many circumstances, very difficult to ascertain whether a man was or was not worth £1,000; and the present qualification opened the door to dishonesty by affording a temptation to persons to take an over-sanguine view of their position. Another objection to the existing system was that it restricted the body from which people could be chosen to fill municipal offices. Such things were certainly out of accord with the spirit of modern legislation; and it was absurd that a man who was qualified to sit in Parliament should not be qualified to have a seat in the local Corporations. Earl Russell, speaking in 1835 on the Municipal Corporations Bill, said, with reference to the qualification upon which the House of Lords had insisted, that he had from the first been opposed to such a qualification, and that—

“The principle for which he contended was one which must, sooner or later, be adopted by the Legislature in respect to elections of this kind; for it is a principle so sound in itself that it may be left to work its way. If you leave it to the elector to choose a person of sufficient abilities and character, you leave it to him also to choose a person of sufficient property when property is required.”

In conclusion, he would move the second reading of the Bill.

Moved, “That the Bill be now read 2^a.”
—(*The Marquess of Lansdowne*.)

On Question? *Resolved in the Affirmative.*

Bill read 2^a accordingly, and committed to a Committee of the Whole House on Thursday next.

FACILITIES FOR INTERMENTS BILL.

(*The Lord Denman*.)

(NO. 45.) SECOND READING.

ORDER DISCHARGED. BILL WITHDRAWN.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading, read.

LORD DENMAN, in moving that the Bill be now read a second time, explained that its object was to counteract the prejudice against silent burial. He referred to the wish expressed by Ministers in 1862 for the whole of the service to be performed in church. He trusted that their Lordships would allow it to be read a second time, in order that it might reach the other House of Parliament in time to pass before the Dissolution.

Moved, “That the Bill be now read 2^a.”
—(*The Lord Denman*.)

THE EARL OF BEACONSFIELD: This subject, my Lords, though one of great interest, is still one which has recently been brought before this House under circumstances with which your Lordships must be perfectly familiar, and which will probably again receive your attention. But I really think that, under the circumstances in which Parliament now stands, it would be inexpedient and also injurious to the views of my noble Friend that it should be pressed on this occasion. He has communicated its purpose to the House; and, having done so much, he may be content not to press the measure. In the new Parliament my noble Friend will have an opportunity of bringing forward the Motion with all the charm which is attendant on a virgin measure. Probably he will find that, by asking the House to consider it now, he will not at all facilitate the furtherance of the views which he so conscientiously entertains. I should, therefore, advise him to withdraw the measure for the present.

LORD DENMAN said, he could not object to follow the course suggested by the noble Earl the Prime Minister.

Order discharged, and Bill (by leave of the House) withdrawn.

COMMON LAW PROCEDURE AND JUDICATURE ACTS AMENDMENT BILL.

(The Lord Coleridge.)

(NO. 44.) SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading, read.

LORD COLERIDGE, in moving that the Bill, which had come up from the Commons, be now read a second time, explained that its object was to enable the Official Referees not only to hear cases sent before them, but, if thought desirable, to finally determine them without the necessity of sending the cases back to the Court. The Bill was introduced by Gentlemen on both sides of the other House, and he believed that it passed there without opposition. He understood that his noble and learned Friend on the Woolsack had no objection to the principle of the Bill, though he had one or two objections to its phraseology. To such Amendments he (Lord Coleridge) would offer no objection.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2^a."
—(*The Lord Coleridge.*)

THE EARL OF POWIS thought that facilities should be afforded for the continuoussitting of Arbitrators or Referees. The great delays in such cases made it a great hardship to be driven to a Referee by the Judge to expedite an Assize. It sometimes happened that when an Arbitrator had been sitting for a long time he was made a Judge, and then all the proceedings in arbitration were thrown away. He should, under these circumstances, have power to continue the arbitration.

LORD PENZANCE said, that the Bill did not deal with Arbitrators all, but only with the Official Referees.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR said, he entirely agreed with the principle of the measure; and, beyond making some verbal Amendments, he had no desire to interfere with its progress. He believed it would mitigate many evils which were complained of as being incidental to the system of Referees.

On Question? *Resolved in the Affirmative.*

Bill read 2^a accordingly.

ARMY DISCIPLINE AND REGULATION (ANNUAL) BILL.

(The Viscount Bury.)

THIRD READING.

Order of the Day for the Third Reading, read.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 3^a."
—(*The Viscount Bury.*)

THE EARL OF LONGFORD said, he wished to repeat now what he said on Saturday last, when the second reading of the Bill was taken at a Morning Sitting—namely, that the Bill was introduced this year, as it was last, at a time when no Amendment could be introduced into it. It must not, however, be supposed that, because no Amendments were proposed, therefore none were needed. He objected to the Bill because, under its provisions, commanding officers would not have sufficient powers to repress disorder. Again, some change was necessary in the system of distribution of the booty of war. For 20 years a dispute concerning booty had been going on with the Public Departments concerned, and was still unsettled. In the Navy there was no difficulty of this kind, because for a long time they had had an efficient jurisdiction for determining those questions; and he hoped it would not be long before they had something of the same kind for the Army.

On Question? *Resolved in the Affirmative.*

Bill read 3^a accordingly, and *passed*.

HYPOTHEC ABOLITION (SCOTLAND) BILL.—(No. 34.)

(The Earl of Haddington.)

COMMITTEE.

Order of the Day for the House to be put into Committee, read.

Moved, "That the House do now resolve itself into Committee upon the said Bill."—(*The Earl of Haddington.*)

THE EARL OF REDESDALE (CHAIRMAN of COMMITTEES) said, that for the same reason that he objected to the second reading of the Bill last night he must now object to going into Committee upon it. This was a Bill which proposed to entirely change the relations between

landlord and tenants in Scotland, and, therefore, was a measure which ought not to be hurriedly considered. He saw that the noble Earl who had charge of the Bill proposed to strike more than one-half out of it, and introduce new provisions of a different character. He thought a measure of that character ought not to be treated in that way, but ought to be thoroughly considered by their Lordships; and, therefore, he should say "not content" to the Motion to go into Committee.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR said, the Amendment to which his noble Friend the Chairman of Committees referred was one of great length; but it really was only an alteration of page 2 of the Bill, and was an improvement upon the words in the measure. He thought the matter could be better discussed in Committee.

THE EARL OF STAIR thought the Bill ought to pass, but agreed with the noble Earl the Chairman of Committees (the Earl of Redesdale) that the Amendment was a very large one. The effect of it appeared to him to be to give the tenant compensation for unexhausted improvements.

THE EARL OF GALLOWAY said, that when the Bill was on the Paper for second reading their Lordships had more particularly assembled to hear a debate upon two Motions—one referring to the disturbed state of Ireland, and the other to the Eastern Question—one of which had been down on the Paper before the Bill had reached the stage of Committee in the other House of Parliament. Owing to that state of circumstances, he (the Earl of Galloway) would not venture to discuss the merits of the provisions of the Bill last night. It was true that, by the Forms of the House, the time for discussing the merits of the Bill had now passed, and he would not transgress the Forms in that respect. But he wished to remind their Lordships that the Law of Hypothec, as originally enacted, was not enacted in the interests of the landlord. It was perfectly true that the Act referred to the landlord's right of hypothec; but the object of the Bill was to protect the interests of the tenant. It was also perfectly true that there had been a great clamour in Scotland for the abolition of the Law of Hypothec; but he himself believed that the clamour was past. He thought that

the tenants, in clamouring for the abolition of the Law of Hypothec, did not seem to know what was good for themselves. There had, however, been a clamour, and that was the reason that Her Majesty's Government acquiesced in passing the Bill. But he still maintained that it was clearly not a matter for the landlords at all. He believed that the Law of Hypothec was really a matter of benefit to the agricultural tenant in Scotland, and was not a measure that was really in the interests of the landlord. To prove that he believed that the Law of Hypothec was really in the interests of the tenant, he was ready to give his cordial support to any Bill proposed for giving compensation to the tenants for unexhausted improvements.

THE DUKE OF RICHMOND AND GORDON said, his contention was that, agriculturally, the interest of the landlord and the tenant were identical; and, therefore, in that respect, he did not agree with his noble Friend behind him (the Earl of Galloway). Where a tenant was ejected from his holding, he would be entitled, under the Bill, to receive compensation for unexhausted improvements.

LORD ORANMORE AND BROWNE said, he must confess that he thought an important Bill like this, which proposed to change the custom—which was the custom which existed in almost every country in Europe—would not have been taken up by the Government except that the Members of the other House of Parliament were going to their constituents, and wanted this measure as a part of their programme.

On Question? *Resolved in the Affirmative.*

House in Committee accordingly.

Clause 1 (Landlords' hypothec to cease after 11th November, 1881).

Amendments made, in page 1, line 12, by leaving out ("passing"), and inserting ("commencement"); and in line 24, by leaving out ("and payable at any term of payment thereafter").

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 2 (Landlords' remedy when six months' rent is due and unpaid).

Amendments made, in page 1, line 24, after ("sheriff"), by inserting ("or

sheriff-substitute"); in line 26, after ("notice"), by inserting ("by registered post-office, letter, or otherwise"); and in line 27, after ("nor"), by inserting ("in an action for caution and removing").

THE EARL OF HADDINGTON said, he would now move the Amendment which had been described by the noble and learned Earl (the Lord Chancellor) as merely an alteration of the phraseology of the Bill.

Moved, in page 2, line 1, to leave out from ("caution") to end of clause, and insert—

"Provided also that in the event of the removal or rejection of a tenant from such land in any year under the provisions of the Act of Sederunt anent Removings of the fourteenth day of December one thousand seven hundred and fifty-six, and of this Act, on account of being in arrear of rent for six months or twelve months, as the case may be, the following further provisions shall have effect:

"(1.) A tenant so removed or ejected shall not thereby forfeit the rights of an outgoing tenant to which otherwise he would have been entitled if his lease had naturally expired at the date of removing or ejection, or at the last preceding term of Whitsunday or Martinmas in the event of the removing or ejection taking place between these terms.

"(2.) When the removing or ejection takes place between the before-mentioned terms, the tenant shall be entitled to payment of or credit for the expenditure made by such tenant since the last preceding term on the labour, seed, and manure applied to any crop, other than an away-going crop, falling within the immediately preceding provision.

"(3.) Where a tenant is removed or is ejected between the before-mentioned terms, he shall not, except as herein-after provided, be liable to pay for the occupation of such land after the immediately preceding term of Whitsunday or Martinmas, more than a proportion of the rent effeiring to the period between such term and the date of removing or ejection: Providing always, that where any away-going crop to which a tenant is entitled is immature at the date of such removing or ejection, neither the tenant nor any one deriving right through him shall be entitled to carry away such crop at maturity until payment shall have been made to the landlord of the proportion of rent effeiring to the period between the date of removing or ejection and the separation of such crop from the ground."—(*The Earl of Haddington*.)

THE EARL OF AIRLIE wished to call attention to the first part of the clause. The words were—

"From and after the commencement of this Act, the landlord of any land exceeding two acres in extent, and let for agriculture or pasture, shall, subject to the provisions of the pre-

ceding section of this Act, have the same rights and remedies against his tenant when six months' rent is due and unpaid, as is now provided by the law of Scotland when twelve months' rent is due and unpaid, and shall also have the same rights and remedies against his tenant when twelve months' rent is due and unpaid as is now provided by the law of Scotland when two years' rent is due and unpaid."

If they looked at the first part of the clause, they would find that, before and after the commencement of this Act, the landlord should have the same rights and remedies when six months' rent was due as he now had where 12 months' rent was unpaid, and the same rights and remedies when 12 months' rent was due and unpaid as he now had when two years' rent was unpaid. He questioned whether anyone in that House except the noble and learned Earl (the Lord Chancellor) knew exactly what the state of the law was at present with regard to that part of the clause. It was now proposed to take away from the landlord the exceptional right which he had hitherto had, and place him on the same footing as all other creditors. But if the exceptional right was taken away from the landlord he would not be placed in the same position as other persons, because a merchant, if he found his customers did not pay him, could stop the supplies; but in this case, if the tenant could not pay the rent, the landlord could not stop the supplies. The tenant continued on the farm, and the landlord, so to speak, continued to supply the article, and received nothing. He was supported in the view he took by the Committee of their Lordships' House. Under the present law, a tenant, if he became insolvent, might retain possession for a long time. It might be said that that might be altered by having a covenant in the lease that if the tenant could not pay his rent he should quit the farm; but there seemed to be some doubt as to the legality of such contracts. A noble Friend of his in the North of Scotland had brought forward a new set of regulations for the management of his estate, and had given up altogether his right of hypothec, but had introduced a condition into his leases that if a tenant became bankrupt, or if he failed to pay his rent within a certain time, the farm was to be given up. He wished to ask the Lord Chancellor what was the present law, and what

was the precise effect of the alterations made by this part of the 2nd clause?

THE LORD CHANCELLOR said, in the first instance, the Bill had no operation whatever upon existing contracts, which were left just as they were now. With regard to future leases, the tenant, if he failed to pay the rent, was taken before the Sheriff, and security was taken for the payment of the rent. The noble Earl had asked what could be done by agreement, and had mentioned the case of a noble Lord in the North of Scotland, who, he understood, had made agreements by which, in the event of the rent not being paid by the tenant within a certain time, or in the event of a tenant becoming bankrupt, the lease was to become void. As he understood the law of Scotland, he believed such a stipulation was legal; but he should not like to give a positive opinion on it off-hand. In England such a stipulation would certainly be legal. He would merely state to the noble Earl what he understood the Scotch law to be. Any agreement was valid; but to enforce it an action must be instituted, and what was called a *declarator* had to be obtained in the Court of Session. But he must also say that other things could be done which did not require the intervention of the Court—for instance, an agreement for the payment of the rent in advance, or to provide sureties for payment. The law of Scotland stood thus—if the rent was in arrear the landlord might take proceedings against the tenant, which were known by the name of caution. He called upon the tenant to give security for payment of the rent. That security might range over five years, if the rent was in arrear for 12 months. The Bill reduced the period of 12 months to six, and gave the landlord power to take measures to avoid the lease and eject the tenant after one year's arrears had accrued. The provisions now existing when the rent was in arrear for two years were made applicable by the Bill to one year's arrears of rent. The landlord might take summary proceedings to make the lease void and remove the tenant after one year's arrears became due. But the tenant in such cases was not to be deprived of the rights of an out-going tenant. The principal change made by the Bill was that the periods he had referred to of

two years and one year were shortened to one year and six months respectively.

LORD SELBORNE remarked, that the language of the Bill clearly implied that what the noble and learned Earl (the Lord Chancellor) had said could be done.

On Question? *Resolved in the Affirmative.*

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 3 (Provisions of 2nd section not to apply in addition to hypothec) *agreed to.*

New Clause (Short title) *agreed to, and added to the Bill.*

House resumed.

Report of Amendments to be received *To-morrow*; and Standing Orders Nos. XXXVII. and XXXVIII. to be *considered*, in order to their being *dispensed with.*

METROPOLITAN WATER SUPPLY.

QUESTIONS. OBSERVATIONS.

THE EARL OF CAMPERDOWN, on rising to call attention to the present position of the Metropolitan ratepayers who consume water, with reference to the charges which are and may be made by the Water Companies; also to ask, Whether the Government will take steps to ascertain (1) if the Companies are correct in law in interpreting "annual value" to mean "gross annual value;" and (2) if each successive revaluation of the Metropolis under the Metropolis Valuation Act, 1860, would alter the rateable valuation of Metropolitan property in respect of the water supplied by the Companies? said, he was very sorry to call their Lordships' attention to the subject of Metropolitan Water Supply; but, under the present circumstances, he felt it absolutely necessary, in the interest of the ratepayers, that some representations on the subject should be made to their Lordships. The introduction of a Bill on this subject by the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for the Home Department, coupled with its withdrawal, had placed the ratepayers in such a position that he very much feared, unless some step was taken with reference to their interest, their position would be found to be worse than at

present. He was not going to weary their Lordships by going into the general question of water supply, or the quantity or quality of that supply, which had been entered into before in that House, and which had no direct reference to the point now before him; but he was going to limit himself entirely to the rating powers which were possessed by the Water Companies, and to call their Lordships' attention to that. It might be necessary that he should remind their Lordships that the Water Companies held their powers under Acts of their own, and that their legal charge consisted of a certain percentage upon the annual value of the house which they supplied. Those powers were confirmed by the general Act of 1847. At a much later period, the Valuation (Metropolis) Act of 1869 was passed with reference to an entirely different state of things, and was introduced without any special reference to the Water Companies. It was introduced to provide for local government and taxation, and to promote uniformity of the assessment of property in the Metropolis. As the charges made by the Water Companies were in the nature of a charge made for supply, and not in the nature of a tax or rate, he believed it was questionable whether the Water Companies were justified in increasing their rates under the Valuation Act. By the Valuation Act of 1869 it was enacted that the Metropolis should be re-valued at periods of five years; and he must trouble their Lordships by reminding them that when the Valuation Act of 1875 had just passed, and nine or ten months before it came into force, he pointed out that if the Government did not take some step to prevent Acts which were not intended by Parliament to apply to Water Companies from applying to them, the result would be that the Companies would come under the provisions of that Act, and the charge to consumers of water would be increased without any change in the quantity or quality of the supply. On that occasion, his observations received scant reply from the Government. Indeed, the noble Duke opposite (the Duke of Richmond and Gordon) did not agree with the view he took. The noble Duke said, in the first place, that it was impossible before the lists were finally approved and came into force to say whether the rateable value of pro-

perty in the Metropolis would be raised or not so as to affect the water rate; and, secondly, that it was not intended by Government to confer any additional powers of rating on the Metropolitan Water Companies. The noble Duke said that, although most of their Lordships knew at the time that the re-valuation of the Metropolis had been completed and had been very largely increased, and that the Companies would claim the benefit of it, unless there was a special provision to prevent them from doing so. With regard to the second answer which the noble Duke had given, he had no doubt that it was never intended to confer additional rating powers upon the Water Companies by the Valuation (Metropolis) Act. But whatever might have been the intention with which that Act was passed, the Companies claimed to base their rates on the new valuation, and thus to throw an additional charge upon the consumers of water. It was clear, from the remarks which were made at the time to which he referred by the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs—the cause of whose absence they all regretted—that either the Government had not then considered this question very carefully, or else that their views had considerably changed since. The noble Marquess said—

“As to taking the supply out of the hands of the Companies, such a policy at the present day would be Utopian.”—[3 *Hansard*, ccxxv. 1733-4.]

And yet that was exactly what the Government had just proposed doing. The fears he (the Earl of Camperdown) had then expressed had, unfortunately, proved to be only too well founded, and the Water Companies had either raised the rates or had claimed to have a right to raise them, and they maintained their right to do so, and would probably claim to be paid for the unexhausted right to raise those charged in future; and, therefore, in calculating the price to be paid to the Companies, this increase in the rates, either actual or prospective, would have to be taken into consideration. Passing on to the present time, he would not enter into the details of the Government measure which had just been brought forward in the other House, because he did not desire to introduce controversial matter into the discussion. The Bill, no doubt, had

The Earl of Camperdown

been introduced with the best intention; but it was the general opinion throughout the Metropolis that the compensation to be paid under it to the Water Companies was excessive; and, therefore, it had been found necessary to withdraw the measure, because it certainly could not have been passed through the other House of Parliament. The Bill having been withdrawn, in what position did the ratepayers find themselves placed at the present moment? The Companies retained, and probably would exercise the right which they claimed to raise the rates. He would remind the House that they were approaching the second quinquennial period, when the property in the Metropolis would be again re-valued; and the result would be that the Water Companies would claim to still further raise their rates, and when another attempt was made to buy up the property of the Companies they would demand to be paid for this further increase in its value. He should like to ask the Government whether, in these circumstances, they proposed to take any action in favour of the ratepayers? In order that this question might be looked upon as a practical one, he would suggest one or two ways in which the Government might take beneficial action for the protection of the ratepayers. In the first place, the Companies interpreted the expression "annual value" to mean "gross annual value." Their right to place such an interpretation on those words had not hitherto been brought to the test, because individual ratepayers were afraid to enter into expensive litigation with a number of wealthy Water Companies. It might be said that the ratepayers should defend themselves in London as they had done in other towns; but the answer was obvious—the state of local government in the Metropolis—there was no body to take up and try the question. He, therefore, asked the Government whether they had taken, or would take, legal opinion on the question whether the Act of 1869 really applied to the Water Companies, and whether they would introduce a Bill declaring that that Act was not intended and should not apply to them? He could assure the House that he was actuated in this matter by no hostile feeling towards the Water Companies, whom he wished to see treated with justice and fairness; but it was monstrous that extra

burthens should be thrown upon the ratepayers in a way never intended by Parliament. He begged, in conclusion, to ask the Question of which he had given Notice.

EARL BEAUCHAMP remarked that the noble Earl opposite (the Earl of Camperdown) had brought forward this subject not for the first time. The noble Earl had said, with justice, that the provisions of the Act of 1869 were not intended to apply to the Water Companies. The question of the water rates had nothing to do with that Act, but depended entirely upon the terms of the Water Companies Acts, which were Private Acts obtained by the Companies; it was in these Acts that the term "annual value" appeared, and they levied their rates by virtue of these Acts. The question, then, was—What was annual value? The Valuation (Metropolis) Act did not affect that question. If it had never been in existence they would have been entitled to charge upon annual value, proving it in any way they could; although, of course, the Returns made under that Act might be used by the Companies as evidence of what that annual value was. With respect to annual value, that was liable to fluctuate with the decrease or increase of the value of property; and though, no doubt, a periodical valuation afforded very important evidence in determining it, it did no more, and the Companies were legally in the same position now as before 1869. They all knew that property in the Metropolis did increase in value; and so long as the Companies enjoyed the powers conferred upon them by Parliament under their special Acts he did not see any way of escape from the present state of things. He was in hopes that the noble Earl, who had come forward in the character of Portia, would have devised and suggested some ingenious mode of avoiding giving to the Companies the pound of flesh which they demanded. It would, however, be a strong measure to rescind what Parliament had already granted. They were in possession of those powers for better for worse; they had raised a large amount of capital, and had expended large sums under those powers. He would not say Parliament could not do it, for, of course, Parliament could do anything; but this he would say—that there was no precedent for Parliament acting in such a manner. The decision

of the question, "What was annual value?" was left to the Metropolitan magistrates, and might be raised by any ratepayer who thought himself aggrieved, and the magistrates had hitherto decided it in the sense mentioned by the noble Earl. Up to the time of the passing of the Summary Jurisdiction Act of last year there was no appeal from their decision; and, in fact, no appeal had yet been made on the subject to any Superior Court. The noble Earl had spoken of expensive litigation; but the raising of the question before a Metropolitan magistrate was a very simple and inexpensive matter. He thought he had shown the noble Earl that the increased charges to which he had referred and of which he complained were the result of periodical re-valuations. They might or might not be excellent things; but they had no bearing upon the present question. The noble Earl said that if the action proposed by the Government were taken, the last position of the ratepayers would be worse than the first; and he referred to the Bill recently introduced to the House of Commons by Her Majesty's Government. Well, the question of the Water Supply of London, and the control and regulation of that supply, was not a new question. Many important alterations were made in the year 1852, and a very effective system of control was then established. That control was increased and extended by the Act of 1871, and the history of that Act was very remarkable. In the early part of the Session of 1871 a Bill was introduced which contained, among other provisions, one for the compulsory purchase of the undertakings of the Water Companies. The Bill, even in those days of heroic legislation, met with such opposition that it was withdrawn, and later on in the Session another Water Bill was introduced without the provision in question. As he had said, the Government of 1871 hesitated to proceed with a Bill containing provisions for compulsory purchase; they abandoned their measure, and no effort had since been made to obtain such powers. That being so, he was sure their Lordships would see how difficult the question was, and how almost insuperable the obstacles were which lay in the way of obtaining a provision of the kind. The abandoning of the proposal to take compulsory powers had led to great embar-

assment in the subsequent dealing with the question. He would not inquire into the history of the second Bill of 1871, which subsequently became law. It was enough to show that the Government of the day were obliged to abandon the provision to which he had referred. The Bill which Her Majesty's Government had introduced this Session had, no doubt, been withdrawn; but the attention of the Government to the matter had by no means relaxed, and he ventured to say that it was one of the earliest subjects which would engage the attention of the new Parliament. A great deal had been said as to what the noble Earl called the enormous compensation which was proposed to be paid to the Companies under the Bill; but he (Earl Beauchamp) thought that a great deal of exaggeration had been imported into the discussion of the question. It be borne in mind that in 12 years—a small time in the history of a great question like this—a very sensible relief would have been afforded to the ratepayers in respect of charges for water under the scheme had it become law. A question of this magnitude, involving the supply of one of the first necessities of life to a population of over 4,500,000 people, scattered over an enormous area, must be dealt with in a large sense, and necessarily required the use of machinery and money on a most extensive scale. In the Bill the first step had been taken of bringing the Companies and the ratepayers face to face on terms of mutual agreement; and he believed the more it was considered that more would be said in favour of the scheme than they hitherto heard. He had, he thought, shown the noble Earl that his Question was based upon a misconception; and he did not think the noble Earl had pointed out any practical means of remedying the evils of which he complained.

EARL FORTESCUE said, that the great disadvantage under which the Metropolis laboured with respect to water rates and the quantity and quality of the water supplied arose from the defective principles on which the present supply was provided. For many years the question of a constant supply had been considered and debated in many of our largest towns; and he trusted that in any legislation that might take place in the future on the subject provisions would be inserted by which a constant supply

would be secured. He did not wish to say anything ill of the dead; no doubt the Bill which had been withdrawn was a *bond fide* attempt on the part of the Government to bring about results which they were all desirous to see—the purchase of the Water Companies, on fair terms, for the Metropolis. At the same time, he thought it was to be regretted that the absence of the constant supply to which he had referred, together with the slack and neglectful performance of the duties entailed upon them, had not been insisted upon as items of diminution in the price to be paid to the Water Companies under it.

House adjourned at a quarter past
Seven o'clock, till To-morrow,
Two o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Tuesday, 16th March, 1880.

MINUTES.]—SELECT COMMITTEE—*Report*—
Turnpike Acts Continuance [No. 133].

WAYS AND MEANS—*considered in Committee*—
Resolutions [March 15] *reported*.

PUBLIC BILLS—*Resolution* [March 15] *reported*—
Ordered—Sinking Fund Act (1875)*.

Ordered—*First Reading*—National Debt* [115];
Exchequer Bills and Bonds* [116].

Committee—*Report*—Parliamentary Elections
and Corrupt Practices (No. 2) [107]; Pro-
bates of Wills, &c.* [104], and Customs and
Inland Revenue* [111-114], with an amended
Title [Bills consolidated into one Bill]; Con-
solidated Fund (Appropriation)*.

Withdrawn—Cruelty to Animals* [88]; Fraudu-
lent Debtors (Scotland) [94].

The House met at Three of the clock.

QUESTIONS.

METROPOLITAN WATER WORKS PURCHASE BILL.

MR. E. JENKINS asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether he is aware that large operations took place on the Stock Exchange in Metropolitan Water Company Shares in anticipation of the scheme presented to Parliament; whether he has any reason to believe that the details of that

measure were communicated to persons outside the Home Office before it was made public; if so, if he has caused any inquiry to be made to ascertain the parties guilty of such disclosures; and, whether it is to be taken that the present scheme has been finally abandoned?

MR. ASSHETON CROSS: Sir, I have no means of information as to the first Question other than that in the possession of the hon. Member. If I had reason to suspect that any information had been given as to the details of the measure by any official I would readily join with the hon. Member in censuring the guilty parties. But I have no reason for any such suspicion. I took such precautions in the matter as to render any such information being given from any official in the Home Office absolutely impossible; and I hold in my hand letters from both the professional gentlemen engaged assuring me that nothing could have escaped from their respective offices. I know that the vestries have met and considered the subject; but I have not yet received from them the Memorial which I understand I shall shortly receive, praying that this matter may be carefully investigated. If time had allowed this Session I should have been able to show clearly what advantages the ratepayers would have received under the Bill; but I must again remark that the final decision must have rested with the Committee of the House, after hearing everything that the ratepayers had to say. The whole matter, however, must stand over till another Parliament. If we should find ourselves in our present position, we should certainly feel it our duty to deal with what we must consider a great question—the procuring of a sufficient supply of pure water to the Metropolis, and we shall hope to put before Parliament such a scheme, and in such a manner, as will secure the confidence of all interests concerned.

TURKEY AND GREECE—RECTIFICA- TION OF THE FRONTIER.

MR. W. CARTWRIGHT asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether it be true an International Commission is about to be instituted, or is under consideration, with the view of bringing about a rectification of frontiers between Turkey and Greece, in conformity with the recom-

recommendations made in the 13th Protocol of the Berlin Congress; if this be true, then, whether he will state the proposed constitution and jurisdiction of this Commission; whether it is intended to be limited to nominees of each of the six States enumerated in the 24th Article of the Berlin Treaty as being authorised to mediate in the event of the Porte and Greece being unable to come by themselves to an understanding in reference to the rectification in question; whether it is to be a condition for the appointment of the Commission that its decisions are to be determined, in the event of a difference of opinion, by a majority of votes, and when pronounced are to be binding on both the Porte and Greece; and, whether the Porte has acquiesced in the appointment of the Commission, or whether it has made reservations in reference to its powers; and, if so, what reservations?

MR. E. STANHOPE: Sir, the proposals made by Her Majesty's Government were indicated in general terms by my right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer at the commencement of the Session. The consent of all the Powers has not yet been given, and the matter is still under discussion. It is not, therefore, at present possible to give any answer with respect to details.

THE INDIAN ARMY COMMISSION— THE RECOMMENDATIONS.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL asked the Under Secretary of State for India, If the statement in the "Times" of March 15th, respecting the recommendations of the Indian Army Commission, is authentic; especially whether the Commissioners propose, in order to form a mobile army, to abolish a very large number of military stations now held, including Dacca, Hagarabach, and almost every station in Lower Bengal; and, whether, notwithstanding the determination to abolish the post of Public Works Member of Council, and the departure of Sir Andrew Clarke with no intention of returning, an officer has been appointed to act during the absence on leave of Sir Andrew Clarke?

MR. E. STANHOPE: Sir, the statement in *The Times* of March 15 as to the recommendations of the Indian Army Commission is generally accurate, though, of course, a telegraphic summary is

necessarily incomplete. They have not yet, however, been officially sent home. As regards Sir Andrew Clarke, he has obtained four months' leave of absence on medical certificate. As soon as his term expires, the vacancy will not be filled up. We know nothing as to any temporary appointment during his absence.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL inquired whether the statement was correct that the Commissioners proposed to abolish the military stations at Dacca and Hagarabach?

MR. E. STANHOPE: Speaking of those places generally, it is correct.

GENERAL SIR GEORGE BALFOUR inquired whether the new Parliament would have an opportunity of discussing the recommendations of the Commission?

MR. E. STANHOPE said, the recommendations of the Commission could not possibly be carried into effect before the next Parliament met. They had not yet been sent home by the Government of India.

CRIMINAL LAW (IRELAND)—RETURN OF CRIMINAL CASES AT ANTRIM ASSIZES AND SESSIONS.

MR. HICKS asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether the Return of the number of Criminal Cases at Antrim Assizes 1879, Epiphany Quarter Sessions 1880, and Winter Assizes 1880, moved for on the 24th of February, can be laid upon the Table before the House is dissolved?

MR. ASSHETON CROSS: Sir, the Returns are not at present complete; but in all probability they will be issued amongst those which will be in the hands of the public by a fortnight from this date.

RELIEF OF DISTRESS (IRELAND)— RATHANGAN, KILDARE.

MR. MELDON asked the Chief Secretary for Ireland, Why the drainage works commenced with the object of relieving the prevalent distress at Rathangan, in the county Kildare, have been discontinued; what are the reasons which induced the Board of Works to stop such works, and if steps will be taken to have the drainage works recommenced; and, whether the sudden stoppage of the works has not increased

the distress, and what steps will be taken to give employment to those who are thus thrown out of work?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. GIBSON): Sir, in the absence of the Chief Secretary for Ireland, I will answer the Question. Notice of it only appeared on the Paper this morning, and there has not been the requisite time for inquiries. With regard to the first part, I am not in a position to say what are the reasons which actuated the Board of Works to discontinue the drainage works; but I have no doubt they had some reasons, which appeared to the Board to be sufficient.

IRELAND—OVERFLOW OF THE RIVER
BARROW AT MONASTEREVAN,
KILDARE.

MR. MELDON asked the Attorney General for Ireland, Whether his attention has been called to the floods of a very serious character which have occurred in the neighbourhood of Monasterevan, in the county of Kildare, during the past autumn, and recently recurred; whether these floods have been caused by the overflow of the River Barrow, and, if the Government will direct an inquiry to be made as to the best means of preventing the further recurrence of such floods?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. GIBSON): Sir, there has been no time to make inquiries into this matter; but I shall see that it is inquired into.

POLICE (SCOTLAND)—THE CATHOLIC
CHURCH AT MAYBOLE.

MR. SULLIVAN (for Mr. O'SHAUGHNESSY) asked the Lord Advocate, If complaints have been made to him with reference to injuries done to the Roman Catholic Church at Maybole, in Scotland, including the breakage of stained glass windows and serious damage to the sculptures on the exterior; whether these injuries have not been of repeated occurrence; whether he has made any inquiry of the local authorities as to the origin of these injuries, and as to the steps taken to put a stop to them; what answers have been made to these inquiries; and, what steps he has taken to prevent the recurrence of these injuries

and to discover and prosecute the offenders?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. WATSON): Sir, I regret to say that the complaints made to me in this matter have proved to be well founded. Various wanton acts of the kind mentioned have been perpetrated against private property, and, amongst others, on a Roman Catholic chapel. I directed, immediately, an investigation by the Fiscal, and the result of that investigation was to disclose that these acts had not been perpetrated through any religious feeling, because the property of all sects and creeds had been dealt with very much alike in the neighbourhood. I was, however, unable to discover from the evidence anything which would warrant me in prosecuting any person for these acts. The only course left open to me, therefore, was that which I adopted, of putting myself in communication with the police and enjoining on them to take steps to prevent the recurrence of similar injuries of property, and I trust that the steps taken will be sufficient. I am happy to say that, as a result of their active watching, I have had no complaint of the same kind since I had occasion to make that communication.

RELIEF OF DISTRESS (IRELAND)—THE
CARRICKMACROSS BOARD OF GUARDIANS.

MR. SULLIVAN asked the Chief Secretary for Ireland, If he can state the date at which the Carrickmacross Board of Guardians sent in their earliest application to have the whole or part of that Union scheduled as a distressed district; if it is true that the Local Government Board, or other Government Department, so wasted time with routine references and formal correspondence that eventually the Guardians were informed that the last day had arrived or expired for seeking the only form of assistance then supposed to be open to them; and, if it is true that, in consequence, the distress existing in the Carrickmacross Union cannot be alleviated by any but Poor Law agencies and public charity?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. GIBSON): Sir, in answer to the Question of the hon. and learned Gentleman, I have to say that the first resolution of the Carrickmacross

Board of Guardians was come to on the 20th of January in the present year. On the 24th January, Mr. MacFarlane, the Inspector of the district in which the Union is situated, was called on to make a Report, and he did send in a Report on the 29th, and again on the 11th of February, the effect of which was against scheduling the Union amongst the distressed Unions. The Correspondence and this Report, and the resolution of the Board of Guardians, were laid before the Local Government Board and his Grace; and they did not think that, under the circumstances, a case had been made out for acceding to the application. A further application of the Guardians reached the Local Government Board on the 26th of February; but it was dated the 24th, and the Guardians were informed on the 28th of February that further application would then be useless, as the 29th of February was the last day for receiving applications for loans. These are the dates.

THE NATIONAL DEBT—THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER'S STATEMENT.

MR. THOMSON HANKEY asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether he has any objection to lay on the Table of the House a Return showing how he accounts for the alleged decrease of £18,000,000 in the National Debt since 1874? Hon. Members ought to have this information before the Disolution.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER, in reply, said, he would be perfectly ready to produce the statement. He would confer with the hon. Gentleman as to the terms of the Return, and the hon. Gentleman could then move for it.

THE BALLOT ACT—GOOD FRIDAY—THE GENERAL ELECTION.

MR. FRASER - MACKINTOSH begged to put a Question to the Solicitor General, in the absence of the Attorney General. The Ballot Act declared that the Returning Officer should, on the date of receiving the Writ, or on the following day, between the hours of 9 and 4, give notice of the days of nomination and of polling, and Section 56 provided that Good Friday should be ex-

cluded in all questions of computing time. In some parts of Scotland the Writs would be received after 4 o'clock on Thursday, the 25th, or, at least, not in time to enable the Returning Officers to make the necessary arrangements. He wished to know, Whether Clause 56 applied to this stage of the proceedings; and, whether a Returning Officer was obliged to delay taking any steps whatever until Saturday, the 27th?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL (Sir HARDINGE GIFFARD), in reply, said, the 1st clause of the section prohibited anything being done on Good Friday, Sunday, or any day appointed as a public fast or holiday. He thought this prohibition applied to the stage of election proceedings referred to. The latter part of the 56th section provided that anything required by the Act to be done on one of these prohibited days might be done on the following day. That being so, Saturday would be the proper day for beginning to act under a Writ not received till late on Thursday.

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS AND CORRUPT PRACTICES (No. 2) BILL.

(*Mr. Attorney General, Mr. Solicitor General.*)

[BILL 107.] COMMITTEE.

Order for Committee read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."—(*Mr. Attorney General.*)

MR. ANDERSON, in moving that the House go into Committee on the measure that day month, said, he was very much disappointed that the Chancellor of the Exchequer had made up his mind to go on with this Bill, after the very strong feeling expressed by the House, and after the appeal made to him at the previous Sitting, by the Leader of the Opposition. However, they must do what they could to convince the country, if not the House, of the impropriety of the practice which the Government had adopted of hurrying through a Bill of this important character, when the House was, practically, half dissolved, the Benches were empty, and the measure could not be discussed. The Bill had been brought in so late that it was impossible for the country to be aware of

The Attorney General for Ireland

what it was intended to accomplish. Last night, in reply to the appeal of the Leader of the Opposition, the Chancellor of the Exchequer said that he gave Notice on Monday week that the Bill would be proceeded with. Now, he (Mr. Anderson) had had the curiosity to refer to the report of the right hon. Gentleman's statement, to see what the right hon. Gentleman had actually said, and he found that all he then said was that it was not impossible to proceed with this Bill, and that it was not impossible even to deal with the question of the conveyance of voters to the poll; but the right hon. Gentleman did not give the slightest indication of the way in which he proposed to deal with it. Therefore, his statement received no attention at the time. It was never doubted that if the Government intended to deal with a matter that was illegal it would not be by making it legal, but by attaching a penalty to it to prevent the illegality. If the Chancellor of the Exchequer had given any hint at that time that it was his intention to make the evil practice a legal practice, he would have now found it impossible to carry out his designs. He (Mr. Anderson) thought that, under these circumstances, the Bill ought not to be proceeded with. Nothing was known of the nature of the Government measure, and what would be the mode of dealing with the conveyance of voters, until Thursday morning, when the Bill was distributed. Then, for the first time, he learned its nature, and on that day the Government insisted on the second reading before the Bill could have become generally known. The country was entirely unaware of it, and yet it was a measure of the utmost importance, affecting every borough from Land's End to John o' Groat's House, and in Ireland also. No time had been given to the constituencies to consult with their Members, or to petition against it. In the most arbitrary way the Chancellor of the Exchequer was using the power which the Government had at the end of a Session to pass what it pleased. There was no opposition, which the small number of Members remaining in the House at this late period of the Session could organize, which would be of the slightest avail against the determination of the Government to carry it through. They could force it through in spite of opposition, especially when they had in the

other House means, by suspending the Standing Orders, to run it through all its stages there in one day. That was a pestilential practice, which he thought should be put a stop to, for it gave the opportunity to a powerful Government to be guilty of serious abuses. On this occasion the Government was abusing its power, and he hoped the country would see it. It might seem a very clever election trick to legalize this evil custom of conveying voters to the poll; but, in place of pleasing anyone, it would have a very different effect. It was a bid for the cabman's vote. He did not think the cabmen's vote was a very important one, or that it was worth bidding for by such a bribe as the offer in this Bill; and he hoped the House would not allow it to pass even now. A measure dealing with corrupt practices at elections should deal with several other corrupt practices. These could not be dealt with in an expiring Parliament, nor could this particular one be fairly dealt with. He trusted other hon. Members would join with him in protesting against this Bill.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL said, he seconded the Motion of the hon. Member for Glasgow (Mr. Anderson) with great pleasure. He also had the greatest possible objection to this Bill, which seemed to him a measure to legalize corruption. He was not one of those, though he had pretty advanced opinions of his own, who went so far as to urge that in this country it was desirable that Members of Parliament should be paid. They had a large class of men of culture and leisure who were willing to serve their country in various public capacities, whether in that House or in some of the various forms of local government, or in other ways, without remuneration. The result of paying Members had, in America and other places, given rise to a class called professional politicians. The intrusting of the affairs of a country to such a class was undoubtedly an evil. But, whilst he was against the payment of Members, it seemed to him a most objectionable and injurious practice, that which prevailed in this country, of obliging Members virtually to pay for their seats by the great expense attending elections. It was well known that already the expense attending elections was so great that Members had to pay very heavily indeed for a seat in the

House. Indeed, in many cases the expense was so great that only plutocrats could engage in a contest. The tendency of the present system was to make the House more and more a House for the rich, for although there were some seats which were accessible to those who were not rich the great majority of them were only accessible to those who were. There were scandals in connection with the electoral system to which they had become accustomed by habit; but the intelligent foreigners who came amongst them must look at the state of things with the utmost astonishment. He protested against the manner in which the Government were pressing forward the Bill at a time when it could not be sufficiently considered. In counties, the law allowed the hiring of carriages for the conveyance of voters to the poll; and the result was that counties, above all other places, were the seats of the rich and stupid. [*A laugh.*] Hon. Gentlemen might laugh; but he had heard a county Member say—"I'm not clever, but I'm good enough for a county." It was only men of great position who could aspire to county seats, and those who had been engaged in county contests were aware that the greatest item of expense was the hiring of carriages to convey voters to the poll. Hitherto, the conveyance of voters had been prohibited in boroughs, but the Government now proposed to abolish the prohibition; and the passing of the measure would be not only to render it possible for borough Members to spend money in conveying voters to the poll, but would, practically, make it obligatory on them to do so. At the present time the position of a Member of Parliament was not altogether one of honour and pleasure. A great deal of hard and dreary work had to be performed; and it was hard, under such circumstances, that Members should be obliged to pay more and more for their seats. It was extraordinary that the Government should deem it necessary to press the Bill, when there was so little time to spare, and when there was an important financial measure still to be considered. The object of the Bill was clear; but he really saw no necessity for it whatever. They had been told that carriages were necessary at elections, in order to convey cripples and such like persons to the poll; but he did not conceive that cripples formed a large pro-

portion of the population. True, in some cases, the law was evaded by corrupt constituencies; but there were many constituencies in which the law was not evaded, and it was hard that pure constituencies should be made to suffer for the misdeeds of the constituencies which were not pure. It would be a much more simple process to enforce the law in corrupt constituencies. Scotland was a law-abiding country, and its people were not in the habit of spending their money recklessly and of evading the law. He maintained that if the Bill became law in England the inevitable effect would be to force a similar provision upon Scotland. He felt somewhat jealous of Scotch electoral purity, especially when he heard that a large Tory purse had been provided for Scotland, and that the contents of the purse were to be lavishly distributed, so as to enable Tory candidates to contest Scotch burghs. The real fact was that the Conservative Party did not want to keep down the expense of elections, as they felt that the more expensive elections were the more likely it was that the majority of the House would consist of Tories. The success of the Conservative Party had hitherto largely depended upon public-house and Church support; and it seemed that the Government wanted to add another interest to the number—namely, the cab interest, which, in future, would be zealous on behalf of the Tory cause, if the present Bill became law. They well knew that in many constituencies contests were "got up," especially by the lawyers, entirely for the sake of making money fly about; and the effect of the passing of this Bill would be to give the cab owners, as well as the lawyers, an incentive for creating contests, where, under ordinary circumstances, they might be avoided. For those reasons, he should resolutely oppose the Bill at every stage of its progress.

Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, order in to add the words, "this House will, upon this day month, resolve itself into the said Committee,"—(*Mr. Anderson*.)

—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

Sir George Campbell

SIR EARDLEY WILMOT said, he would give his most cordial assent to the proposal of the Government, because he considered it an enabling Statute. The hon. Gentleman the Member for Kirkcaldy (Sir George Campbell) had told them a good deal about the rich candidate, but had said nothing about the poor voter. The humble class of voters were generally hard at work during the day, and could only get away to vote at a certain hour. This Bill would enable them to go to the poll with convenience and comfort; and their case was far more worthy of consideration than any possible disadvantage which might arise from the increased expense of the election. In counties the conveyance of voters to the poll was sanctioned by law. He should give his strenuous support to the Bill, and he congratulated the Government upon having the courage not to give way to the opposition which had been raised to it.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL (SIR HARDINGE GIFFARD) said, there was nothing in the nature of bribery in the conveyance of voters to the poll; it was simply an indemnity to the voter enabling him to vote. It was not only on the Conservative side of the House that the desire prevailed to repeal the statutory prohibition which existed, but was not observed, in regard to the conveyance of voters in boroughs; for the hon. Baronet the Member for Chelsea (Sir Charles W. Dilke) had on more than one occasion called attention to the injustice and inequality of this provision of the Statute. The voter also ought to be considered, for there were boroughs in which it became a serious inconvenience, if not an actual deprivation of the opportunity of voting, if the voter could not be taken to the poll. So universal had the want of the power to do so been felt that the prohibition was universally violated on both sides. He never knew of a contested election coming before an Election Judge in which it had not been proved over and over again that both sides had systematically disobeyed the existing law, which in itself was a novelty, and which in all the constituencies had been felt to be unjust. No penalty had ever been prescribed for a violation of the statutory provision; and it had been felt that it was not desirable under the circumstances, and in view of the General Election, to leave upon the Statute Book a

provision which had been constantly and persistently neglected.

MR. E. JENKINS felt that the argument of the Solicitor General was fallacious. He also felt that the present was a most inopportune time for forcing the Bill through the House, as it would be impossible to give the measure adequate consideration. When the Representation of the People Bill was being debated considerable discussion took place as to the advisability of allowing the conveyance of voters to the poll, and a gentleman who was not now a Member of the House—Mr. Bernal Osborne—stated that as much as between £2,000 and £3,000 was required in the borough of Westminster for conveying voters to the poll alone. The Government might, therefore, have a motive in passing this Bill, because the First Lord of the Admiralty was about to contest that constituency, and it might be desirable to give the right hon. Gentleman an advantage over two competitors who were certainly not prepared to spend so large a sum of money to enable true Liberals to record their votes. The Solicitor General had soared into the region of morals, and the hon. and learned Gentleman had asked why voters should not be conveyed to the poll? The answer was that a vote was not only a right, but a privilege and responsibility, which an elector had to exercise. Why should a voter be conveyed to the poll in order to be enabled to exercise his privilege? There was no reason why such a thing should be done. The Solicitor General considered that there was nothing wrong in the hiring of vehicles; but he was prepared to join issue with the hon. and learned Gentleman on that point also. Anything in the nature of a bribe to induce constituencies to do their duty was wrong; and, unquestionably, the conveyance of voters to the poll was in the nature of a bribe. The Ballot Act was now in force, and the principle of that Act was secrecy of voting. It was a mistake to canvass for voters, especially under the Ballot. He preferred to let the voters decide for themselves what they would do; but the object of the present Bill was to marshal voters together at the poll. It was conceivable that voters so taken might vote against you; but there was not a shadow of doubt that if you filled an omnibus with men, and took them to the poll,

they would vote for you in the great majority of cases. The effect of the Bill would be to interfere with the free operation of the Ballot; and for that and the other reasons he had assigned he should consistently oppose the measure.

MR. D. O'CONOR understood that the complaint of the hon. Baronet the Member for Chelsea (Sir Charles W. Dilke) was that the Government had taken no step to settle the question after the Report of the Committee in 1875. In the Committee a proposal was made to legalize the conveyance of voters; but it was negatived by 11 to 5. This was, no doubt, a very proper question to be discussed by Parliament; but he objected to the sense of the House being taken upon the question when there was barely a quorum present, and when it was scarcely possible for the House to know the opinion of the country upon it. He was ready to admit that a difference of opinion existed on the question; but he thought the subject should be left to be dealt with by the new Parliament. He should, therefore, though he did not feel very strongly about the measure, vote against it.

MR. MORGAN LLOYD said, he objected to the passing of the Bill on several grounds, the first of which was that it had been left to the last moment of the Session, when the majority of hon. Members had gone away. Both the House and the public out-of-doors should have had fair time to consider it. There was something very like a trick in trying to force the Bill through the House under present circumstances. The Bill proceeded in a wrong direction; and whenever legislation took place it should, instead of repealing the prohibition, extend it to counties. After all, there was no necessity for the Bill, as the Statutes for the continuance of which the Bill was introduced would not expire till the end of 1880. Another objection was that it had been provided in the Ballot Act that there should a polling-place within four miles of every voter, and that obviated the necessity of employing conveyances. There would be no real inconvenience to voters if the hiring of cabs and other vehicles by candidates were rendered illegal. They would go to the poll as they now went to church or market—at their own expense, and they would be more free than they were at present to follow their

own convictions in voting. The unrestricted use of vehicles handicapped the poor candidate as compared with the rich. It would go a long way to interfere with the secrecy of the ballot, and it was directly conducive to bribery. Not only cabs, but vehicles of any kind might be hired; and their owners would thereby be attracted to a particular candidate's cause. His hon. and learned Friend (Sir Henry James) had succeeded in carrying a Bill reducing the expenses of Returning Officers; but now the Government brought forward a measure which would open the door to increased election expenses. As there was a complaint throughout the Kingdom that elections were every year becoming more expensive, an effort should be made to reduce and not to increase their cost. It had been stated that if the Bill were not passed there would be an inequality and an undue advantage to those who had carriages of their own, and whose friends had carriages; but he thought the use of those private vehicles should also be made illegal. He trusted that the Government would not press the present Bill, but allow the House an opportunity of discussing the question in all its bearings on a future occasion.

MR. FORSYTH said, he would give his last vote in Parliament in favour of the Bill for the following reasons:—Because the law was systematically avoided, no penalty being attached; because there was no moral turpitude in conveying a voter to the poll; because the present law favoured the rich candidates, who could use their own carriages and those of their friends, while the poor were prevented from hiring the only conveyances available to them; and because the existing law virtually disfranchised voters who were physically infirm.

SIR EDWARD COLEBROOKE admitted that the present state of the law was very unsatisfactory, but thought it very much to be regretted that the Government, having those strong opinions, should not before this have brought forward a measure on the subject. He thought this present proposal of the Government would press with great hardship upon the poorer class of candidates. It would be used as a means of extortion, for every voter would claim his right to be carried to the poll. Much unnecessary expense would be caused by the measure. He thought that was a

very fair reason against such a change. He thought that in the experience of the last few years there was enough to justify the House in maintaining the prohibition against the use of conveyances at elections. It had been asked, why prohibit a thing which was innocent in itself? He replied that there was the ground of public expediency in favour of prohibiting a law which was in itself innocent, just as they prohibited colours and flags, and some of the paraphernalia of elections, which, though innocent in themselves, were capable of leading to abuse. It was very much to be regretted that the Government had brought this measure forward on the very eve of the Election, and under circumstances which made it impossible fully to take the sense of the House on the subject. It had been said that the present law was condemned in a considerable number of cases; but the House ought to be informed to what extent. They could only gather that knowledge either from a full House, such as there was not at present, or from a Committee of Inquiry, which might fairly take up this and several other questions with regard to the procedure at elections. He thought that the Government ought fully to look into the case against the objectionable clause of this Bill, and, at least, postpone it till next Parliament, when it could be better considered.

SIR ALEXANDER GORDON remarked that the Solicitor General had laid great stress on the importance of assimilating the practice in counties and boroughs as to conveying voters to the poll. If Her Majesty's Government were so anxious to assimilate the positions of the borough and county voters, they could not do better than assimilate the county franchise to the borough franchise. They had always opposed that measure, and he could not understand why they should want assimilation on one point and not on another. If the law was to be altered, it should be altered in the opposite direction from that proposed by the Government. The privilege of conveying voters to the poll should be abolished in the counties as well as in the boroughs. He had some experience of this matter; and he was strongly of opinion that the voters of the rural districts in Scotland, at least, would very much prefer to convey one

another, instead of leaving that duty to the candidates. If a candidate in a county had the footing he ought to have to justify his going to the poll, he could have no possible difficulty in getting his friends to take their friends to the poll in the conveyances which all farmers possessed. The proposed law, and the law now existing in counties, gave to the wealthy candidate an advantage over his poorer competitor. He agreed with what had been said with regard to the improper time chosen for introducing the Bill. Either it ought to have been introduced earlier in the Session, or left over till next Session. As for the contention that the existing law was absurd, because it was a law without a penalty, he asked why the Government did not propose a penalty? He did not think that that was a reason for passing the Bill, which he hoped to see withdrawn.

MR. STANTON said, that in the borough he represented it would be a hardship to many of the working men if they could not be conveyed to the poll. Nevertheless, he objected strongly to the time and the manner in which this Bill was brought forward. It would have been better to deal with the subject after the General Election.

MR. H. SAMUELSON thought that, as he had said before, the true solution of the difficulty about payment for conveyances at elections was to render it illegal for any person to receive payment in consideration of the letting of a vehicle for the purpose of conveying voters to the poll. He felt bound to make his protest against the way in which the Government were forcing this Bill through the House. He had had some opportunities of testing public opinion on the matter, and he had found that there was a very strong feeling against the manner in which it was being pushed on, and a very strong suspicion as to the motives which induced the Government to proceed with it under such exceptional circumstances. He did not know that they could do much more in opposing the Bill; but, at any rate, it would go forth to the country that there were a number of Members who had entered a strong protest against it, and who had shown that they were determined to oppose the unnecessary increase of election expenses to the best of their ability. He condemned the action of the Government, in pushing the matter

forward at the present moment, when it was impossible, in the necessarily deserted state of the House, to obtain a proper discussion, as most unfair.

Mr. W. HOLMS expressed his regret that the appeal made to the Chancellor of the Exchequer on the previous night to withdraw the Bill had not been complied with. The Government had brought forward this measure in a surreptitious manner. They had attempted to force it through the House before either the country or hon. Members had an opportunity of fully understanding its scope. It was printed on Wednesday night, and the second reading was proposed to be taken on the following day. The Bill tended to increase the cost of elections; and not only so, but it opened a door to bribery. The cost of elections in large constituencies was simply enormous. The mere cost of posting election addresses in a constituency of 48,000 electors amounted to £200. With such a fact before them, he asked the Government to reflect what the cost of an election would be to a candidate if he had to pay for conveying voters to the poll. One of the difficulties in large constituencies was that of getting the electors to the poll; and he ventured to say that difficulty would be greatly increased if the Bill were passed. If they expected to be conveyed to the poll as a matter of course, they would become even more apathetic than they were at present. If candidates were to be saddled with the cost of taking voters to the poll, why should they not be called upon to pay the voters for the time they lost in exercising the franchise? One proposition was as reasonable as the other. In legalizing a corrupt practice, as the Bill proposed to do, the Government would be going back to the evil practices of the corrupt reign of Charles II., when, for the first time, the conveyance of voters to the poll was paid for by the candidates. He protested earnestly against such a measure as this being passed.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said, he thought that one important consideration was left out of sight in this matter. What was the chief object of holding an election? It was to collect the sense of the constituencies; and it was, therefore, right and proper to take means to enable the largest possible number of electors to record

their votes. It very often happened that there was much difficulty in bringing workmen to the poll, especially when they were employed at a distance from home, and consequently from their proper polling-places. Of course, it was very desirable that men thus situated should not be virtually disfranchised. Such would be the case if they were not enabled to come to the poll by means of conveyances; unless, indeed, they choose to sacrifice either the whole or a part of a day's pay. They ought to bear that in mind, and consider how these persons could best come up to the poll and exercise their franchise. That, however, was not the only question, for they had also to consider the desirability of maintaining the law in its present state. It was tolerably clear that a law that was constantly evaded, and for the breach of which no penalties were assigned, was not entirely satisfactory. Then came the question in what way it could be altered. If they took the Spartan view of the hon. and learned Member for Beaumaris (Mr. Morgan Lloyd), no doubt they would have a distinct policy. The hon. and learned Member said—"Make this a corrupt practice;" and when he was pressed with the argument that, by doing so, the House would be giving an advantage to those who had friends willing to hire carriages, or who had carriages of their own to use, he said he was prepared to make it illegal for any person to convey a voter, even in his own carriage. Obviously, by adopting such a rule, they would make the system consistent; but such a law would undoubtedly keep a large number of voters from the poll, and would probably never be passed by the House. However, the Government had thought it desirable to have an alteration of the law which, at the present time, was practically set at nought. It was right and proper that the law should be declared one way or another. It seemed impossible to make the conveyance of voters to the poll a corrupt practice, and the only course open was to repeal the prohibition against it. It was always objectionable to have a law which was evaded with impunity. There were several arguments in favour of the alternative they had adopted. It was very doubtful whether the Bill would increase the expense of elections. That which was done clandestinely was in general done more expensively than what was

done openly and legally. It was expedient that in elections expenses should be incurred through the election agent, and that a candidate who wished to conduct his election purely should be able to say—"I will pay nothing but the expenses properly passed through the election agent." As things were at present, the item for the conveyance of voters was not a regular or legitimate part of an election bill; and he believed it would be far better to alter the law as the Government proposed. He did not know whether the law was now evaded in Scotland; but under the Bill it would not be compulsory to engage carriages to take voters to the poll. Their Scotch friends could still conduct elections in their own way.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON said, it was useless to attempt to argue a question of this kind when there was no House to argue it before, only a remnant of the House being now present. There was no doubt that what the Chancellor of the Exchequer had stated was true, and that it was desirable the subject should be decided one way or another, as the law was now constantly being evaded, and it was undesirable that such a state of things should continue. But by whom ought the matter to be decided? It ought to be decided by the House of Commons, and by a full House of Commons. At that moment, however, while the Government were pressing the Bill forward, the settlement of the question one way or the other depended entirely on the opinions of the few Members who might chance to be present. It was generally understood, when the Dissolution of Parliament was announced, that no Business of any important character would be taken. He knew that the Chancellor of the Exchequer gave it to be understood that this Bill would be proceeded with; but it was not generally known what the nature of the proposal would be. Now, he could not help asking the question why, if the Government attached so much importance to the Bill, they had not introduced it earlier in the Session? The subject was not very complicated; but it made several considerable changes in the law which ought not to have been proposed just at the end of the Session. Those changes would inevitably tend to increase the practice of hiring vehicles, and, in consequence, the expenses of elections. That fact

alone was a sufficient reason for taking the opinion of the whole House; and he, therefore, regretted that the Government had felt it their duty to proceed with the Bill.

MR. MILBANK said, that the Chancellor of the Exchequer told the House that the Government were trying to do all they could to collect the sense of the constituencies. On that (the Opposition) side, they had tried to do so by getting an extension of the hours of polling. Representing a county 80 miles long by 50 broad, and with 47 polling-places, he had had a good deal of experience in bringing voters to the poll, and he knew there was a great deal of difficulty in doing so, because many held back to the last merely from a desire of being carried to the poll. He trusted that after the next Election a Liberal Parliament would come in, and that they would then pass, not a retrograde Bill, but one which should be for the benefit of the whole country.

MR. MELDON considered that before the House divided upon the question it should take notice that the candidates had been already fixed and determined upon. Candidates trying to get into Parliament always considered the expense; and, at the present moment, there were no candidates trying to get into Parliament who had not considered how much it would cost them to enter the House. It seemed to him, therefore, very unfair that now at the last moment without Notice, and when the House was utterly unfit to pass an opinion, the Bill should be forced upon them. The purpose of the Bill was clearly not in the interest of the candidate generally; but what its precise object was he failed to see at present. The point he had mentioned was one, however, of considerable weight; and for it and other reasons he considered the Bill should not be forced upon the present Parliament.

Question put.

The House divided: — Ayes 82; Noes 55: Majority 27. — (Div. List, No. 43.)

Main Question, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair," put, and agreed to.

Bill considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Clause 1 (Short title) agreed to.

Clause 2 (Repeal of s. 36 of 30 & 31 Vict. 102, as to payment of expenses of conveyance of voters to the poll).

Amendment proposed,

In page 1, line 19, after "1867," to insert "and the twenty-fifth section of 'The Representation of the People (Scotland) Act, 1868,' and the twelfth section of 'The Representation of the People (Ireland) Act, 1868.'" — (*Mr. Solicitor General.*)

MR. W. HOLMS, in moving, as an Amendment to the proposed Amendment, to leave out "and the twenty-fifth section of 'The Representation of the People (Scotland) Act, 1868,'" said, that the object of the Amendment was to exclude Scotland from the provisions of the Bill. He believed he was speaking on behalf of the Representatives of Scotland generally when he said that they had no desire to be included in the Bill. They were not in the habit of violating the law, and candidates for Parliamentary honours were not in the habit in election contests, even in large constituencies, of employing conveyances to take voters to the polling-places. He ventured to take this opportunity of saying that the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer, when he stated that it was desirable to bring the electors to the poll, and to endeavour to find the best means of doing so, was quite correct; but that was no justification for the employment of cabs and carriages in boroughs. He had no objection to the use of carriages in counties, or in boroughs which, from their extent, were like counties; but he failed to see the slightest ground for their employment within those boroughs where the distance from the voter's residence to the poll was not excessive. He, therefore, begged to move the Amendment which stood in his name.

Amendment proposed, to amend the said Amendment, by leaving out the words, "and the twenty-fifth section of 'The Representation of the People (Scotland) Act, 1868.'" — (*Mr. W. Holms.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the said Amendment."

MR. ANDERSON had entertained some hope that the Chancellor of the Exchequer, when he saw so very thin a state of the House as that which now

prevailed—when the House itself was practically more than half dissolved, and when no less than 55 Members had voted against going on with the measure at all, feeling as they did so strongly the unfairness of forcing it upon the House at this late period of the Session—would not have proceeded further with the Bill. He appeared to be disappointed in that expectation, since it had been concluded to go on with the Bill. Seeing that the right hon. Gentleman had done so, he (*Mr. Anderson*) must be allowed to say that no ground had been shown for extending the provisions of this nefarious Bill to Scotland. Scotland, as was shown by all hon. Members who had spoken, did not at present practice any infringement of the law. Therefore, there could be no reason why the House should introduce into Scotland a provision to legalize a practice which did not exist now in any part of Scotland. There might be less to be said on behalf of England; but if the conveyance of voters was so largely practised at the present moment in the English borough elections, and the law was universally evaded, the best way of dealing with the question would be, not to repeal the law, but to attach a penalty to its infringement. He regretted that the Chancellor of the Exchequer should have selected this moment, when Parliament was about to expire, for proposing to make legal what the law declared to be illegal. He certainly did not know a single reason why the Scotch constituencies should be compelled to make use of conveyances. The Chancellor of the Exchequer said there was no compulsion, but that the constituencies could still abstain from employing cabs if they liked. No doubt that was so; but it implied a general abstention which could only be obtained by universal agreement on the part of the candidates, because if one candidate adopted this nefarious practice the others must necessarily do so. Therefore, when the Chancellor of the Exchequer said there was no compulsion, he did not give a correct view of the case. He trusted that the Government would accept the Amendment of the hon. Member for Paisley (*Mr. W. Holms*), and exempt Scotland from the operation of the Bill.

MR. FRASER-MACKINTOSH drew the attention of the Chancellor of the Exchequer to this very important fact—

that almost every Scottish Member in the House had voted against the Bill in the last division. It would be an extraordinary thing to thrust upon Scotland a measure to which it was totally opposed. He trusted that the Chancellor of the Exchequer would, even at this last moment, leave out Scotland if he was determined to go on with the Bill.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL believed that the Government had had a great deal of trouble during the last two or three Sessions with the Irish Home Rule Members. If they wanted to create a strong Home Rule feeling in another part of the Kingdom they could not do better than persevere with this clause, which was to force upon the people of Scotland a principle that was repugnant to their feelings. It was opposed by every Member present who had a seat for Scotland, and by some of those who had voted for the Bill. If the right hon. Gentleman wished to make progress with the Business of the House, it would be wise to make the small concession now asked for on behalf of Scotland.

MR. E. JENKINS hoped that Her Majesty's Government would re-consider the matter. He joined with the other Scotch Members in impressing upon the Government the inadvisability of making this addition to the Bill. The measure was bad enough before; but the proposal now submitted to the Committee would make matters much worse. It was proposed to tie down the high principles of Scotland and its electoral morality; and he thought the Scotch Members were justified in resisting and protesting against any such attempt. The Chancellor of the Exchequer said just now that the object of the Bill was to give an opportunity of taking what was called the sense of the community; and the right hon. Gentleman used this argument, which it was only worth while to consider because it came from the Ministerial Bench, that because there was an existing evasion of the law the law ought to be abolished. Were they to abolish every law in regard to which there was a persistent evasion? There were laws against stealing that were not always obeyed, and there were laws against murder that were persistently evaded. Were they, then, to legalize theft and assassination? He had never yet heard that argument used—although, perhaps, the time might come when it would be

used by a Conservative Ministry—as a motive for changing the law. The proposal now made by the Chancellor of the Exchequer was to repeal the law because it was evaded; and the Scotch Members seemed to be almost the only Members left who were in favour of purity of election. [An hon. MEMBER: No.] Well, he would not exactly say that, but would modify the assertion, and would say that the Scotch Members were the only Members now left who were in favour of extreme purity of election—that extreme purity of election which enabled them to say that in no borough of Scotland whatever was it the habit to convey the voters to the poll, nor was it desirable that that practice should be resorted to. He thought Scotland had a very strong claim to be left out of the Bill; and he put it strongly to the Chancellor of the Exchequer whether their wishes should not be complied with.

MR. BAXTER wished to add his voice to the appeal which had been made to the Chancellor of the Exchequer in this matter. He believed there was no desire whatever in Scotland for the application of the Bill to that country. He had never heard of any practice in Scotland like that which was adopted in England; and he was satisfied that the Scotch Members on both sides of the House would join in stating that the people of Scotland were quite unanimous in opinion. He did hope that that being the state of matters, and looking at the result of the recent division, the Chancellor of the Exchequer would agree to the Amendment of the hon. Member for Paisley (Mr. W. Holms).

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said, that, of course, it was not desirable to have more distinctions than they could help in particular parts of the United Kingdom; but, at the same time, he fully admitted that there was a difference, as far as he was able to learn, in the way in which the law was acted upon in Scotland and in England. There was no doubt that in England the law was a mere snare and delusion at present, because it was systematically evaded. It was really of no use, and was the cause of the greatest inconvenience. In Scotland, he was assured, the wording of the law corresponded with the general practice. Therefore, it was obvious that there did not arise the same difficulty which rendered it necessary to make this

change in England. Therefore, as there seemed to be a general opinion on the part of the Scotch Members on the subject, the Government would be quite prepared to recognize that feeling, and to accept the Amendment of the hon. Member for Paisley.

Question put, and *negatived*.

Amendment proposed, in page 1, line 19, after "1867," to insert "and the twelfth section of 'The Representation of the People (Ireland) Act, 1868.'"—(*Mr. Solicitor General*.)

MR. E. JENKINS imagined that, after what had just taken place, the Government were now ready to say that they were not prepared to go on with the Bill. That would certainly be the best means of relieving themselves from the extraordinary position in which they had been placed. The position they had placed themselves in was this. They had made a concession to Scotland which they were not prepared to give to the rest of the United Kingdom. Immorality was to prevail in England, Ireland, and Wales; but the law which prohibited it was not to be touched in Scotland. He wished that the hon. and gallant Member for Truro (Sir James M'Garel-Hogg) would get up in his place and answer these statements if he was able, instead of objecting to them in an inarticulate fashion. He would repeat that the course pursued by Her Majesty's Government placed them in an absurd and anomalous position. He challenged the Government, or the hon. and gallant Member for Truro, to controvert that assertion. Anything that was passed by Parliament should be good for the whole United Kingdom; but the suggestion now made by Her Majesty's Government was that the law should be continued as it stood in regard to one part of the United Kingdom, and that it should be repealed in regard to another part. What was the difference between the borough of Durham and the borough of Dundee? The class of voters was the same; the borough was the same size; and he saw no reason why, in the one case, the voters should be conveyed to the poll at the expense of the candidate, while, on the other, they should not. His own opinion was that the same principle should apply to both. The Solicitor General based the Bill upon high moral principles. It was rather an unusual

thing for a lawyer to do; but the hon. and learned Gentleman did it, and the Committee had listened to his arguments, although not without some surprise. If that was so, he wanted to know how the Government could escape from the dilemma of encouraging the morality of one part of the Kingdom, and discouraging it, or, at any rate, throwing cold water upon it in another? He did not think the hon. and gallant Member for Truro would be able to prove anything to the contrary. He awaited the hon. and gallant Member's argument with considerable curiosity. Personally, he thought that the concession made by the Government placed the Committee in an anomalous position, and that they ought not to press the measure further.

MR. MONK said, he wished to say a few words before they went to a division on the clause. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had given way to the appeal made to him by the Scotch Members, on the ground that the law had, on the whole, been carried out satisfactorily in Scotland, while he said that it had been evaded in other parts of the Kingdom. But he did not propose to maintain the present law, and make it more stringent, and thus to assimilate the law in both countries. But he proposed to repeal it altogether in the case of England and Ireland, and to retain it in the case of Scotland. That was a manifest inconsistency; it was scarcely possible to be guilty of a greater one, and he was astonished to find that a right hon. Gentleman, occupying a prominent position in the Government of the country, should come down to that House and say—"We have an election law which has acted very well in one part of the Kingdom, though it has been evaded in other parts; therefore, the best thing we can do is to maintain it in Scotland, where it is generally observed, but to repeal it in regard to the rest of the Kingdom where it is evaded." The Government acknowledged that the law was good for Scotland; and if it was good for one part of the country surely it ought to be good for the whole of the country. He thought the constituencies of the Kingdom would be very much astonished, when they read the papers to-morrow, to find that the Government had maintained this law for Scotland, but were determined to repeal it in regard to England. That was the state of the case at present; but he

merely presented it as a *reductio ad absurdum*. He sincerely trusted that the Government would rest content with the discussion that had taken place, and by withdrawing the Bill, would consent to have one general law for the whole of the Kingdom.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL (Sir HARDINGE GIFFARD) could not help thinking that the hon. Member for Gloucester (Mr. Monk) had paid very little attention to the present state of the law. The whole law was an anomaly. In the counties it remained unaltered. The provisions of the present Bill would affect only the law in boroughs, and would assimilate it to that which existed already in the counties. But in addition to the counties, the House of Commons had selected certain boroughs in which the practice was also permitted, on the ground of their extent. The Government had now consented to exempt Scotland from the operation of the clause; but they had only done so at the express wish of the Scotch Members, who had pressed it upon the Government. He quite concurred in the opinion that there was no necessity for a change in the existing law in Scotland. The Government yielded to the appeal made to them; and now hon. Members said it was illogical and absurd to proceed with the Bill, and that they ought not to make any change in the law at all. The arguments which had induced the Government to make the concession were a sufficient answer to the view of the question now put forward by hon. Members opposite.

MR. ANDERSON was sure that all the Scotch Members, and all the Scotch constituencies, were very much obliged to the Chancellor of the Exchequer for making a concession in their favour; but, at the same time, he did not claim for Scotland the exclusive purity which the hon. Member for Dundee claimed for it, and he should be glad to give all the assistance in his power to the Members for England and Ireland in opposition to the Bill, not merely on Scotch grounds, but upon Imperial grounds. As a Scotch Member, he was obliged to the Government for their concession to Scotland; but, as a Member of the Imperial Parliament, he must continue to protest against the application of the Bill to England and Ireland. He was surprised that the Irish Members had not

made a similar appeal to the Government as that which had been made by the Scotch Members on behalf of Scotland; but he was unable to say from his own experience whether the law was carried out in Ireland or not. If the present law was carried out in Ireland as well as in Scotland, he thought the Irish Members should make a similar appeal to the Chancellor of the Exchequer as that which had been made on behalf of Scotland. As to what the hon. and learned Solicitor General had said in regard to the law being evaded at present in England, there was upon the Paper an Amendment to the same clause by the hon. Member for Swansea (Mr. Dillwyn) which would meet that objection. The object of that Amendment was to make the law uniform everywhere, and, in order to prevent it from becoming an absurdity and an anomaly, it proposed to attach a distinct penalty to the infringement of the statute. He thought the Government had placed themselves in a slightly inconsistent position by the concession they had made, and he thought the best course would be to adopt the Amendment of the hon. Member for Swansea. At the same time, as a Scotch Member, he thankfully accepted the concession which had been made to him.

SIR JOHN LUBBOCK said, the hon. Member for Glasgow (Mr. Anderson) had expressed surprise at the absence of a claim on the part of Ireland to the same concession which had been made to Scotland. If the hon. Member had noticed the state of the Irish Benches, he would have seen why the Irish Members did not object. In fact, the Irish Members were occupied elsewhere. He believed, however, that they objected very much to this Bill; and he (Sir John Lubbock), as an English Member, also wished to record his objection against it. He should be glad to know why this Bill was to be forced upon the English borough Members against the general opinion of the English borough Members? There might be solid and substantial reasons for allowing the conveyance of voters in counties; but those reasons certainly did not apply in boroughs. If the law was to be made equal, the best way would be to assimilate that of the counties to that in force in the boroughs, rather than that the law in the boroughs should be made the same as that in the counties. He did not see why the English Members

should not be treated in the same way as the Scotch Members. He thought the Bill would add very much to the expense of contested elections; and, introduced as it was at the last moment in an expiring Parliament, the House generally had good reasons for entering a strong protest against the way in which they had been treated. The Bill had been sprung upon the House as a complete surprise. He had hoped, when the division showed there was so large a minority against the principle of the Bill, that Her Majesty's Government would have given way. Such a course would have been appreciated in the country; and, even now, he would make an appeal to them not to press the Bill against the strong general wish that had been expressed.

MR. OSBORNE MORGAN really thought that the way in which the Government were forcing the Bill through the House was scarcely decent. He was not affected by the Bill, because he was a county Member; but, inasmuch as the expense of the conveyance of voters in counties frequently amounted to half the entire cost of an election, he thought the practice ought to be made illegal in counties. The hon. and learned Solicitor General had agreed to the exemption of Scotland, because, he said, Scotland was so pure and so moral; but there were many towns in Wales which were quite as pure as any in Scotland, and, therefore, when the proper time came, he should require to have that exemption extended a great deal farther. In point of fact, he wished to see no such invidious distinction made between different parts of the Kingdom, and he should give his vote in favour of making the law of England and Wales the same as that of Scotland and Ireland.

MR. DILLWYN joined in the appeal to the Government that they would reconsider the question. He put it to the Chancellor of the Exchequer whether the pressing on of this Bill was not a breach of an implied understanding? He could not but think that was so. At the beginning of the Session the Government brought in a Resolution to stop obstruction. They were extremely disappointed, and read the Opposition a lecture, because they did not oppose the Resolution, and they did not know what to do. The action of the Government looked as though they wanted the

Opposition to fight them in view of the Dissolution. Well, the Dissolution was announced, and the Opposition were well pleased, and promised to give the Government every facility to transact and get through the ordinary Business of the Session. But that was upon the understanding that that Business should be winding-up Business, and not taking up new matters. They did give every facility for the passing of necessary Bills; but they never expected to be called on to repeal an important clause in a former Act of Parliament as was now proposed. When the Chancellor of the Exchequer said he would take the Corrupt Practices Bill, no one knew that he meant anything of that kind; they thought it was a Bill of a different nature. He, therefore, did hope that the Chancellor of the Exchequer would see the fairness of this appeal. The right hon. Gentleman had given way to the Scotch Members, of whom a good many happened to be present, and he had also given way to Ireland. Now he was asked to exempt Wales, and his hon. and learned Friend (Mr. Osborne Morgan) said they were pure in Wales. He hoped they were, and he saw no reason for retaining Wales within the operation of the Bill; but he wished to join in a general appeal. If the Chancellor of the Exchequer made one exception after another, where would he stop? He had not heard the English Members; they were not there, they were scattered all over the country, they did not know the nature of the Bill. The constituencies did not know, and had had no opportunity of expressing an opinion upon the measure. It was too large a question to be carried through in the last week of a dying Parliament, and it was a breach of an implied understanding to proceed with it. He respectfully urged the Government to notice the appeals which had been made to them, including that of the noble Lord (the Marquess of Hartington) on the previous evening; and he pointed to the large and important minority in the last division as an additional argument for withdrawing the Bill.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said, the hon. Member for Swansea (Mr. Dillwyn) had spoken of an implied understanding; but he wished to remind the hon. Member, that on the day on which he men-

tioned the Dissolution, he stated what Business the Government hoped to proceed with, and he expressly mentioned this Bill as being one that they thought they could and should proceed with. Not only so, but he took occasion to refer to some observations previously made by the hon. Baronet the Member for Chelsea (Sir Charles W. Dilke) as to the importance of dealing with the question; and he said that as the Bill which the Government first introduced could not deal with that question, it would be withdrawn, and another Bill would be introduced. Therefore, the attention of the House was from the first directed to the fact that the Government did intend to deal with the subject; and as the subject was one with which the House was familiar, there was no ground for saying that they had been taken by surprise. As to the other question which had been raised, the hon. Member said the Government admitted that the Scotch boroughs were pure, and Wales was also pure. No doubt, both those statements were quite true; and he would go further, and say the English constituencies were also pure; but the broad distinction between the English practice and the Scotch practice with regard to the conveyance of voters was this—that in the great majority of large boroughs in England it was done, whilst in Scotland they were assured it was not done. There was nothing in the law that rendered the conveyance of voters a corrupt practice, or imposed a penalty upon it; and the provision, being simply a prohibition without imposing a penalty, was exceedingly inconvenient. It was to get rid of that inconvenience that the Government proposed to legalize what was practically done at the present time. Then they were told by the Scotch Members that in Scotland the case was different, and that the Scotch practice was in conformity with the words of the law. Therefore, there was no occasion to make any alteration in order to bring the law and practice of Scotland into harmony, because they were in harmony already. That being so, the Government admitted the plea of the Scotch Members. But if the present state of things worked well in Scotland, it did not work well in England, because the difference in practice rendered it impossible to meet the spirit of the law with regard to the

payment of these expenses. Having agreed to the wish of the Scotch Members, the Government were now met by them in a way which he hardly anticipated, seeing that the Government had made what they thought was a graceful concession. However, he must not complain of ingratitude; he would only say that there was reason in the one case, and not in the other.

MR. C. S. PARKER said, he did feel grateful to the Chancellor of the Exchequer for his graceful concession to Scotland, not because he had as yet any strong opinion on the merits of the question, but because he thought the House was not in a position to decide it. It had already been pointed out that a large number of borough Members were opposed to the Bill, and the absence of those hon. Gentlemen on the present occasion was attributable to the fact that the borough elections would come on before the county elections; and, therefore, there was a greater pressure upon them. When they examined the Division Lists, they would probably find that a House chiefly composed of county Members had been employed in deciding a question affecting borough Members.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL said, he also, as a Scotch Member, felt grateful for the concession made to Scotland; but it seemed to him that if the Scotch Members, having gained their point, now deserted their English and Irish brethren, that would be the height of baseness. He was very glad, indeed, to give what assistance he could to England, Ireland, and Wales in the matter. He wished to add one word as to the declaration which was made by the Chancellor of the Exchequer at the time the Dissolution was announced. It was true the Chancellor of the Exchequer said the Government proposed to proceed with the Bill dealing with corrupt practices, but the right hon. Gentleman did not give the House the least idea what the nature of the Bill was to be. He did not tell them it was to be for the legalization of corrupt practices, and they were led to believe that it would provide a better tribunal for trying and punishing such offences. Therefore, he thought there was some ground for the charge that this was a breach of an implied understanding. When the hon. and learned Solicitor General said Parlia-

ment had already sanctioned payments for conveyance in five boroughs, it should be added that those boroughs were of the nature of counties, because the distances to be traversed were considerable. Besides, Parliament had already settled that question. What he wished to call attention to was the fact that the Amendment related to the exclusion of Ireland; and as the Scotch Members had previously enjoyed the advantage of the sympathy and support of the Irish borough Members, he thought it only right that, now the Irish borough Members had been obliged to leave on urgent business of a public character, the Scotch Members should endeavour to take their part. There was scarcely a single Irish borough Member left in the House; and, therefore, he hoped that the Government would consent to drop the clause relating to Ireland. He hoped that Ireland, as well as Scotland, was pure; but he would remind the House that the Irish were an impulsive people, and that Irish cars were somewhat dangerous vehicles.

MR. SULLIVAN hoped sincerely that the Government would not take advantage of the absence of the Irish Representatives to persevere in their intention of bringing Ireland within the scope of the Bill. He trusted that, having agreed to omit Scotland, they would in this case do justice to Ireland. The Irish Members were always glad to take a share with their Caledonian Friends. The House would be aware that there were only a few large cities and towns in Ireland, and, therefore, the conveyance of voters could only affect a few places; but, nevertheless, he would strongly appeal to the Government to let them alone. There were not half-a-dozen Irish Members within the Palace of Westminster at that moment; and it would create a most painful impression if the Government, having acceded to the request of the Scotch Representatives, should, in the absence of the Irish Representatives, not deal in a like manner with Ireland.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (MR. GIBSON) observed, that representations were pretty generally made to him officially by Irish Representatives with reference to Bills which they did not like. Last night there was a case in point, when two Irish

Members pressed upon him the undesirability of proceeding with the Local Courts of Bankruptcy (Ireland) Bill; but he was bound to say that not a single representation had been made to him on the part of any Irish borough Members that they opposed this Bill.

MR. SULLIVAN remarked that Ireland was not in the Bill.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (MR. GIBSON) replied, that the hon. Member did not speak for a borough, and, therefore, he would repeat the statement which he had made. He knew that there was in some of the large boroughs a good deal of laxity; but there might be no objection to legitimate payments for conveying voters to the poll.

MR. SULLIVAN would ask the right hon. and learned Gentleman whether Ireland was mentioned in the Bill at all? He knew very well that it was not, and, therefore, how could he expect that Irish Members would appeal to him with reference to a Bill which did not include Ireland? It was now sought to bring Ireland in, and that made the matter inconceivably worse, because it would be in the nature of a surprise.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (MR. GIBSON) said, the allegation of surprise was rather a doubtful point. The hon. Member knew very well that if Ireland was not expressly excluded from an Act of Parliament, it must be taken to be included.

MR. ERRINGTON said, an appeal had been made to the Irish Members to express their opinions on the subject. The hon. Baronet the Member for Maidstone (Sir John Lubbock) had clearly shown why the Irish Borough Members were silent, and he did not think that that silence could be very well construed into consent. The reason given for their silence was the very strongest reason why the Government should leave Ireland out of the Bill. It would be a very extraordinary step on the eve of a General Election, when everybody was anxious to be away on important business, to make such an important change as the Government proposed. The right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland had referred to the representations made to him against Irish Bills being forced on at this period, and perhaps the measure now in question was even more important, because

it bore directly upon the elections themselves. He was grateful to the Scotch Members for their support, and he was sure that had the Irish Members realized at an earlier period the magnitude of the change that was to be made in the electoral law, they would not have left the duty of opposing it in the hands of their Scotch Friends. They were no more in favour than were the Scotch Members of a Bill whose effect would be to legalize corruption at borough elections.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE thought the right hon. and learned Attorney General for Ireland was wrong in speaking of the Amendment put down by the hon. and learned Attorney General as a mere drafting Amendment, and in stating that if Ireland were not expressly mentioned, the Bill would necessarily apply to Ireland. The fact was that the substantive part of the Bill was a measure to repeal a part of the Representation of the People Act, 1869; but that Act applied only to England, and, therefore, the Amendment of the hon. and learned Attorney General was necessary in order to repeal the same clause of the Representation of the People (Ireland) Act. The Amendment was only put upon the Paper yesterday, and, therefore, the Irish Members had not had an opportunity of understanding that it was intended by the Government. They had had no Notice whatever, they were absent, and it was totally contrary to all precedent to apply, at a moment's Notice, for a clause of that importance.

MR. JUSTIN M'CARTHY hoped the Government would accede to the number of appeals that had been made to them, and would leave Ireland out of the Bill. It was a very extraordinary thing, on the face of it, that when any portion of the old system of electoral corruption had been got rid of, the Government should find any possible excuse for attempting to re-enact it. Surely, if they wished to give more license, this was hardly the time to bring about such a change. The absence of the Irish borough Members had been explained, and he believed that there was only one, the hon. Member for Dungarvan (Mr. O'Donnell), anywhere near the House, and he had already spoken strongly against this measure. The idea that the Scotch Members were somewhat ungrateful because, when they had got their country saved from the

Bill, they would not abandon England and Ireland, was absurd. A concession of that kind, with such a reservation, would become not so much a concession as a bribe. It would be tantamount to saying—"You are strong, you can have your way; but we shall want from you as a condition of your own exemption, that you allow us to force this objectionable system on England and Ireland and Wales." He was very much obliged to the Scotch Members for their steadfast opposition to the Government proposal. If the Government wanted equality, let them attain it by levelling down the system of corruption, and getting rid of it altogether, instead of levelling up so as to reproduce a corruption which had been thought to be abolished. He earnestly hoped the Government would press the matter no further. If it were forced upon Ireland, it certainly would create great surprise and indignation when it became known.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said, he must object to a phrase, which he used rather playfully than otherwise, being made such serious use of. When he said the Scotch Members were not grateful, he did not mean to imply that hon. Members who objected to the Bill should waive their objections to it, because he had agreed to the exemption of Scotland. He wished to point out to the House what the real action of the Government in this matter had been. In the first instance, what the Government proposed to do was to bring in a Bill for the continuance of the Parliamentary Elections and Corrupt Practices Act. They introduced a mere Continuance Bill, and when it had been introduced, the hon. Baronet the Member for Chelsea (Sir Charles W. Dilke), who took great interest in those questions, expressly challenged them upon the question whether they did not intend to deal with the subject of conveyance of voters. The hon. Baronet pointed out, and many other hon. Members for English boroughs supported him, that the subject was in a position in which it was most inconvenient that it should be left. That related to England, and the reason why it was inconvenient was that the practice in the large boroughs of England was different to the wording of the law. That being so, he proposed to withdraw the Bill which had then been introduced,

and to bring in another which would deal with the question before the Dissolution; and he expressly stated that it would deal with the question which the hon. Baronet had drawn attention to. He most distinctly drew attention to it; and if the hon. Baronet were only now present, he was quite certain the hon. Baronet would confirm his recollection of what took place when the hon. Baronet acceded to the proposal with his usual courtesy. Well, the Bill was introduced in a form which he did not particularly remark at the time would have applied only to England, for it dealt only with the English Act. That point was afterwards observed, and Amendments were put down by the hon. and learned Attorney General to carry it over the whole of the United Kingdom. It was certainly possible, and, indeed, not improbable, that the point which did not seem to have attracted the same attention in Ireland that it had attracted in other parts of the United Kingdom might have escaped the attention of the Irish Members, who might not have been aware that the Bill was intended to apply to Ireland. At all events, it was quite certain that there had been no interest felt in the matter in Ireland. No representations of any sort had been made, and the point seemed to be one of comparatively little urgency or importance there. He would remind the Committee that the Bill was, in its nature, of a temporary character. It only proposed to continue the Parliamentary Elections Act to the end of the year 1881; but it was important in this respect that, in regard to this particular question of the conveyance of voters, it contained a provision which was intended to apply to the Elections that were immediately at hand. There were strong reasons for passing such a clause with regard to Ireland. Those reasons had been shown not to exist in the case of Scotland—at all events, to the same extent—and there was no reason particularly to believe that they existed to the same extent in Ireland; and the Government would be quite prepared to allow this Amendment of the Attorney General's, which was a *post facto* Amendment, to be withdrawn, and to confine the Bill to the case of England. [*A laugh.*] Well, hon. Gentlemen might laugh; but the Bill was intended to meet a difficulty, which was not a theoretical,

but a practical difficulty. The practice they complained of largely existed, and he ventured to say that a large number of hon. Gentlemen had been systematically in the habit of resorting to that which would be made legal by this Bill. The question of purity was absolute nonsense; and when it was said that this was a Bill which implied that they were to have more corruption in England than in other parts of the United Kingdom, he said that was unmitigated and undiluted nonsense. There was no doubt whatever that the practice of the conveyance of voters was one which was perfectly reconcilable with the utmost purity of election. The Government would now withdraw the Amendment, and adhere to the Bill in the form in which it was originally introduced.

MR. H. SAMUELSON remarked, that the Chancellor of the Exchequer said the objection that the Bill would act against the purity of election was pure and unmitigated nonsense. Now, he (Mr. H. Samuelson) was perfectly certain that it would open a door to corruption, and in a great number of boroughs it would enable pressure to be put upon the owners of vehicles, and enable candidates to bribe them by hiring their conveyances. If he might use an expression not much stronger than that used by the right hon. Gentleman, he would say that it was disgraceful on the part of the Government to persist in thrusting such a Bill down the throats of an unwilling Parliament, against the declared wishes of almost every borough Member who had spoken. The unfairness of the course adopted by Government was manifest, when hon. Members considered how impossible it was to obtain a proper expression of opinion on the subject in the then deserted condition of the House. Speaking for himself, he might say that he had had occasion to gather the opinion of more than one or two constituencies upon the subject since it had been before the House; and he could unhesitatingly affirm that public opinion was strongly against the proposal. Then the right hon. Gentleman had told them something that required a little investigation. He said that the Bill was only a temporary measure; but he quite forgot that to repeal a section of an Act of Parliament was not a temporary measure, but a statute intended to remain in force permanently. He (Mr. H. Samuelson) pre-

sumed that a clause once repealed stood repealed—not temporarily, but for all time—unless it were re-enacted by a new law. Nobody objected to the continuance of the Act which the Bill proposed to continue; but what they did object to was having forced upon England a provision which was not considered proper for Scotland and Ireland. He asked the Government to go one step further in their concessions, and to withdraw the clause altogether.

THE CHAIRMAN said, he must point out to the Committee that the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer had expressed his wish to withdraw the Amendment now before it. That was an Amendment containing a proposal to include in the Bill the case of Ireland. If the Committee were desirous of continuing the discussion upon the case of England, it would probably be found the most convenient course to withdraw the Amendment in the first instance.

MR. MONK said, he desired to say a word or two with regard to the withdrawal of Ireland from the operation of the clause. Scotland had already been withdrawn from the operation of the Bill. Ireland was now to be withdrawn also, and England and Wales were alone to be affected. Under these circumstances, he would ask the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer what was the necessity for the Bill at all? It was not the 2nd clause of the Bill that was wanted. No clause of the Bill was wanted. The Corrupt Practices Act was in force until the end of the year, and there would be ample time, when the new Parliament met, to consider the whole question; and whatever Government happened to be in Office, it would become its duty to bring in the Bill which the present Government were on the point of introducing a week ago. The effect of this clause, in regard to England would be, as it would have been in the case of Ireland and Scotland, to increase the expense of elections. It was all very well to say that the law was in some cases evaded; but if they legalized the payment of these expenses, the result would be that they would prevent a large number of candidates from coming forward, who would be unable to bear the enormous expense that would be put upon them by legalizing the conveyance of voters to the

poll. As the hon. Member for Frome (Mr. H. Samuelson) had just stated, it would act as a bribe to many cab-owners and livery-stable keepers. It would be necessary for the candidates to engage every vehicle, not only in the town, but in the neighbourhood. It was a movement in the wrong direction; it was a movement that would prevent a poor man from having a seat in that House. He confessed that he was astonished the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer should persist in endeavouring to force the Bill, at this period of the existence of Parliament, down the throats of hon. Members, when he had been obliged to give way with regard to Scotland and Ireland. He hoped that not only would the Amendment be withdrawn, but that the Bill itself would be withdrawn with it.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn*.

Question proposed, "That the Clause stand part of the Bill."

MR. DILLWYN moved, as an Amendment, in page 1, line 19, after "shall," to leave out the remainder of the Clause, and insert—

"Be read with the addition of the words, 'on proof that any such illegal payment shall have been made, the person or persons having made, or in any way authorized such payment, shall be liable to be convicted before any Court of Summary Jurisdiction, and on conviction such Court shall be empowered to award the punishment of a fine of five pounds for each such offence.'"

MR. MORGAN LLOYD said, he had an Amendment which would come before that which had been placed on the Paper by the hon. Member for Swansea (Mr. Dillwyn). He proposed, in page 1, line 19, to move, after the word "repealed," to insert the words "except as regards Wales."

THE CHAIRMAN said, the Amendment suggested by the hon. Member for Swansea (Mr. Dillwyn) would come before that. He was bound to say that he had considered with very great care the question submitted to the Committee in that Amendment, and it appeared to him that the effect of the Amendment of the hon. Member for Swansea, if it were adopted, would not merely be to annul the object of the Bill; but that, practically, the ultimate effect of it would be to reverse it. When the House sent a Bill to a

Committee for the express purpose of having its clauses considered, to reverse the object of the Bill and to send back to the House a measure which carried out exactly opposite objects, would be irregular. It was open to the hon. Member for Swansea to raise the question he was desirous of dealing with on the Report of the Bill, because that would be considered by the House itself, and the House would be its own master. It certainly appeared to him, that so far as the Committee were concerned, they were required by the House to consider any Bill sent to them in accordance with the objects with which it had been sent to them by the House. It was open for them to modify the propositions contained in a Bill, or to annul them; but it was not open for them to introduce an Amendment which would enact something in an entirely opposite sense to the object of the Bill sent to them.

MR. DILLWYN said, the Chancellor of the Exchequer had told them that this clause, as it now stood in the statute was a delusion and a snare, and his (Mr. Dillwyn's) object in proposing this Amendment was to make the enactment which it was proposed to repeal something otherwise than a delusion and a snare. He had thought that that would be a better mode of carrying out the object and intention of the Act, than by repealing the clause; but if the Chairman said that he was out of Order, he would at once bow to the hon. Gentleman's ruling. He did not think the Amendment had the effect which the Chairman attributed to it; but if the hon. Gentleman thought so, he would not press it.

MR. E. JENKINS rose to a point of Order, and what he was about to say would be said with all due respect to the Chair. He wished to call attention to the fact that this clause proposed to change a clause in the Representation of the People Act, and that the clause in the Representation of the People Act was immediately directed to the point raised by the hon. Member for Swansea. The clause in question said that it should not be lawful for any candidate, or for anyone on his behalf, at any election, to pay any money on account of the conveyance of a voter to the poll, either to the voter himself or to any other person, or for any other person to receive it from the candidate, and so on. He

submitted very humbly that that clause raised the whole question. It was raised directly by the Bill before the Committee, and his hon. Friend the Member for Swansea (Mr. Dillwyn) was right in proposing a certain other mode of dealing with the question that was not laid down by this particular clause. The mode suggested in his hon. Friend's Amendment was that penalties could be imposed for an infringement of the law, instead of repealing the clause in the Representation of the People Act. He begged to submit that point to the consideration of the Chair, and to ask if it had not been overlooked—namely, that the whole section of the Representation of the People Act was dragged into discussion?

THE CHAIRMAN said, that was not at all the question before the Committee. The Bill proposed to repeal the 36th section of the Representation of the People Act of 1867. The effect of that section of the Act of 1867 was to declare a certain practice to be illegal. The object of the present clause was to make that practice legal. The proposal of the hon. Member for Swansea (Mr. Dillwyn) was not only to leave the practice illegal, but, by amending the clause, to attach a penalty to the illegality, and to affirm the opposite of the principle; in point of fact, to reverse the principle which it was sought by the Bill to affirm. That being so, it appeared to him that it was not within the functions of the Committee to take such a course without the sanction of the House.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE said, he had no wish to call in question the ruling of the Chair; but he ventured to suggest whether it would not be competent to strike out the words of the clause, and then to insert another clause in the sense of the proposal of the hon. Member for Swansea. The Bill was not confined to the repeal of this particular clause, but had other objects in view—namely, to continue the Parliamentary Elections and Corrupt Practices Act. This was an essential part of that Act, and, therefore, it appeared to him that, having struck out that particular clause repealing this provision of the Corrupt Practices Act, they might alter the Corrupt Practices Act in the sense proposed by the hon. Member for Swansea. If that were correct, surely the same process could be effected in any one clause.

If it were possible to strike out the clause, and then move an Amendment in the sense of the proposal of the hon. Member for Swansea, surely they could do the same thing by one process which they would have power to do by two.

THE CHAIRMAN said, that the observations of the hon. Member for Reading (Mr. Shaw Lefevre) would have great force, if this was one of the sections of the Act it was proposed to continue; but the Bill simply proposed to continue the Corrupt Practices Act, and the section affected by the Amendment was one of the Representation of the People Act which it was not proposed by the present Bill to continue. The proposal made by the hon. Member for Swansea (Mr. Dillwyn) could only be considered by the House and not by a Committee. The House was entirely its own master and could frame its own propositions, which a Committee was not always at liberty to do.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE said, that, looking at the difficulty in which the Committee was placed, and the extreme importance of discussing the question from every point of view, and considering the alternative proposal of the hon. Member for Swansea (Mr. Dillwyn), it became a question whether, instead of repealing this provision of the Representation of the People Act, they ought not to abandon the Bill altogether. It was obvious, by the ruling of the Chair, that they were not in a position to discuss certain alternatives which ought to be before the Committee. The only way in which it could be done was, to ask the Committee to adjourn, in order that at a subsequent stage they might have an opportunity of discussing the whole matter. In the position they were now in it became almost essential to take that step.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said, the Bill had been read a second time, and its principle had thereby been affirmed. The principle of the measure was contained in the 2nd clause, and it was simply wasting the time of the House to make such a proposal as that which had been made by the hon. Member for Reading (Mr. Shaw Lefevre).

Amendment (Mr. Dillwyn), by leave, withdrawn.

MR. MORGAN LLOYD moved, the Amendment of which he had given Notice, to insert in page 1, line 19, after the word "repealed," the words "except as regards Wales." Now that Scotland and Ireland were excluded from the operation of the Bill, he saw no reason whatever why Wales also should not be excluded. Wales was as distinct from England as Scotland and Ireland, and for this purpose there would be no inconvenience in separating Wales from England. With regard to Wales, he was able to say that the people there were perfectly satisfied with the law as it now existed, and, as far as it went, their wish was to extend the prohibition rather than to repeal it. So far as his experience went, and he knew something of Wales, there had been no practice in Wales that was at all in violation of this enactment. He believed that what he said would be confirmed by other Welsh Members present. Under these circumstances, he thought the Government ought to agree to exclude Wales from the operation of the Bill. The concessions which had been made in favour of Scotland and Ireland equally applied to Wales. Therefore, without taking up the time of the Committee further, he would simply move the Amendment to except Wales from the operation of the Bill.

Amendment proposed, in page 1, line 19, at end of Clause, to add the words "except as regards Wales." — (Mr. Morgan Lloyd.)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL (Sir HARDINGE GIFFARD) could hardly suppose that the hon. and learned Member for Beaumaris was serious in making this proposition. The cases of Ireland and Scotland were obviously dealt with separately, because they were dealt with by separate Acts. The complaint made was, that as the Bill was originally drawn it did not include Scotland and Ireland; but with regard to Wales, the hon. and learned Member seemed to forget that the Bill did include Wales. The Act of Parliament, the section of which it was proposed to repeal, affected Wales as well as England. With reference to the Question as to the facts of the case in regard to Welsh elections, he entirely disagreed with the hon. and learned Mem-

ber. He did not know what the hon. and learned Member's experience was with regard to borough elections in Wales; but his (the Solicitor General's) own experience was, that in contested elections in the boroughs of Wales, the practice of conveying voters to the poll in cabs and carriages be believed to be the universal practice. For that reason, it was obvious that the suggested Amendment, if it was seriously pressed, was hardly worth arguing or discussing.

MR. OSBORNE MORGAN said, his hon. and learned Friend the Solicitor General, although he had contested a Welsh constituency, was certainly not a Welshman; while his hon. and learned Friend the Member for Beaumaris (Mr. Morgan Lloyd), was not only a Welshman, but represented the people of Wales. He (Mr. Osborne Morgan) had no desire to enter into a wrangle as to the facts of the case; his own desire in rising had been to point out that there was no constitutional reason why Wales should not be excepted, or, indeed, why Lancashire or Yorkshire, or any other part of the Kingdom, should not be excepted. There was no question of constitutional ground at all. The practice was not carried out in all that part of Wales with which he was acquainted, and he was certainly acquainted with a very large part of it. The cases of Scotland and of Wales were identically the same. The practice was one which, as the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer had pointed out, existed only in England. The right hon. Gentleman said, it was the common practice in England, and he went so far as to charge hon. Members, who sat on the Opposition side of the House, and who said that it was a question of purity of elections, of talking pure, unmitigated, undiluted nonsense. He hoped he should never hear such language again from the right hon. Gentleman. It might be pure, unmitigated nonsense. He would not enter into that question now; but what he wished to appeal to was the facts of the case. He knew a county in which a very rich man was a candidate, and he actually bought up the whole of the cabs, conveyances, and omnibuses of the whole of the county. Was that purity of election? The result was, that the person to whom he alluded got the vote of every omnibus owner, cabman, and carriage owner in the county. If this clause were

repealed, the same thing would be done in every borough. He would ask if any hon. Member believed that it would not be done? He believed it was done now, and if so, was the right hon. gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer justified in saying that those who spoke of purity of election were talking pure, unmitigated nonsense?

MR. DILLWYN thought the Chancellor of the Exchequer should make sure of his facts before he spoke of pure, unmitigated nonsense. In regard to the remarks which had fallen from the hon. and learned Gentleman the Solicitor General, that hon. and learned Gentleman had made a statement that was scarcely consistent with the facts. He (Mr. Dillwyn) was in a position to give evidence upon the subject himself. At the last General Election he stood a contest in a Welsh borough, and he did not employ a single cab at all. He was therefore able, personally, to combat the facts of the hon. and learned Gentleman the Solicitor General. His hon. and learned Friend the Member for Beaumaris (Mr. Morgan Lloyd) said that Wales was separate and distinct from England. That was perfectly true, and it was much more separate and distinct than either Scotland or Ireland. The legislation for Wales was, in many respects, separate, and it had a different set of Turnpike and Road Acts from any other part of the Kingdom. There could be no question as to Wales being entirely separate and distinct from England.

SIR JOHN LUBBOCK said, the Chancellor of the Exchequer had consented to except Scotland, because the Scotch Members were present to oppose the repeal of the clause so far as Scotland was concerned. He had also excepted Ireland, because the Irish Members were not present to oppose it. He wished now, as an English Member, to question the propriety of continuing to include England. During the whole of the discussion not a single Member on the other side of the House had risen to say a word in favour of the Bill. The whole defence of the measure had rested with Her Majesty's Government, who had given first one reason, and then another, for proposing it. All other Members who had taken part in the discussion had protested as indignantly as they could against it. Under these circumstances,

he thought it was unreasonable on the part of the Government to press the Bill at that particular time. As the hon. Member for Frome (Mr. H. Samuelson) had shown, it might be used as an engine of corruption. It was a Bill to give a rich candidate, in every English borough, a great advantage over a poor candidate, and it would also give those candidates who had had notice of the Bill a great advantage over those who had had no notice, because they might already have gone and engaged the cabs. He, therefore, hoped that Her Majesty's Government would not insist on pressing the Bill.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE said, the question before the Committee now was the exclusion of Wales. He ventured now to point out that in the division that took place a short time ago the Amendment was supported by all the Liberal Members. Every Welsh borough, with one exception, was represented by a Liberal; and, therefore, the conclusion might be drawn that all the Welsh boroughs were opposed to the Bill. The Welsh Members who were present were against the measure; and it might, therefore, be assumed that all the Representatives of Wales were against it. Under these circumstances, they had a right to expect that the Chancellor of the Exchequer, following the example of what had been done in the case of Scotland, would agree now to exclude Wales from the operation of the Bill.

MR. NEWDEGATE hoped that nothing of the sort would be done. He more than doubted the propriety of excluding Scotland and Ireland, and if Wales was to follow, the result would be that they would have left out of the Bill all those parts of the Kingdom in which the distances from the polling places were largest. This objection would apply strongly in the case of Wales, where, in many places, the voters had to come from a distance. He thought, under such circumstances, that it was only right to provide conveyances for them.

MR. HUSSEY VIVIAN had very little doubt that the Bill, if it passed, would lead to corruption. Now, they objected to be corrupted in Wales. They were a very pure and moral people. Standing in that very spot last year he had had the pleasure of stating figures to the House which proved beyond all

doubt that the people of Wales were at least double as moral as the people of England. That could be proved in various ways, which, however, he would not trouble the House with now. He heartily supported the Amendment of his hon. and learned Friend the Member for Beaumaris (Mr. Morgan Lloyd). His hon. Friend the Member for North Warwickshire (Mr. Newdegate), who had just spoken, stated that the boroughs of Wales were of so extensive a character, and so scattered, that the conveyance of voters to the poll in cabs was a matter of necessity. Now, as far as he was acquainted with the boroughs of Wales, he did not think that description of them was a correct one. If his hon. Friend would go down to Wales, he (Mr. Vivian) would be happy to have an opportunity of showing him that no such necessity existed. In the meantime, he hoped his hon. Friend would take his word for the fact that such a necessity did not exist. He did not forget the extremely close fight which his hon. and learned Friend the Solicitor General had in a Welsh borough at the last General Election; but what the practice was in Cardiff he was unable to say. He did know, however, that the legalizing of this practice might be used as an engine for obtaining votes; but whether the system was resorted to at Cardiff or not he was not prepared to say. The borough of Swansea was quite as large a borough as the borough of Cardiff, and there were quite as many people in it; yet his hon. Friend the Member for Swansea (Mr. Dillwyn) told them that at the time he fought a contest, six years ago, he did not find it necessary to employ cabs, and that cabs were not employed. Now, why should poor Wales have this Bill imposed upon it when Wales did not require it? He showed, last year, that Wales was far more separated from England than either Scotland or Ireland. They were a far more different people than either, and they had no wish for this Bill. He, therefore, hoped that his hon. and learned Friend the Member for Beaumaris would persist in his Amendment and divide the House, if necessary, upon the exception of Wales. He was equally strong, in a charitable sense, in hoping that England might also be excepted from the operation of the measure. He was certain that if the conveyance of voters to the poll were rendered legal it

might be used as a very serious engine of corruption.

MR. SULLIVAN had heard with the greatest astonishment the statement of the Chancellor of the Exchequer that he did not apprehend that corruption would follow from the Bill. He (Mr. Sullivan) could assert, from his own experience in canvassing at elections, that the Bill would have, for its immediate and necessary result, gross corruption. He could relate his own experience in connection with a county—not the one he had the honour to represent—in which car hire was allowed. Formerly, and not very long since, the practice was to bribe a man by buying a gooseberry bush. A candidate went to canvass a voter and gave 10 guineas for a gooseberry bush. That practice was gone now; but what remained? If they canvassed a voter, he said, “Well, there’s nothing going.” “Oh, no! there’s nothing going,” was the reply. “But I have two sons,” he said, “fine slips of boys, who should be employed at the Committee Rooms. Will you engage my boys? Two or three guineas a-week will be very acceptable.” That was the practice now, and it was the mode of corruption that was resorted to. He might state what had happened to himself. He himself canvassed a man who said—“I have got a yoke.” “Well, I wish you joy of your yoke.” “But how much am I to get for the use of my yoke?” That was cab hire. Let there be no disguise about it. They were about to open the door to the grossest corruption. Every man who, like his friend, had a yoke to be hired would expect a £5 note for his yoke; and, call it what they pleased, legalizing the conveyance of voters in the way now proposed would simply be opening the door to a new system of bribery.

MR. W. E. FORSTER was sorry that he had not been present at the early part of the discussion. He found that several remarkable things had happened, one of which was that the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer had used much stronger language than he was usually in the habit of indulging in. If Scotland, Ireland and Wales were left out, this Bill would have an extraordinary look. When, in 1867, the provision in question was passed, it was thought to be a great step towards purity of election. Now, when the Government was all powerful,

and could pass anything they pleased, they presented a Bill in which they admitted that Ireland and Scotland cared more for purity than England did—[“No, no!”]—well, then, that they cared less for the purity of England than they did for that of Ireland and Scotland. The statement had been made that this was a step towards purity; but it was extraordinary that such a statement should have been made. They knew in a great many of the contested elections in England, the practice of employing cabs had been disused in consequence of this provision, and no one could deny that it had worked beneficially. In his own borough, in 1874, they had as sharp a contest as it was possible to have. The constituency was as near as possible polled out, from 20,000 to 22,000 recording their votes out of 24,000, and no cabs were employed on either side, and he had no doubt the election was better conducted in consequence. Of course, if this Bill were passed, cabs would be employed, and for anyone to maintain that to make this change was not going back upon the progress they had hoped to make towards purity, was one of the most inexplicable things he had ever heard of.

SIR HENRY JACKSON ventured to say that while the employment of cabs was most objectionable, this was not the worst part of the Bill, for, speaking from his own experience, the payment of railway tickets would be a much more serious matter. This might lead to the paying of wages as well, or the giving of compensation to people coming from a distance, so that allowing payment of railway fares was, in his opinion, more dangerous than permitting the employment of cabs. The employment of cabs, in his experience, had gone out of fashion, and since 1867 cabs had not been employed, and the giving of railway tickets to out-voters had been discontinued. He knew that any appeal of his would be of no avail; but he must add his protest to that of the other Members who had appealed to the Government. They made a great parade of the provisions of the Bill which they brought in themselves in 1867, and they got great credit for the determination to introduce a new system of election. It was by them that Judges were substituted for the old Committees on Election Petitions, and that increased strin-

gency of the election law had been introduced. On the whole, the changes then made had worked beneficially. He did not say that the law had not been, a good deal in advance of public opinion. It had been thought a very hard law, and often proved a terror only to those who obeyed it; but, during the 13 years of its operation, public opinion had been growing. The people had become more and more used to these restrictions; the cost of elections had diminished; public purity had grown; and it was now very much to be regretted that the present Government, who so very properly introduced this amendment in the law, should now come to repeal it. The House could not but see that the time was singularly inopportune. The Government chose their own time for the Dissolution, and it might be supposed they dissolved at the moment most suitable for their own purposes. They had a right to appeal to the people at their own time, and he gave them the credit of a sincere desire to obtain the real opinion of the country. He did not think they would hold Office for one hour longer than they thought the feeling of the country was at their back. But, at the last moment, they proposed to make an important change in the machinery of elections. The Liberal Party had appealed to them to let the law stand as it was. They appealed to their generosity as a Government—to their generosity as the Party in power—to their generosity as English Gentlemen, and they said—"Do not take advantage, at the eleventh hour, of your majority to force an alteration in the law which will operate prejudicially to the eliciting of the true feeling of the country."

MR. E. JENKINS wished to ask the hon. and learned Solicitor General a question with regard to the statement made by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. The right hon. Gentleman put the argument before the House that they were only passing a clause that would be of a temporary character; but he took it that this was an absolute and permanent repeal. He would like to know if that was so?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL (Sir HARDINGE GIFFARD) said, there was some doubt whether it was not so; but the Chancellor of the Exchequer was not referring to that clause, but to the Corrupt Practice Act, which must be renewed.

MR. W. E. FORSTER remarked, that then it would have the effect of being a temporary repeal, because it was a repeal of a provision in an Act which itself soon expired. He understood the Chancellor of the Exchequer to say, "Yes; it is a temporary provision for the next Election."

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE hoped the Chancellor of the Exchequer would reply to the Question of the hon. and learned Member for Coventry (Sir Henry Jackson), and say whether, while he permitted the employment of cabs, he would forbid the payment of railway fares. There was a difference of opinion about cabs; but he had never heard but one opinion as to the payment of railway fares. He thought it would be most unreasonable to re-introduce that practice. As the Bill was now drawn, would it permit the payment of railway fares with respect to boroughs? No answer had been given on that point, and he thought it ought to have an answer.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL (Sir HARDINGE GIFFARD) said, the repeal was a repeal of a specific provision with regard to the conveyance of voters in cabs.

MR. MONK thought the hon. and learned Gentleman was wrong. The Bill repealed the whole of the 36th section of the Representation of the People Act, and in that would be found a provision covering the payment of railway fares. If they repealed that section, they would legalize the giving of money to a voter to enable him to obtain a conveyance to the poll. That would open a very wide door to bribery. He saw the hon. and learned Gentleman had now the clause before him, and perhaps he would now state whether that was correct or not?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL (Sir HARDINGE GIFFARD) read the clause which dealt with conveyance by rail as well as by cabs and carriages.

MR. MORGAN LLOYD asked the hon. and learned Solicitor General to inform the Committee what provision existed in any statute making it illegal to pay the railway fares of out-voters, except the 36th section now read? And, would he undertake to tell the House if there was any law in existence, once that section was repealed, which would prevent any candidate paying railway fares?

MR. STANTON remarked, that he asked the hon. and learned Solicitor

General that question the other night, and the hon. and learned Gentleman stated it would make no difference whether the voter was conveyed by carriage or rail.

MR. ANDERSON said, the Chancellor of the Exchequer would now see that the repeal of the clause in question was not a temporary measure, like the Continuance Bill. The continuance of the Corrupt Practices Act was a temporary measure; but this repeal of a clause was permanent. Now, when the Chancellor of the Exchequer had become convinced of that fact, he would see that the ground had somewhat changed. He had already performed two very graceful acts. He first exempted Scotland, then Ireland. Now let him exempt Wales. Not a single Welsh Member had asked for this Bill. After the right hon. Gentleman had performed that third graceful act, he would, by easy stages, have arrived very near the point which would be the most graceful of all, that of abandoning the Bill altogether.

MR. NEWDEGATE said, it occurred to him that the change involved by this clause was much more serious than at first appeared. A clear distinction had been hitherto maintained between borough and county elections. The county representation was far more general and national than the representation of the boroughs, but this clause would tend to undermine that distinction.

MR. E. JENKINS said, he would move to report Progress. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had stated that this Bill was of a temporary character, and then the hon. and learned Solicitor General got up and said—"This part of the Bill is not of a temporary character, but the Chancellor of the Exchequer was alluding to the Corrupt Practices Act." The Chancellor of the Exchequer was too honourable to take advantage of that argument, and he had practically admitted that he was under the impression that the Bill was only of a temporary character. In the circumstances in which the Committee was placed, the best way was to report Progress, and ask leave to sit again.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again," — (*Mr. Edward Jenkins.*)

Mr. Stanton

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said, he must apologize for not having perfectly correctly stated the effect of the clause in point of repealing the Act. What was in his mind was this. The Bill they were passing was a Bill which was to continue only for a limited time. It was, therefore, obvious that it would be necessary within that time to bring the Act under the re-consideration of Parliament; and when it was again brought forward, that would be the time when any further consideration of this subject might very properly take place. He was sorry he fell into an error in speaking of the repeal of this clause as if it had been part of the Corrupt Practices Act itself. But the effect would be, as it was proposed that this Bill should be passed for a restricted period, that it would be necessary before the expiration of the time to bring the whole proceeding up for consideration. The question before the Committee, when the Motion to report Progress was made, was whether they were to exempt Wales from the operation of this Bill? There could be no possible ground for making such an exemption. The case of Wales was wholly different from that of Scotland and Ireland. The representative systems of Scotland and Ireland were under separate Acts, and it had been the practice of Parliament to deal with them by separate legislation. It was not unreasonable to suppose that the attention of these countries had not been drawn to the effects of this Bill; and in view of what had been stated by the Scotch and Irish Members, it seemed desirable to exempt these parts of the United Kingdom, and confine the Bill, as originally drawn, to England, including Wales. It would be quite preposterous, however, to exempt Wales. It would only be breaking up the Bill piecemeal. He did not exactly know upon what ground they were asked to report Progress. Was it upon the question whether they were to confine the Bill to a particular part of England and strike out Wales? If so, that was a point upon which they could make up their minds now. Or, if it was upon the question of payment of railway fares, then it was open to any hon. Member to move an Amendment; but he did not see any reason to suspend the progress of the Bill on that account.

MR. MUNDELLA remarked, that the Chancellor of the Exchequer said it would be competent for any hon. Member to move Amendments; but he did not say that he would accept them. Payment of railway fares would open the door to the widest corruption. At the recent election at Sheffield, 9,000 voters were absent, owing to the distress in different parts of England. Would the right hon. Gentleman legalize the enormous expense which the conveyance of such a number of voters to the poll would entail? It would mean this, that they would turn their boroughs into seats for the plutocracy of the country. Surely they were not going back at this time of day to such a state of corruption! It would be open to candidates to pay poor men first-class fares as bribes for their votes. He trusted the House would not allow the Bill to pass without some assurance from the Chancellor of the Exchequer that he would accept an Amendment which would exempt from repeal that part of the clause which referred to the payment of railway fares.

MR. W. E. FORSTER said, he had mentioned one reason why they should have Progress reported—namely, that the Government should have time to find out the exact meaning of the clause. Even if the Government thought it right to pass such an important change with regard to the Election, at the very last moment, when hon. Members were nearly all away, and it was impossible to have full discussion, at any rate, they ought to be well aware of what they were passing, and they should have had advice from their legal Assistants which could not be contradicted. Perhaps the hon. and learned Gentleman the Solicitor General would allow him to ask him this question—Was it, or was it not, the case at that moment, according to the law as it stood, that the conveyance of voters by railway in boroughs was illegal?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL (Sir HARDINGE GIFFARD) replied, that if a person gave any valuable consideration to a voter with reference to his vote that was by law bribery. If it was to induce him to vote, it was not only illegal, but would invalidate the election. If a payment for the actual conveyance of a voter was made, that was only illegal under this section. The whole

question turned upon what was done in bringing in out-voters. In one or two cases elections had been invalidated through bringing in out-voters, but that was because consideration had been given to the electors to induce them to vote for a particular candidate. But where nothing had been done but the mere conveying of the voter, or the mere payment of the conveyance, that was merely made illegal by the 36th section; and the repeal of that section was to render legal in all boroughs what was already legal in counties and in five boroughs.

MR. W. E. FORSTER was sorry that he should have to be so persevering in this matter. There had been a general understanding in the country that the conveyance of out-voters by railway in county elections was illegal, and that in boroughs it was not, and that the same general bribery law applied to both. He asked, if that impression was or was not erroneous?

MR. OSBORNE MORGAN remarked, that what sometimes happened in the case of county voters was that an out-voter would receive first-class railway fare, and would travel third-class, and pocket the difference himself. Surely that must be regarded as bribery?

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE said, he had always understood that in counties it was illegal to give actual money to voters for the purpose of paying their fares from a distance to the poll, but that it was not illegal to give them railway passes. He understood now from the hon. and learned Solicitor General, that the repeal of this clause would still leave it illegal to give money to borough voters to come to the poll, but would not make it illegal to give them railway tickets. Therefore, the repeal of the clause would place borough voters in the same position as those in counties, and would add enormously to the expense of borough elections, because it would virtually compel candidates to give railway tickets in order to induce out-voters to come to the poll. Therefore, according to the hon. and learned Solicitor General, the repeal of the clause would place boroughs exactly in the same position as counties in regard to voters who were residing in out-districts.

MR. W. E. FORSTER said, he felt compelled to ask another Question. It was difficult to get at the exact legal meaning

of the clause. He dare say it was his own fault entirely; but he was sorry to say he could not understand the exact interpretation of the law which had been given by the hon. and learned Gentleman the Solicitor General, especially when he compared what the hon. and learned Gentleman had said with what he had said before. He (Mr. W. E. Forster) was not, however, a lawyer, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer was not a lawyer; but the right hon. Gentleman was certainly responsible for the Bill, and he wished to ask the right hon. Gentleman, before they went to a division, to inform the Committee whether or not he considered, if they passed the clause, they would or would not render the conveyance in borough elections by railway legal?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: In answer to the question, I understand that we should.

SIR HENRY JACKSON said, the hon. and learned Attorney General on this question took a different view from that of the hon. and learned Solicitor General. It was quite clear that at present, the law was this. In all the boroughs except the five excepted ones—namely, those agricultural boroughs which were supposed to be more like counties in their constitution than boroughs—it was an illegal thing to pay for the railway fare of an out-voter, and although no specific penalty was attached by statute to the illegality, he apprehended there might be ways and means found of punishing as a criminal act the illegal thing done. At all events, they were in this position. One or two or three illegal acts—or, perhaps, even 10 or 12—might be overlooked; but still the time would come when, if those illegalities were accumulated one upon another, the Election Judges, rightly enough, would consider that they could draw the inference that deliberate corruption had been committed by the systematic infringement of the law. The hon. and learned Attorney General had said that if this clause went out of the Statute Book, it would in the future not be illegal to pay the railway fares of out-voters. He wished to ask if his hon. and learned Friend the Solicitor General differed from that view? [The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER: Yes.] The Chancellor of the Exchequer said "Yes." They were now considering the

Motion to report Progress, and if anything could justify that Motion, it was that the Leader of the House said one thing, and the hon. and learned Solicitor General said another—or, rather, they could not make out exactly what it was, the hon. and learned Solicitor General did say. At all events, it would be only fair to give an adjournment, in order that the draftsman of the Bill could be consulted by the Government, so that the matter might be looked into, and that the law they intended to enact for the future might be made practically plain. The hon. Member for North Warwickshire (Mr. Newdegate), who always supported his Party, but, at the same, time always endeavoured to be just, had put his finger at once upon this discrepancy, and had pointed out what might be understood to be the *rationale* of the distinction. In the boroughs, according to the Common Law, residence was in general the qualification required. Originally borough voters were exclusively freemen; but the qualification had been enlarged by the addition of householders until it had grown to its present dimensions. In the counties the qualification was entirely different, and residence had never been insisted upon. As far as the boroughs were concerned, the consequence was that the burgesses lived within the borough and voted at their own homes. It was quite true that an occasional absence would not disqualify them from voting, if they chose to come up to the poll; but if the House allowed this clause to be repealed, they would be making a provision which would entail upon borough candidates an enormous expense for the conveyance of out-voters to the poll, and would incur the danger of introducing still greater corruption in the bringing up of voters. As far as boroughs were concerned, the law was clearly defined. Every man who paid a voter did an illegal act, and if he did an illegal act, he broke the law, and if he broke the law he did it his peril. As a rule, Englishmen did not care about breaking the law, and candidates generally set their faces against breaking it. But the Chancellor of the Exchequer was now going to do what would be at once to make legal a thing which, for 13 years, had been made illegal at the suggestion of his own Party. The opinion on that

side of the House seemed to be unanimous, and, with the single exception of the hon. Member for North Warwickshire, no hon. Gentleman on the other side of the House, outside the few Gentlemen on the Front Bench, had condescended to address the Committee on the subject at all.

SIR EARDLEY WILMOT begged the hon. Member's pardon. He had spoken upon it.

SIR HENRY JACKSON said, he had not the honour of hearing his hon. Friend. At any rate, for a considerable period no hon. Gentleman on the other side of the House had taken part in the discussion at all, and there appeared to be some difference of opinion on the Front Bench. He had never been an Obstructionist himself, nor had he taken part in any kind of obstruction; but he thought this was a most serious matter; and, in his opinion, there ought to be an adjournment, at all events, in order that the question might be more fully considered. When the proper time came he should move the Amendment of which he had given Notice; but he thought it would be much better if, after a little adjournment, the Chancellor of the Exchequer would find himself prepared to say that, on the whole, this legislation was introduced in order to get over the cab difficulty that was said to exist in the boroughs, and was not directed to the railway question at all. The most satisfactory course would be for the Government to meet the difficulty themselves by adding a few words to the clause. He had not heard any right hon. Gentleman or hon. Gentleman justify for one moment, as a thing to be desired, the payment of these railway fares, although they had said something about assimilating the law in the boroughs to that in the counties.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL (SIR HARDINGE GIFFARD) was extremely sorry that he had not been able to make himself understood to the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. W. E. Forster); but he had endeavoured, to the best of his ability, to explain his view of the law, and he had thought that most hon. Gentlemen understood him. The reason he differed with the hon. and learned Member for Coventry (Sir Henry Jackson) was this—The hon. Member stated that an Election Judge, if he came to the conclusion that the

law had been persistently disobeyed, and that voters had been conveyed to the poll, might hold that, although that was a corrupt practice, it was not affected by the statute. Now, that question had deliberately come before the Judges, who gave a long judgment on the subject, and had pointed out that the operation of the clause was not of such a character as to void the seat. He was sorry that it should be understood that, in making that statement, no one could discover what his view of the law was. He did not believe that there was any difference of opinion either between himself and his hon. and learned Friend the Attorney General, or his right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer. The question altogether turned upon the use of the word "conveyance." If they paid money to a voter to induce him to vote, and the man put the money in his pocket—in such a case as the hon. and learned Member for Denbigh (Mr. Osborne Morgan) had pointed out—although the man did not vote at all, they had done that which was not an offence against this section, but an offence against the law of bribery and corruption. The primary meaning in the minds of the framers of the statute was that if a carriage went to a voter's door and brought him to the poll, it would not be illegal; but if they paid money to the voter himself, for securing his conveyance to the poll, or paid a voter for the hire of his carriage, that would be illegal. The case of paying the railway company, and giving the voter a ticket which had enabled him to go to the poll, would probably be in the same category as conveying the voter in a carriage from his own door. It would be the same as paying the carman the fare of the person he was to bring to the poll. Hon. Members seemed to think that there was some great difference between himself (the Solicitor General) and the hon. and learned Attorney General, because his hon. and learned Friend had expressed his opinion that there was no difference between a railway carriage and any other carriage. He (the Solicitor General) never supposed there was. He was sure his hon. and learned Friend the Attorney General never would have said that to give an out-voter money for the purpose of going to the poll would not have been bribery, because it had been held to be bribery, and had

affected the seat on more than one occasion. That was the distinction he had endeavoured to point out.

MR. W. E. FORSTER was afraid that he was very dense, but he certainly did not yet quite comprehend the matter. When he first heard the remarks of the hon. and learned Solicitor General, he thought the hon. and learned Gentleman was drawing a distinction between railway passes and cab hire in this way, that the voter in the one case might be conveyed actually to the poll. But there was a remark made by the hon. and learned Gentleman just now, in which he spoke of conveyance to the poll generally. He (Mr. W. E. Forster) presumed the Committee were to understand that if this clause were repealed, which did, in the Solicitor General's mind, make it illegal to convey the voter to the poll in boroughs, there would be a different state of matters, and what was illegal now would become legal?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL (Sir HARDINGE GIFFARD): Exactly.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE said, it was difficult to understand what the hon. and learned Solicitor General really meant, because the hon. and learned Gentleman had already expressed two opposite and distinct views upon the question. He (Mr. Shaw Lefevre) quite understood the second opinion of the hon. and learned Gentleman, and he thought it was the right one. He ventured, however, to think from the discussion which had taken place, that the clause in the Representation of the People Act was not so nugatory nor so useless as was generally supposed. If it had not entirely stopped the employment of cabs at borough elections, it had, at all events, put an end to the giving of railway tickets for the conveyance of the out-voters to the poll. According to his own experience, that practice had actually ceased, and was never resorted to in a borough election now. He certainly never heard of a case at the last General Election. He would, therefore, venture to ask the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer whether, after the discussion which had taken place, and seeing that the clause was not so nugatory as the Committee supposed it had been—on the whole, it would not be wise now to abandon the Bill altogether?

The Solicitor General

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER did not see that anything had occurred that made it at all desirable to abandon the Bill, or even to report Progress. The point was one which might be reserved for consideration upon the Report, as far as it related to boroughs. The main object of the Bill had been accepted by the House on the second reading, and he thought the Committee would now do well to accept and pass the clause so as to provide for the conveyance of voters from their homes to the poll. That, he took it, would be the principal effect which this section would have. With regard to the question whether it was legal to give the money to the voters to enable them to pay their fares, he had always understood that they might give railway tickets, but that they might not give money. Where a cab was employed, it was not considered wrong to offer a voter a seat in such cab; but they might not give him a shilling to enable him to hire a cab for himself. He thought that was the point which was really under consideration now, and as it was a simple one, there was no reason whatever for reporting Progress. They were perfectly in a position to proceed with the Bill, and, if necessary, they could introduce a clause on the Report to limit the section to the conveyance of voters to the poll within the boroughs.

MR. MONK understood, from what the right hon. Gentleman had stated, that no matter how large a number of the constituents of a borough might have gone to distant places, if this clause of the Representation of the People Act were repealed, it would be competent for the candidate to send railway tickets to them to enable them to return to their homes and proceed to the poll. If that were the case, he was afraid they would find that when an election was approaching, a large number of the electors would avail themselves of the opportunity of visiting their friends at a distance, in order that they might be brought back at the expense of the candidates. If the Committee assented to the proposal of Her Majesty's Government, they would, in his opinion, open the door for bribery and corruption still wider, and he thought it should be their object to put an end to such practices altogether.

SIR EARDLEY WILMOT said, with reference to the observation of the hon.

and learned Member (Sir Henry Jackson) that no one on his side had risen to support the Bill, that he had already addressed the House at considerable length upon it. On reading the two statutes, he had no doubt whatever that in repealing the Act of 1867 they would place the borough voters exactly in the position they were placed in by the Act of 1863 in regard to conveyances to the poll. Under the clause now proposed by Her Majesty's Government, it would be perfectly legal to pay for the conveyance of voters by railway tickets from any part of the Kingdom to the poll. He was, therefore, glad to hear the suggestion of the Chancellor of the Exchequer that it would be better not to report Progress, but to hold out the promise of a specific section making it illegal to convey voters to the poll from places outside the borough at great distances. He agreed that to legalize such conveyance might open the door to bribery.

MR. W. E. FORSTER said, he should like to have it thoroughly understood whether Her Majesty's Government did hold out that promise to the House or not?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: Yes, I do.

MR. W. E. FORSTER would, in that case, recommend his hon. Friend the Member for Dundee not to take a division upon his Motion for reporting Progress.

MR. E. JENKINS remarked, that the point at issue did not arise alone upon the question of the payment of railway fares; but there was another question in regard to the duration of this clause. Before he consented to withdraw the Amendment, he wished to know whether the Government would consent to make the duration of the clause coincident with the duration of the Bill?

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE said, the proposal was not only to cover railway fares, but the hire of carriages, cabs, and conveyances of every kind.

MR. DILLWYN remarked, that the Government, in two important particulars, had already consented to alter the Bill. They had agreed to exclude Ireland and Scotland from the operation of the measure; and in regard to other matters, the hon. and learned Gentleman the Solicitor General seemed to be unable to master the provisions of the Bill.

Considerable doubts appeared to prevail in his mind, and, under those circumstances, he was of opinion that it was desirable to report Progress and ask leave to sit again. It would be folly to go on now upon the assumption of the request laid down by his hon. Friend the Member for Dundee, that they were not to do this unconstitutional act for more than an experiment. He certainly thought they ought not to consent to replace permanently an important clause of the Representation of the People Bill, which had worked well for so many years.

MR. NEWDEGATE hoped that the hon. Member for Dundee would not press the Amendment, because they had now a distinct promise from the Government that the objections which had been urged against the clause should be compensated, and that another clause should be introduced to meet these objections. He failed to see what further object could be gained by reporting Progress.

MR. E. JENKINS said, the hon. Member for North Warwickshire did not seem to understand that there was a second point—namely, that this clause in a temporary Bill would replace permanently a section of the Act of 1867. He did not understand the Chancellor of the Exchequer to have made any statement in regard to that point, or that he had even promised to consider it.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER did not see how any change could be made in that respect. What he said was that the Bill itself was a Bill of a temporary character. It would be necessary in another year, or before 1881, to review the whole question; and, therefore, this provision would be brought under consideration then.

MR. E. JENKINS thought it should be clearly understood that, if this Bill expired in 1881, the clause of the Representation of the People Act would still remain repealed.

MR. W. E. FORSTER said, there would be no difficulty in inserting a clause in the present Bill to provide that the measure, which was generally looked upon as a Bill to alter the Corrupt Practices Act, should be made to expire at the same time as the Corrupt Practices Act. Nothing could be easier than to make the repeal of the clause of the Representation of the People Act expire at the same time. It was not

unreasonable to ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer to do this, because it was perfectly evident that he had brought in the Bill in the belief that the clause would expire at the same time as the Corrupt Practices Act. As that was the original intention of the Government, it was by no means unreasonable to ask them to adhere to it.

Question put, and *negatived*.

Question put, "That those words be there added."

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 28; Noes 47: Majority 19.—(Div. List No. 44.)

SIR HENRY JACKSON expressed every confidence in the promise given by the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer; but would suggest that if they could introduce a form of words in Committee, instead of leaving the Amendment for Report, it would be better and more convenient every way. Without wishing to insist on the precise phraseology, he proposed that an addition should be made as follows:—"So far as regards the conveyance of voters by cabs or carriages within any borough." This would confine the operation of the repeal of the clause to that part upon which the Committee seemed agreed—that was to say, it would repeal only that part of the Representation of the People Act so far as the section in that Act prohibited the conveyance of cabs and carriages within the borough. It would not repeal the Act so far as it related to the prohibition to the conveyance of voters by railway or steamer, or the conveyance of voters from afar. Lawyers were always in favour of expressing a meaning by a Proviso; but, as the hon. Member for Reading (Mr. Shaw Lefevre) had said, the limitation to railway fares might be inconvenient. He wished to raise the point, and get the views of the hon. and learned Gentleman the Solicitor General, and, if possible, the principle conceded.

Amendment proposed,

In page 1, line 19, after the word "repealed," to add the words "so far as regards the conveyance of voters by cabs or carriages within any borough."—(*Sir Henry Jackson.*)

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL (Sir HARDINGE GIFFARD) said, that as at present advised, he should suggest that the words "by cabs or carriages" should

be struck out of the Amendment, and then it would read, "so far as regards the conveyance of voters within any borough." But he hesitated to accept the Amendment formally without some further consideration. It would be better, he thought, to bring up an Amendment on Report; but at present he could only say that, with the words to which he had referred struck out, he saw no objection to the Amendment.

SIR HENRY JACKSON was ready to omit the words "by cabs or carriages." The hon. and learned Gentleman, however, would see the difference between his bringing up an Amendment on Report, and the Government undertaking to do so. If the hon. and learned Gentleman would agree to have an Amendment drafted confining the repeal to what was done within the borough, then he would give his word to give no further trouble in the matter. He thought it would be more convenient and business-like to adopt an Amendment now.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER had no objection to putting on record the intention and meaning of the clause. He would accept the Amendment in the following form:—"So far as regards the conveyance of voters within any borough." But this was with the understanding that, if found necessary, they would make an alteration on Report.

Amendment *amended*, and *agreed to*; words *inserted* accordingly.

MR. E. JENKINS moved the addition of the words, to the words just added, "only during the continuance of this Act." This would limit the operation of the clause to the time the Act was in force.

Amendment proposed, at end of the Clause, to add the words "but only during the continuance of this Act."—(*Mr. E. Jenkins.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL (Sir HARDINGE GIFFARD) could not accept the Amendment. More than once during the discussion the condition of things had been explained. When the Act expired, the whole question must be re-considered, and this, among other subjects, must necessarily come under discussion.

SIR EARDLEY WILMOT believed that when this Act expired, then that part of the old Act which had been repealed would revive.

MR. E. JENKINS said, this did not agree with the opinion of the Solicitor General; and having so high an authority at his back, and the hon. and learned Member for Coventry (Sir Henry Jackson) on the same side, he might well be anxious to have the matter placed beyond doubt. Would it be fair and reasonable to repeal this section suddenly, when it was adopted after two nights of discussion? It would not be right to repeal the section permanently by this single clause, and the Amendment marked the clause as one of a temporary character.

MR. CHADWICK said, if the expiry of the clause in the temporary Act allowed the repealed clause in the old Act to revive, there was no need of the Amendment.

Question put.

The Committee divided:—Ayes 24; Noes 39: Majority 15.—(Div. List, No. 45.)

MR. DODSON put a question as to the interpretation of the Act. As he understood the case, the majority had just voted with the intention that the repeal of the 36th section of the Representation of the People Act should be a permanent repeal? [In that case he would ask the hon. and learned Solicitor General's attention to the 3rd clause of the Bill, which recited that this Act, and the Acts mentioned in the Schedule, should continue in force until December 31, 1881. Then, when this Act repealing the 36th section of the Representation of the People Act expired on December 31, 1881, did not the repeal expire, and would not the 36th section be revived?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL (Sir HARDINGE GIFFARD) said, this was a point which had often been before the Courts of Law, and he should hesitate to decide it. It might be argued on the one side that the repealed Act could not revive; and, on the other side, it might be said that inasmuch as the repealing Act itself expired by the effluxion of time, the old Act revived. This question had been repeatedly discussed in Courts of Law since Lord Brougham's death,

and he was not prepared to say how the decision would be in this instance.

MR. W. E. FORSTER said, did the Government really propose to pass a Bill, leaving it absolutely uncertain, and admitting of long discussion and equally strong argument on either side, and upon which the hon. and learned Solicitor General did not express an opinion? The whole object of the Bill was to repeal this particular clause in the old Act; there was nothing else in the Bill; and yet the Government had brought it in with such a knowledge of its real meaning, that the Solicitor General said there might be endless discussions as to whether or not the clause would re-appear at the end of 1881.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER understood this was a mere academic or legal question as to the effect of the clause. But, with regard to the intent and meaning of the Bill, he could but repeat what had been said five or six times, this was a temporary Act, expiring in 1881, and the effect of that would be to bring the whole system under review before that time, and the question of the conveyance of voters would naturally arise and be considered then.

MR. DODSON said, that might be the intention of the Government; but, in passing a Bill, the House should, as far as in them lay, express the views and intention of Parliament in passing it. It was never the intention to pass an Act concerning which the hon. and learned Solicitor General, a legal authority and Adviser of the Government, said it was a disputed point in Courts of Law, and so supported with equal argument on both sides, or, at least, by such good arguments on both sides, that he declined to give his own opinion. In view of his silence, it was a nicely balanced question, and were they to go deliberately out of their way to pass a Bill of this character? The Government were bound, at least, to insert words in the Bill to make its intention clear.

SIR HENRY JACKSON said, this legal problem was one they were not unfamiliar with in the Courts, and over and over again it had been debated in reference to the network of Acts. But he desired to know what was the meaning of the few words in the clause fol-

lowing the words "as far as unrepealed until 1881?" There was, no doubt, some latent meaning, but it was not clear to him.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL (Sir HARDINGE GIFFARD) explained that it was undesirable, as part of an Amending Act, dealing with the Corrupt Practices Act—the Act of 1871, 1879, and so forth, that they should be repealed, or allowed to expire, without protecting them by the latter part of this clause.

Question put, "That the Clause, as amended, stand part of the Bill."

The Committee *divided*: Ayes 36; Noes 25: Majority 11.—(Div. List, No. 46.)

Clause 3 (Continuance of Act), *agreed to*.

THE CHAIRMAN said, a further Amendment which the hon. and learned Member for Beaumaris (Mr. Morgan Lloyd) had put upon the Paper was not in Order, and could not be put. It was not within the scope of the Bill.

DR. CAMERON wished to move an Amendment, to leave out the expenses of conveying country voters and the payment of railway fares. In effect, the Amendment would reverse the action of the Bill; but, if it was in Order, he thought it desirable that it should be put. One argument in favour of the Bill was, that it was impossible to keep the law in an undecided state, and it had been said it was a matter of little consequence which way the law was altered; but he thought it was a matter of considerable consequence.

THE CHAIRMAN said, the objection that the Amendment would reverse the action of the Bill was fatal to it. It sought to make the effect of the measure the opposite to the form in which it came from the House, and, therefore, it was irregular.

DR. CAMERON said, perhaps the best way would be to bring it up on Report.

Schedule *agreed to*.

House *resumed*.

Bill *reported*; as amended, to be considered *To-morrow*.

Sir Henry Jackson

FRAUDULENT DEBTORS (SCOTLAND)

BILL—[BILL 94.]

(The Lord Advocate, Mr. Secretary Cross.)

SECOND READING. ORDER DISCHARGED.

BILL WITHDRAWN.

Order for Second Reading read.

THE LORD ADVOCATE (MR. WATSON) said, he was in hopes that this Bill, which was very generally approved of by the mercantile community of Scotland, and which would be a check upon fraudulent debtors, might have been passed; but as it was impossible to make any progress with it under present circumstances, he felt it his duty to move that the Order be read and discharged.

MR. ANDERSON wished to say why he had put down a Notice of opposition to the Bill. He admitted that the measure was approved of by a great part of the mercantile community; but he disputed that it was approved by all or by the rest of the community. At the same time, he should not have objected to the Bill, if it had followed the lines of the English Act on the same subject. They passed in 1869 an Act for the punishment of fraudulent debtors, a thing which he was most desirous of doing; but he wanted to do it, now for Scotland on the same lines that it was done in England. The first thing they did in the English Act was to abolish imprisonment for mere debt. By that means a wide distinction was drawn between fraudulent debt and simple debt, and it was made possible to punish and attach a stigma to debt that was in any shape fraudulent. The Lord Advocate had followed the lines of the English Act in everything but that one feature; he had failed to take in the clause abolishing imprisonment for mere debt. Consequently, although there was no imprisonment for debt in England, the Lord Advocate meant to retain imprisonment for debt in Scotland. Not only did he consider that a most improper thing to do; but he considered it utterly baffled the attempt of the right hon. and learned Gentleman to punish fraudulent debt, because, at present, creditors could imprison debtors in Scotland for any length of time—it might be 20 years. By this Bill it was proposed to imprison fraudulent debtors for two years. Well, where was the stigma there? People outside did not draw fine distinctions.

MR. SPEAKER pointed out that the Bill was not before the House. The Lord Advocate had moved that the Order be discharged, and, therefore, it was irregular to discuss the merits of the Bill.

MR. ANDERSON said, he bowed to the decision of the Chair.

Motion agreed to.

Order discharged; Bill withdrawn.

PROBATES OF WILLS, &C. BILL, AND CUSTOMS AND INLAND REVENUE BILL.

Ordered, That the Probates of Wills, &c. Bill, and the Customs and Inland Revenue Bill, be committed to the same Committee.

Instruction to the Committee, That they have power to consolidate the two Bills into one Bill.

SINKING FUND ACT (1875).

NATIONAL DEBT BILL.

Resolution [March 15] *reported*, and *agreed to*:—Bill *ordered* to be brought in upon the said Resolution by Mr. RAIKES, Mr. CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER, and Sir HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 115.]

WAYS AND MEANS.

EXCHEQUER BILLS AND BONDS BILL.

Resolutions [March 15] *reported*, and *agreed to*.

Instruction to the Gentlemen appointed to prepare and bring in a Bill, upon the Resolution this day reported from the Committee of the whole House upon "The Sinking Fund Act, 1875," That they do make provision therein pursuant to the First Resolution.

Bill *ordered*, upon the Second, Third, and Fourth Resolutions [reported this day], to be brought in by Mr. RAIKES, Mr. CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER, and Sir HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 116.]

House adjourned at a quarter after Nine o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Wednesday, 17th March, 1880.

MINUTES.]—PRIVATE BILLS—*Third Reading*—Rammingen's Naturalization*; Katz Naturalization*, and *passed*.

PUBLIC BILLS—*Second Reading*—Blind and Deaf-Mute Children* (39).

Committee—*Report*—Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (Banbridge, &c.)* (25).

Report—Hypothec Abolition (Scotland) (34-49).

HYPOTHEC ABOLITION (SCOTLAND) BILL—(No. 34.)

(The Earl of Haddington.)

REPORT OF AMENDMENTS.

Amendments *reported* (according to Order).

THE LORD CHANCELLOR said, there was an Amendment made yesterday in the 1st sub-section of the 2nd section, dealing with the landlord's remedy when six months' rent was due and unpaid, and providing that the tenants who were removed or ejected should not forfeit rights to which they were entitled. He proposed to make two Amendments upon that Amendment to better meet the case. After the provision that where the tenant was removed or ejected, he should not be liable to pay rent for more than the period between the previous term and the date of removal, the following was inserted:—

"Provided always, that where any away-going crop to which a tenant is entitled is immature at the date of such removing or ejection, neither the tenant, nor anyone deriving right through him, shall be entitled to carry away such crop at maturity until payment shall have been made to the landlord of the proportion of rent efferring to the period between the date of removing or ejection and the separation of such crop from the ground."

The objections to that were, he understood, two. The first was, that, taking the words literally, it would make the tenant pay larger rent on the whole of his holding, and not merely rent on that part of the holding occupied by the crop. The second was, that the tenant, under this clause, taking away the crop at maturity in the month of August or September, would only pay a fraction of the rent by August or September, and would not pay the rent up to the end of the half-year following. And this case had been put—that there might be land which was only valuable for the whole year, and, therefore, that the value of that crop represented the value of the land for the whole year. He did not think, however, that it was possible to provide that the tenant taking away the crops at maturity should be obliged to pay rent, not only up to the end of the current term, but up to the end of another term. It would be quite right that if he took away the crop at maturity he should pay up to the end of the term, if

the incoming tenant had no property in the land till the end of it; but he thought it should only be for that part of the land occupied by the crop. The first of the two Amendments he proposed was, that they should insert after the word "effeiring" the words "to the land under such crop for the period," &c. That would meet the first objection. The second objection would be met by leaving out the words "and the separation of such crop from the ground," and substituting—

"And the next term of Martinmas, the rent of such land being estimated, unless otherwise expressly stipulated, according to the average rent of the whole land from which the tenant has been so removed or ejected."

LORD BLANTYRE made another appeal for the delay of the measure, which he thought should not be pressed forward that Session. Thirty out of 60 lines which made up the Bill had been altered since Monday. Scotland had not seen the Bill; the county meetings there would take place next month, and it would be well to have their opinions thereon. He represented that if they did away with the security which the crop at present afforded for the payment of the rent of a farm, and substituted the caution of one man for another, they would cover the land with cautioners. He argued that it was the interest of the Conservative, as of any other Party, to pass measures of permanent utility, and not merely of temporary popularity. He still considered the Amendment of which he had given Notice was just, and that the Lord Chancellor's alterations would not meet his objection, which was that, by the Bill, the tenant, after ejection, might retain the waygoing crop, which occupied two-thirds of the farm, on paying merely a proportion of the year's rent for the time between his ejection and the removal of the crop from the ground, leaving the landlord without security for the remainder of the year's rent. Either the ejection ought to be from the whole farm, with compensation to the tenant for seed, labour, and manure on unripe crops, or, if he was allowed to retain the waygoing crop, he should pay the year's rent of the land it had occupied before he removed it. It was to be borne in mind that when the tenant was ejected he was six or 12 months in arrear; and to allow him to add considerably more to this unse-

cured debt to his landlord would be unreasonable.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR reminded their Lordships that the Bill only applied to future arrangements, and if it was not satisfactory to any particular man, it would be competent for him to make such arrangement by convention as would suit his particular estate. It would be utterly impossible to introduce into a general measure applying to the whole country a provision that a tenant taking away a crop in the month of August or September should be sentenced to pay rent, not only up to Martinmas, but up to the following September.

THE EARL OF REDESDALE (CHAIRMAN of COMMITTEES) said, the objection he had before taken to this mode of proceeding with this Bill was justified by everything which had occurred since; and at that present moment they were asked to agree to an important Amendment, which none of their Lordships had in their hands, which none of them had even seen, and which it was impossible for anyone to say removed the objections it was intended to remove, or did not. He had a right, at least to ask that these Amendments should be printed, and that the third reading should not be taken until to-morrow. He objected strongly to this mode of proceeding. They did not know what they were doing. He did not believe that any noble Lord in the House, except the noble and learned Earl on the Wool-sack and some of his Colleagues, knew what the proposed words were, or what their effect would be. They had had no time to consider them; and on such an important subject it would be a mistake on the part of the House, and discreditable to the Government, to press on the proposal on the present occasion.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR said, the noble Earl forgot altogether that the Amendment had been printed. The Amendment now before their Lordships was that of which the noble Lord (Lord Blantyre) gave Notice, and was placed in their Lordships' hands that morning. It was because the Amendment so proposed was not considered satisfactory, that the Government now proposed an Amendment, and that Amendment, of course, there had been no opportunity of printing. The noble Earl was a dog in the manger. He contributed not in the slightest degree to the discussion on

the Bill. He had done nothing but simply object. He expressed no opinion upon any stage of the Bill. The House would have been glad to have heard him, if he had any proposal to make on this clause or on any others. But all the noble Earl did was to object to their proceeding, without expressing himself regarding the merits of what they were discussing.

THE EARL OF AIRLIE said, there was great force in the objections urged to the clause as it stood. There was no doubt that the crop which was reaped in the autumn was used to pay rent, not only up to Martinmas, but up to Whitsunday. But the Bill only applied to future contracts.

THE EARL OF REDESDALE (CHAIRMAN of COMMITTEES) said, that with regard to the fault which the noble and learned Earl on the Woolsack had found to making these objections to this proceeding without discussing the Bill, the objection he made was that it was not in accordance with the due dignity of the House to pass a measure of this kind in the manner in which it was proposed to do it now. The objection which he took was one which he had made almost always towards the close of a Session when important Bills had been attempted to be hastily pushed through, when there had been no time for consideration. He had not taken part in the discussions on this Bill, because he did not know the Scotch law or practice; and if he wished to do anything he should wish to consult with some persons in Scotland upon whose judgment he could rely. Their Lordships had had no opportunity of that kind, and they had had no time to consider the Amendments now proposed by the noble and learned Earl. There was no earthly reason why the Bill should not be reprinted, and these additional Amendments proposed on the third reading to-morrow. The Bill could then go to the other House, and it could have time to consider their Lordships' Amendments. To proceed in the way they were asked to do—to consider something not in print before them, no one knowing exactly what it was—was not creditable to the transaction of Business in that House, and was highly injurious to legislation.

THE DUKE OF RICHMOND AND GORDON said, the noble Earl who had

just sat down was in the habit of indulging in strong expressions. He had spoken of what was due to the dignity of that House. He (the Duke of Richmond and Gordon) did not think it was due to the dignity of that House, that one holding the position of Chairman of Committees should say that the conduct of the Government with regard to this Bill was discreditable. That was language which he should not have expected to hear from the noble Earl. It was language which could not justly be applied to the conduct of the Government on the present occasion. If the noble Earl's argument was to hold good, no Amendment could be proposed on any Bill unless that Amendment appeared in print.

THE EARL OF REDESDALE: No.

THE DUKE OF RICHMOND AND GORDON: Yes; that was what it amounted to. A noble Lord opposite (Lord Blantyre) had moved an Amendment. That Amendment was printed. The noble Earl objected to the words which the noble and learned Earl on the Woolsack proposed, and it came to this—that they were to accept this dictum, that no Amendment could be made during the passage of the Bill through Committee unless that Amendment had appeared in print. Now, that was perfectly impossible; and he should have thought the noble Earl's experience would have told him that he was asking them to sanction a practice which would lead to lasting inconvenience. At the end of his speech the noble Earl said this Amendment should be printed and considered on the third reading to-morrow. That was inconsistent with what he said before.

THE EARL OF REDESDALE: No.

THE DUKE OF RICHMOND AND GORDON: The noble Earl would allow him to make his remarks without interruption, and he could make his own afterwards. He said it should be printed and discussed on the third reading to-morrow. The noble Earl was wholly ignorant of the Bill. He knew nothing about it, from the first letter to the last in it; but, inasmuch as they were legislating on a subject connected with the agriculture of Scotland, the noble Earl wished to consult those persons in Scotland to whom he could apply for the information he required before legislating. Yet, in the next breath, he said

he would be prepared to consider the Amendment to-morrow. If he required all this information from his Scotch friends, it was impossible that he could get it before to-morrow. Therefore, he repeated, the noble Earl was inconsistent in his view. There was no virtue to be secured by taking all the stages of that Bill to-day; and if it would enable the noble Earl to communicate by telegraph with his friends in Scotland as to the merits of this Amendment, then this question could be discussed to-morrow evening. His noble and learned Friend on the Woolsack had more to say on this Amendment than he (the Duke of Richmond and Gordon) had, though he entirely agreed with what his noble and learned Friend had proposed. There was, however, no objection to the Bill standing over for third reading until to-morrow, although he could see no special reason why it should not pass to-day. The noble Lord opposite (Lord Blantyre) had said something about the inadvisability of proceeding with the Bill that Session. But that was a question which they discussed the other night when they decided that they should go on with it. The Bill was looked for by a great portion of Scotland. The fact that it only applied to the future and not to existing leases made it of such a character that a landlord, who understood the circumstance of his property and looked after it might watch that the measure should benefit and not injure him.

LORD DENMAN said, that through the noble Earl's (the Earl of Haddington's) Amendment not being printed with the Bill, but separately, it was difficult to discuss an Amendment upon it, and to write it out, so as to see how the Amendment of the noble Earl would read, if inserted. He thought the Bill might be considered in Easter week, as it could only put off the meeting of the new Parliament till after Whitsuntide, which was early this year.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR said, he thought it would be more convenient that the Amendments should be introduced now, and he would take care that the Bill was printed and circulated as amended, and then their Lordships would see exactly how the Bill stood with the Amendments made upon it.

Amendments agreed to.

The Duke of Richmond and Gordon

Order for considering Standing Orders Nos. XXXVII. and XXXVIII. read, and *discharged*; Bill to be read 3^a To-morrow; and to be *printed* as amended. (No. 49.)

BLIND AND DEAF-MUTE CHILDREN

BILL—(No. 39.)

(*The Lord Norton.*)

SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading, read.

LORD NORTON, in moving that the Bill be now read a second time, said, its object was to give greater facilities for the education of blind and deaf-mute children. The Bill would give extended powers to Boards of Guardians to send pauper children to Deaf and Blind Institutions, and would also enable them to deal with those children whose parents were unable, wholly or partially, to bear the expense of sending their children to such Institutions. The 4th clause gave power to build Institutions for such children, but gave no borrowing powers.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2^a." —(*The Lord Norton.*)

THE DUKE OF RICHMOND AND GORDON said, that Guardians had already great powers, under existing Acts of Parliament, to send pauper children to certain asylums. This Bill proposed a serious extension of their powers, and he thought it ought not to proceed further. He would have important Amendments to propose to it in Committee.

Motion agreed to: Bill read 2^a accordingly, and committed to a Committee of the Whole House To-morrow.

House adjourned at a quarter before
Three o'clock, till To-morrow,
Four o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Wednesday, 17th March, 1880.

MINUTES.]—PRIVATE BILLS—*First Reading*—Katz Naturalization *.
First Reading—*Second Reading*—*Report*—Rammingen's Naturalization *.

PUBLIC BILLS—*Second Reading*—National Debt* [115]; Exchequer Bills and Bonds* [116].

Considered as amended—Parliamentary Elections and Corrupt Practices (No. 2) [107]; Customs and Inland Revenue [114].

Third Reading—Consolidated Fund (Appropriation), and passed.

Withdrawn—Sligo Borough (Ireland)* [12]; Epping Forest (No. 2)* [96].

PRIVATE BILLS.

Standing Order for the Suspension of Petitions for Private Bills.

Ordered, That where the Examiner has not reported as to compliance with the Standing Orders in respect of any Petition for a Private Bill deposited for the present Session in the Private Bill Office, such Petition shall be suspended, and the Standing Orders complied with in respect of the same shall be held applicable to such suspended Petition in the ensuing Session.

That the said Order be a Standing Order of this House, and be printed. [No. 141.]—(*The Chairman of Ways and Means.*)

QUESTIONS.

NAVY—NEW BREECH-LOADING GUNS.

MR. GOURLEY asked the First Lord of the Admiralty, If it is his intention to substitute on board any of the vessels of the Reserve Squadron breech-loading for muzzle-loading guns; also, upon what system the breech-loading guns already ordered are to be constructed; and, if, in conjunction with the Minister for War, he will be good enough to place upon the Table of the House a copy of the Report of the Naval and Military Officers who attended the experiments made with Krupp guns last autumn at Meppen?

MR. A. F. EGERTON, in reply, said, the Question might have been more properly addressed to the War Office, as that Department supplied guns to the Navy. However, he had been informed that the War Office were about to supply breech-loading guns which were made after a pattern approaching that of the French system, although not exactly similar, and that they were now in process of construction. By the "Reserve Squadron" he had no doubt the hon. Member meant the Coast Guard ships, and he could only say respecting their armament that it would follow that of the armour-clad ships in the Navy. The Report of the officers who attended the experiments made with Krupp guns at Meppen was not yet

complete, and it was impossible to say when it would be introduced.

POOR LAW — LIABILITY TO POOR RATES — OVERSEERS OF ST. WERBURGH *v.* HUTCHINSON.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE asked the President of the Local Government Board, Whether he will give the decision in the case of "*The Overseers of St. Werburgh v. Hutchinson*" further consideration, with the view to an alteration of the Law thereon, and instruct the auditors of the Local Government Board not to press such cases in the meanwhile?

MR. SCLATER-BOOTH, in reply, said, that he would readily undertake to give the decision further consideration, with a view to see whether some amendment of the law could not be introduced, and that at an early date; but he could not undertake to instruct the auditors of the Local Government Board in the manner suggested. They were judicial officers, and were bound to do their duty in accordance with the provisions of the existing law.

CRIME (IRELAND)—DISTURBANCE OF A TENANT RIGHT MEETING AT PORTADOWN.

MR. SULLIVAN asked the Chief Secretary for Ireland, If it is true that yesterday the riotous proceedings at Portadown were repeated, a peaceable meeting of tenant farmers being again assaulted; and, whether, in view of these continuous outrages, the Government will continue to abstain from directing either prosecution or inquiry with a view to bringing the criminals to justice?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (MR. GIBSON): Sir, the proceedings referred to by the hon. and learned Member only took place on Monday, and the Question only appeared on the Paper this morning, and there has not, therefore, been time to obtain an official Report. There is, however, a complete report in *The Freeman's Journal*, which states that the proceedings passed off quietly and without serious interruption, but that there was some throwing of stones, and one man was seriously wounded in the head by a stone thrown by a person who was at once arrested and carried off. Any person made

amenable and against whom there is sufficient evidence will, of course, be prosecuted.

RELIEF OF DISTRESS (IRELAND) — APPLICATIONS FOR LOANS—THE RETURNS.

MR. ERRINGTON asked the Chief Secretary for Ireland, When the Returns ordered by the House, some of them so long ago as the 10th February, relative to information as to the amounts of money applied for and granted in the various Scheduled Unions, for relief of Distress in Ireland, will be in the hands of honourable Members; and, whether he will take care that they should at all events be circulated before the Dissolution?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (MR. GIBSON): Sir, I have communicated with the Board of Works by telegram asking for information, but I have not yet received a reply. When I do receive it, I will communicate with the hon. Member, and I shall endeavour to secure that the Returns will be laid on the Table as soon as possible.

INDIA—ARMY PRIZE—"THE BEGUM KOOTE LUCKNOW."

SIR CHARLES RUSSELL asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Why the prize money known as "the Begum Koote Lucknow," has not been paid; and if he has any objection to lay the General Order relating to the same upon the Table?

MR. E. STANHOPE, in reply said, that the facts concerning this treasure were, that certain soldiers on entering Lucknow discovered some valuable articles which were decided to be not of the nature of prize money, but of treasure trove, that 25 per cent of the value of these articles had been given to the troops, and that there was nothing more to be paid. The whole Correspondence on the subject was presented to Parliament in May, 1876.

PRISONS ACT.—SUPERANNUATIONS.

SIR FREDERICK PERKINS asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Whether it is true that Thomas Box, now sixty-seven years of age and in declining health, who had been employed at the Southampton Borough Gaol for twenty-three years, and who had earned the su-

perannuation allowance of two-thirds of his salary under the new Prisons Act of 1877, has lost this rate of pension through ignorance of the strict ruling of the same, and this in opposition to a very strong desire on the part of the Corporation still to pay him the full rate of allowance; and, if these facts are correctly stated, whether Her Majesty's Government will be pleased to consider the case, and empower the Southampton Corporation to pay out of their funds the full superannuation allowed under the Act?

SIR HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON: Sir, under the 36th section of the Prisons Act the Treasury had power to grant Box as much as two-thirds of his salary, but before they exercised this power, it was necessary that the local authority should furnish certain information required by a Circular issued by the Home Secretary on December 21, 1878. The Corporation of Southampton had not chosen, until three days ago, to furnish such information, and, in consequence, Box was pensioned on the scale of the Superannuation Act, 1859. Now that the information has been received, it will be considered immediately, and if found, as I believe it will be found, satisfactory, Box's pension will be reassessed.

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS AND CORRUPT PRACTICES (No. 2) BILL.

(*Mr. Attorney General, Mr. Solicitor General.*)

[BILL 107.] CONSIDERATION.

Order for Consideration, as amended, read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now taken into Consideration."—(*Mr. Attorney General.*)

DR. CAMERON, in the absence of the hon. Member for Swansea (Mr. Dillwyn), begged to move that the Bill be considered that day month. He did not intend anything more than to make a final protest against this most mischievous and unhappy measure. It was a Bill to encourage profuse expenditure and corrupt practices at elections. In the course of the debate on this question, it was stated by the hon. and learned Attorney General that there was no moral law which forbade one to pay

The Attorney General

for the conveyance of a voter to the poll. There was no moral law which forbade him to give a voter a glass of beer; but yet that House had prescribed a punishment for undue treating. It had done the same thing to prevent corruption by the wholesale employment of vehicles to convey voters to the poll. There was no argument in favour of the Bill which could not be equally well adduced to do away with the prohibition to bribe voters with beer. The offence was as purely artificial in the one case as in the other. There was no more argument for robbing a poor man of his beer than for preventing the bribery of those who owned cabs. There was no necessity whatever for that Bill. It had been said that if the hours of polling were extended it would do away with all necessity for hiring cabs, and so it should. Yet in Southwark, where the hours of polling had been extended, more cabs were used than was ever the case in any metropolitan borough before. It was said this law was considerably broken, and, therefore, it should be repealed. But the same thing might be said with regard to treating voters with beer. Nothing was more notorious than that publican supporters of particular candidates gave beer to customers on the express understanding that they would vote for these candidates. Though the Government had been six years in power, and had come into Office after an Election when they had examples of all that could be said in favour of repealing the present law, they had done nothing till now. Even when they introduced a Bill dealing with the subject of corrupt practices, that Bill did not, he understood, contain one word of this last proposal, which, at the last moment, was sprung upon the House. There appeared to have dawned upon the Government that it would be an advantage to their monied candidates if such a clause as this were passed. No possible explanation of the change of policy occurred to him other than that the Carlton Club, or some other great money-bag of the Conservative Party, might have had some qualms of conscience in doing what was not legal; and to enable them to enter upon a profuse expenditure of money, and so obtain an advantage in the coming Election, this clause had been devised. This was undoubtedly a new form of corruption, intended to buy up the votes of an important class of

voters. He thought it desirable that the country should know that the last act of the Government in the last days of Parliament, when there was no one present to oppose them, was to pass a Bill for the encouragement of profuse expense at elections, and giving a legal recognition to a practice hitherto condemned.

MR. RAMSAY, in seconding the Amendment, said, he thought there ought to have been some notice taken of the recommendations of the Report of 1875. The Committee recommended that there should not only be a change of the law, but that that change should be exactly in the opposite direction from the one now proposed by the Government. This proposal would increase the expense incurred in every borough election in England. It was the duty of Her Majesty's Government to regard the decision of the Committee which they themselves appointed, and which recommended that the employment of conveyances should be made a corrupt practice under the Act. Hardly anything more absurd or unjustifiable than this proposal was ever submitted to the House.

Amendment proposed, to leave out the word "now," and at the end of the Question to add the words "upon this day month."—(*Dr. Cameron.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question."

MR. STANTON supported the Amendment of the hon. Member for Glasgow (*Dr. Cameron*), as he thought it would be better to leave the question open; but if the Bill should be passed, he hoped that Stroud, which he had the honour to represent, would be placed in the number of excepted boroughs, and treated as a county with reference to the conveyance of out-voters.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said, that this was the same question which was discussed yesterday; and, therefore, it would not be necessary to do more than to state the grounds for the Bill being introduced. Hon. Gentlemen belonging to both political Parties complained of the present state of the law and practice in regard to the conveyance of voters, and said that they were anomalous, and led to much inconvenience—that, in point of fact, the bringing

voters up to the poll was so general that it was impossible to treat it as a corrupt practice, without causing considerable inconvenience; that it was left to private arrangement and outside the law, and could not be taken notice of; and, therefore, the practice really led to greater expenditure than if there was proper supervision. That was what the Government endeavoured to do. Everybody was aware that in the metropolis and some large towns the whole of the conveyances were taken up by private arrangement, and those expenses could not be brought under the review of the Election Officers, and there were, therefore, no means of checking the expenses of an extravagant and corrupt election. The Government now proposed to limit the action of the Bill in the manner proposed by the hon. and learned Member for Coventry (Sir Henry Jackson)—that was to say, to the conveyance of voters within boroughs. It was not within the purview of the Bill that persons should be brought from great distances to poll in boroughs by the payment of money for their expenses. He did not think it would be possible to meet the case of Stroud in the way suggested; but there could be no very great difficulty in conveying voters residing outside that borough from the boundaries to the polling places. He hoped that the House, having discussed the matter fully, would now agree to the Bill passing this stage.

Mr. FAWCETT said, that few things had occurred in this Parliament to cause greater regret to both sides of the House than the course adopted by the Government in reference to this Bill. Of course, the Government was master of the situation, and they were completely at its mercy. They were alike interested in maintaining the traditions of fair play in the House; but not even the staunchest supporter of the Government could say that the House had been fairly treated in regard to this question. The Government, according to their own statements, must have known that an Election was imminent. It could not be supposed they were so careless as to suddenly resolve upon this change of the law. It could not be said they had wanted opportunities of bringing forward the Bill earlier. They might have devoted to it, for instance, the night they occupied in passing a Vote of Censure upon the hon. Member for Derby (Mr. Plimsoll). He

wished to place upon record his emphatic protest against the course proposed by the Government, and to express it still more strongly against the manner in which it was being carried out. The Government would be certain to receive the reward which unfairness always met with in this country. Many candidates had hitherto resisted the expense of conveying voters to the poll; but, under this Bill, all would have to engage conveyances, and the expenses of each candidate would be 20 or 30 per cent more than formerly. They ought all to unite in a vigorous effort to prevent any increase of expenses. Any change in the law should be in the opposite direction. It was said, he knew not with what truth, that the Government were expecting to get some advantage from the Bill at the coming Elections, and that arrangements had already been made in several places to give effect to the new law, and that all the cabs had already been secured. He would even, at this eleventh hour, make one more appeal to the Government, in the interests of fair Parliamentary discussion, to give up this proposal, which had come as a surprise upon the House and the country, and which could not fail to be mischievous in its results.

SIR GEORGE BOWYER said, the spirit of the Constitution was that each elector should vote, and he contended that means should be afforded to all to exercise the franchise. It was a great evil that at many elections such a small proportion of electors polled.

Mr. PLIMSOLL said, it might be inferred, from what had occurred, that one of the dearest objects of the Conservatives was to poll the full sense of the constituencies; but why, if that were so, had they opposed the extension of the hours of polling in the country when it was enacted for London?

Mr. W. E. FORSTER wished to call attention to the fact that the Select Committee of 1875 came to an unanimous resolution strongly opposed to the hon. and learned Member for Wexford (Sir George Bowyer). The hon. and learned Attorney General was a Member of that Committee, and he regretted that he was not present. He was glad that the Amendment had been moved, and, though there might be no hope of its being carried, it was well that they should protest once more against

the course taken by the Government—the bringing forward of the Bill after many hon. Members had left London. If the Members of the Government had not been in the House, the Bill could not have passed. It was distinctly against the Report of the Committee of 1875, and was a step backward in regard to political purity. The Bill would overweight poor candidates. It was quite true that the law had in some cases been violated; but it was by no means so general a practice as the Chancellor of the Exchequer alleged, for, as he had mentioned last evening, in his own borough, where there was a very sharp contest, neither side had resorted to it. There could not be two opinions that it was a bad thing for the constituencies that cabs should be employed at all. There could be no excuse for it but absolute poverty, and he did not believe that the great body of the voters were so indifferent as to require to be conveyed to the poll as a condition of voting. It would be disgraceful if the last expiring act of this Parliament was to pass a measure of which the only effect would be to increase the cost of borough elections. The Government had admitted that it would be bad for Scotland and Ireland, which had both alike protested against it; but what was bad for Ireland and Scotland was, it seemed, good enough for England. The hon. Baronet who had just sat down had stated that the Bill would only be temporary; but he could not have heard the opinion of the Solicitor General, who declined to give a positive opinion on the point. The hon. and learned Gentleman said that there was a possible doubt as to the effect of this clause, whether it would be temporary or be permanent. However this might be, it was clear the Government, with its eyes open, had proposed a clause which their own Law Officers could not interpret, although it was the great object of the Bill. He rather gathered that the Chancellor of the Exchequer was in favour of the view of the hon. and learned Baronet (Sir George Bowyer); but it could not be denied that the Government had, on the eve of a General Election, proposed an important change in the law with respect to elections without being certain whether it would be permanent or not.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said, that the intention of the

Government, as he had already stated, was that the Bill would be temporary, so that the next Parliament would be able to deal with the whole question.

MR. W. E. FORSTER said, then all he could say was that the Government was badly served by its Law Officers. It came to this—that a measure which was so bad that it could not be forced upon Scotland or Ireland for the purposes of the impending Election, could be passed for England, and if the Government persisted in forcing through this measure for election purposes, they must not be surprised if its object was thoroughly exposed.

MR. GREGORY said, he should not have been sorry if the Bill had not been pressed, but, as it was before them, he should support it: the law as it at present stood was a mere *brutum fulmen*. It was not desirable such a state of things should continue to exist, and, consequently, this Bill proposed to get rid of the anomaly. It was but a temporary measure, and should it not work well the next Parliament would have the opportunity of considering it.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE said, this Bill only affected English borough Members, and therefore the Government should give way to the expression of opinion of those Members. Admitting that the present law had been evaded, what harm would there be in permitting it to remain in force for one more Election, and then raising the entire question in the next Parliament? He declared that the employment of cabs at borough elections by the candidates was certainly not universal, and he instanced the case of his own borough—Reading—where, though cabs had been employed, they had not been paid for by the candidates, but by other parties interested in the election. The measure now forced on the House was supported mainly by a party composed of county Members. On analysing the first division of the previous day, he found that out of the 85 Members in favour of it 52 were county Members, and only eight of them were borough Members independent of the Government, who were seeking re-election. In the second division, out of the 37 Members who supported the Government only three were borough Members, all the rest being English county Members or Irish and Scotch Representatives. He again appealed to the

right hon. Gentleman to proceed no further with the Bill on this occasion.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. GIBSON) said, it had been stated that the Bill had only been supported from his side of the House; but he should point out that the strongest possible suggestions had been made by the hon. Member for Chelsea (Sir Charles W. Dilke), urging the Government to deal with this topic. The hon. Member for Stroud (Mr. Stanton), again, had asked to have his borough placed in the same position as the counties, which was going beyond what the Government proposed. These were matters which ought not to be lost sight of. At present, the enactment was openly disregarded, and when the money for cabs was paid by some friend of the candidate there was no mode of formulating and putting those expenses before the public. Under the present Bill, the effect would be that all these expenses must be returned as part of the cost of the contest, and if there was a Petition, the Judge could consider what were their nature, character, and extent. He considered that the Bill would methodize, systematize, and cause to be regulated, a system which was now carried on in a manner that was furtive, clandestine, and not at all satisfactory. Scotland and Ireland had been excluded on entirely different grounds from the case of England, and there could be little objection to the proposal, for the whole Act must come under review in the new Parliament, when the House would have had the experience of how it worked in the intervening Election.

MR. DILLWYN appealed to the Government, whether the pressing forward of this Bill was not a violation of the implied understanding into which they entered with the Liberal Party, that if no obstruction to Government measures were given no new legislation should be introduced? In Swansea he obeyed the law, and did not employ a single cab, and he could say that he had not lost a single vote by doing so. Were this clause of the Representation of the People Act repealed, the victory would be with those who had the longest purse, and those were the Conservatives; so that he was justified in denouncing it as a Party move.

MR. J. R. YORKE considered that the law, as it stood, was calculated to

keep the old, and, therefore, the most experienced, voters from the poll, as age not only brought with it experience, but also information. He denied that the Government was taking the Liberal Party by surprise, as he had distinctly heard the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the evening he announced the approaching Dissolution, state that this was one of the Bills which he would ask Parliament to pass before the Dissolution. It appeared that those expenses were neither legal nor illegal, but stood in a kind of electioneering twilight; and from his former experience as a borough Member, he would advise the House, in the interest of borough candidates, to adopt the proposal of Her Majesty's Government, for although they could not now be called upon to pay these charges at present where the law was evaded, the charge was only a deferred one, and sure to come upon them as soon as the possibility of an Election Petition got out of question. If the clause did not work well, there would be an opportunity of re-considering it. In conclusion, he regretted that the Chancellor of the Exchequer had made the concessions he had done to the Scotch and Irish Members.

MR. W. HOLMS said, that last night he appealed successfully to the Chancellor of the Exchequer to exclude Scotland from the Bill, and he thanked the right hon. Gentleman for doing so. He now ventured, in common with other hon. Members, to appeal to the Government not to press this Bill. Appeals had been made by the right hon. Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster), the hon. Member for Swansea (Mr. Dillwyn), and the hon. Member for Reading (Mr. Shaw Lefevre), and it was evident, from the statements which they had made, that a considerable number of boroughs wished to be free from the corrupt practice of hiring cabs and carriages at elections. He thought that the House should have further time to consider this question, in order to ascertain how far the law had been evaded. The right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the hon. and learned Attorney General had laid down a very dangerous rule, that when the law had been evaded, the practice should not be brought in accordance with the law, but that a new law should be made in order to suit the practice. That would give encourage-

ment to the evasion of the law. The Attorney General for Ireland had pointed out that they were not on that side of the House unanimous. He (Mr. W. Holms) found, on looking at the Division List, that the Attorney General for Ireland was entirely wrong in what he said with reference to the hon. Member for Chelsea (Sir Charles W. Dilke), and, perhaps, he would be surprised to find that on the 10th of March the hon. Baronet was to be found in a Division List voting in favour of making the present law more effective. The hon. Baronet had not supported the Government proposals, but had stoutly opposed them. In his (Mr. W. Holms') opinion, they could not come to any other conclusion than that the Government had brought forward this Bill at an untimely period of the Session, and for one purpose, that of electioneering; and, moreover, that in doing so, they were giving encouragement to bribery.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL hoped that no more time would be spent in discussing the Bill. Scotch Members were very anxious to go down to their constituents, and they wanted to go with the consciousness that the elections would be conducted on pure principles, and that they would not have to put their hands into their pockets for more money, in consequence of the new items of cabs. He had heard of a case where the candidates on each side were saddled with £2,500 for cabs alone, and he thought it monstrous that candidates should be called upon to pay such large additional sums. The hon. Member for East Gloucestershire (Mr. J. R. Yorke) had talked of this as a semi-legal payment; but, in his opinion, it was an illegal payment. [Mr. J. R. YORKE: What I meant was that there was no penalty attached.] That was what they wished to do—impose a penalty, and not methodize and systematize corruption, as the Attorney General for Ireland wished to do. If they methodized and systematized in this particular, he saw no reason why that should not be done in every case of corruption. He had always found that there had been a sufficient number of private carriages for the really lame and sick in every well constituted constituency, which were placed at the disposal of the candidates. He ridiculed the idea that the new clause in the Bill was in-

serted for the purpose of allowing candidates to bring sick and infirm voters to the poll. It was for the purpose of bringing indifferent voters to the poll. He thought it was quite unnecessary and undesirable to bring them at all, as their vote would not be actuated by proper motives, but would carry with it that influence which they all could easily imagine. He hoped the Government would see their way to act wisely by withdrawing the Bill.

SIR HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON protested against the doctrine that the Government had taken the House by surprise. It would be in the recollection of the House that, on the appeal of the hon. Baronet the Member for Chelsea, the Chancellor of the Exchequer had stated that the Bill before the House was one of the measures that would be considered before the Dissolution, and he had added that the specific object of the measure was to settle the question of the conveyance of voters to the poll. With regard to the hon. Baronet the Member for Chelsea, whatever his latest vote might have been, he was confident that last year he had favoured an alteration of the existing law in either direction. They all knew that cabs were used in boroughs, which involved a larger expenditure than if the payment were legal, because that which was done clandestinely was always more expensive than that which could be done openly. As to the argument that, as Scotland and Ireland had been excluded, England should not be retained, it ought to be remembered that the original Bill of the Government did not apply to Scotland and Ireland at all. Whether the clause was to be permanent or not, the whole question must come under review on a future occasion. He considered that the Chancellor of the Exchequer was fully justified in bringing in the Bill. It was merely for Party motives that an attempt was now being made to accuse the Government of a violation of an implied understanding which had never existed.

MR. CAMPBELL - BANNERMAN remarked, that the subject had never troubled him in the constituency which he represented. Upon reference to the Division List, he found that the hon. Member for Chelsea (Sir Charles W. Dilke) voted for making the law more stringent, not for relaxing it. In his

(Mr. Campbell-Bannerman's) opinion, the employment of conveyances would open the door to bribery, and this view was supported by the evidence of Mr. Spofforth, given before the Committee on Corrupt Practices. He protested against the Government, in their last days, bringing in a Bill to facilitate corrupt practices.

GENERAL SHUTE said, the hon. Member for Kirkcaldy contended that the Bill ought to be given up, because there was only a fragment left. That fragment, however, was a most important one. The Bill would do only ordinary justice to the poor, the feeble, and the hard-working of the constituents in the larger boroughs. No doubt the cost of elections were far too great; yet hon. Gentlemen opposite were not justified in objecting to a few pounds being added to the costs of candidates which enabled men now virtually disfranchised to be brought to the poll.

Mr. ANDERSON said, they were all very much obliged to the Government for exempting Scotland from the operation of the Bill; but these debates would show that the law was systematically violated in England, and the idea would go forth that it was only necessary to violate a law sufficiently to get the practice of violation made legal. When the conveyance of voters to the poll was made legal in England, he wished to know how it would be possible for Scotch constituencies to conduct elections without employing cabs? Some candidates with longer purses than others would certainly introduce them, and most likely the practice would thus become universal in Scotland. The only way out of the difficulty was to insert a penalty in the law as it at present stood. The measure did not touch the Scotch Members directly, though it did indirectly, and they would continue to throw in their opposition with that of the English Members as strongly as ever.

LORD JOHN MANNERS said, that the hon. Member for Glasgow (Mr. Anderson) had told the House that there was only one way to deal with the practice, and that was to put a stringent penalty upon it. So that what was legal, permitted, and even encouraged, in every county of England, Ireland, and Scotland, and in several boroughs in England, was to be rendered not only illegal, but punishable, in the English

boroughs. No Parliament, whether a moribund Parliament, as this was said to be, or a new Parliament, would put on the Statute Book so anomalous and unjust a law. It was said that the whole Liberal Party was against this measure. That was not at all an accurate statement of the case. On the second reading, when the principle was at stake, there was an important division, and he had extracted from the Division Lists the names of a number of Liberal borough Members who had voted for the Bill. The right hon. Member for Sandwich (Mr. Knatchbull-Hugessen) was a considerable authority with the Liberal Party, and he voted for the second reading. Or was the right hon. Gentleman no longer a Member of the Liberal Party? There also voted for the second reading the hon. Member for Stroud (Mr. Stanton), the hon. Member for Carlisle (Mr. H. O. Lewis), the hon. Member for Sunderland (Mr. Gourley), the hon. Baronet the Member for Rochester (Sir Julian Goldsmid), the hon. Member for Darlington (Mr. Backhouse), and the hon. Member for Dundalk (Mr. Callan). All these being borough Members sitting on the Liberal side of the House, he ventured to protest in the strongest manner against the statement that the Liberal Party were all opposed to the Bill.

Question put.

The House *divided*: — Ayes 57; Noes 34; Majority 23. — (Div. List, No. 47.)

Main Question put, and *agreed to*.

Bill, as amended, *considered*.

DR. CAMERON, in moving the insertion of the following new Clause:—

(Conveyance of voters to the poll.)

"From and after the passing of this Act it shall not be lawful for any candidate at any Parliamentary Election for any borough, directly or indirectly, to provide carriages or any other means of conveying voters to the poll, and any such candidate wilfully acting in contravention of this enactment shall be guilty of a corrupt practice within the meaning of the Acts mentioned in the Schedule to this Act,"

urged the Government to re-consider their determination to proceed with the Bill as it at present stood, and hoped they would accept the new clause he had proposed. That clause gave expression to a Resolution carried in the

Committee which sat on Corrupt Practices, which had been supported by the Attorney General, the Attorney General for Ireland, the hon. Member for Bedford (Mr. Whitbread), and the hon. Baronet the Member for Chelsea (Sir Charles W. Dilke).

New Clause—(*Dr. Cameron*,)—*brought up*, and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Clause be now read a second time."

SIR HENRY HOLLAND said, that he had voted for the Bill in the last division, although previously he had opposed it, because it was quite clear that the principle had been thoroughly discussed, and the objections to it overruled. The same points had been raised over and over again on the Liberal side of the House in a spirit of the greatest obstruction that he had witnessed this Session. The last speech was merely a *résumé* of that which had been made before, and he protested against the Bill being talked out by such unfair proceedings.

MR. MORGAN LLOYD contended that it was the bounden duty of borough Members to offer every opposition to such an objectionable and mutilated Bill that the Forms of the House allowed. He certainly should persevere in that course. If this could be considered obstruction then he was willing to be called an Obstructionist. It was the business of the Liberal Members to see that legislation which was opposed to the feeling of the majority of the House and to the decision of a Select Committee which had recently inquired into the question, and of which the proposers of the present Bill were Members, was not forced through the House by means of the brute majority which the Government possessed, and by their method of conducting business. He considered anything they could do in accordance with the Rules of the House was not obstruction, but only a fair exercise of their privileges. He approved of the clause moved by the hon. Member for Glasgow (*Dr. Cameron*); and he hoped that opposition would be continued to the progress of the Bill unless the conveyance clause was struck out.

MR. E. JENKINS said, the line taken by the hon. Member for Midhurst (Sir

Henry Holland) was utterly uncalled for and unjustifiable. The manner in which this Bill was being forced on was in itself almost an infringement of the Privileges of Parliament. The contention that the Bill was necessary because the law was evaded was degrading and humiliating; and if it were requisite to deal with the matter at all, it should have been dealt with on the lines of the Amendment rather than by legalizing the offence against the existing law. He charged the Government with corrupt motives in pressing this Bill. A most important contest was about to take place in Westminster, where the First Lord of the Admiralty was a candidate. The cost of conveyance of voters in that constituency could not be much under £5,000, which would be a charge upon those who contested the seats with him and his Colleague. There was, however, no knowing to what extent the cars belonging to the grocers and other tradesmen of Westminster might be brought into use, and that he would regard as a corrupt practice.

MR. DILLWYN did not think the hon. Member for Midhurst was justified in his charge of obstruction. It was the duty of the Opposition, in such a case as the present, to do all they could to induce the House to refuse their consent to an unconstitutional and inconsistent proceeding. He, however, recommended his Friends, having entered their strong protest, to throw the responsibility of passing the Bill upon the Government.

DR. CAMERON begged to explain that his object was not obstruction. He would withdraw the Amendment.

Motion and Clause, by leave, *withdrawn*.

SIR DAVID WEDDERBURN moved the following new Clause:—

(Amendment of Law as to Parliamentary Elections in Scotland.)

"In all elections whatever of a Member or Members to serve in Parliament for any county, division of a county, or for any city or burgh, or districts of burghs, in Scotland, no inquiry shall be permitted at the time of polling as to the right of any person to vote, except only as follows (that is to say): that the presiding officer or clerk appointed by the returning officer to attend at a polling station shall, if required on behalf of any candidate, put to any voter at the time of his tendering his vote, and not afterwards, the following questions, or either of them:—

1. Are you the same person whose name appears as A.B. on the register of voters now in force for the county of [or for the division of the county of], or for the city [or burgh] of [or for the district of burghs [as the case may be];
2. Have you already voted, either here or elsewhere, at this election for the county of [or for the division of the county of], or for the city [or burgh] of [or for the district of burghs [as the case may be];

And if any person shall wilfully make a false answer to either of the questions aforesaid, he shall be deemed guilty of a crime and offence within the meaning of 'The Ballot Act, 1872.'

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. WATSON) said, there was no objection to the clause.

New Clause added.

MR. STANTON moved the omission of the words "so far as concerns the conveyance of voters within any borough."

Amendment proposed,

In page 1, line 19, to leave out the words "so far as concerns the conveyance of voters within any boroughs."—(Mr. Stanton.)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Bill."

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said, the words were inserted last night after a lengthened discussion, and it would be inconsistent with the agreement that was then come to for the House to accept the proposed Amendment. It was impossible to meet all the cases of difficulty such as that presented by the peculiarities of the borough of Stroud.

Question put, and agreed to.

Bill to be read the third time To-morrow.

CUSTOMS AND INLAND REVENUE BILL.—[BILL 114.]

(Mr. Raikes, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer,
Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson.)

CONSIDERATION.

Bill, as amended, considered.

GENERAL SIR GEORGE BALFOUR appealed to the Chancellor of the Exchequer to make some arrangement in the regulation of the increased charges for probate duty upon small estates. He allowed that by amalgamating the

two scales for testate and intestate, and only levying a diminished scale, the estates of the poor who often died without a will had been benefited; but even then the scale of charge was high, and he, therefore, urged a further change by which estates under £2,000 should only be charged 1 per cent. He urged also that probate, as in the case of legacy duty, should not be chargeable upon small estates until after the debts had been ascertained and a settlement of them arrived at. Further, that the probate duty should be levied only on the estates which were net £500.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL thoroughly sympathized with his hon. and gallant Friend's object, but said, he doubted very much whether at this stage of the Session the Government could, in a Bill of this complicated character, so re-cast the measure as to give effect to it. He suggested, however, that it would go far to meet the case if the limit of duty was fixed at £200 instead of £100.

Amendment proposed,

In page 6, line 7, to leave out the word "one," in order to insert the word "two,"—(Sir George Campbell,)

—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the word 'one' stand part of the Bill."

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE begged to call attention to the extent to which the new scale would aggravate the existing difference between freehold and leasehold property. Leasehold property paid probate and legacy duty; freehold paid only succession duty. He took a case in which a property would pay now £192 instead of £140 on the death of the owner of the leasehold, as compared with £27 which it would pay on the death of the freeholder. He could also mention cases in which the duty on leasehold houses would be 40 times as much as that on the ground rents under the new Probate and Stamp Duties Act. The opportunity offered by the Bill ought to have been taken by the Government to undo the extraordinary anomaly which existed; and the best way, in his opinion, would be to relieve the leasehold house property of the charge of probate duty.

MR. PAGET said, there were doubtless anomalies in regard to leasehold estates which it would be necessary to remedy at some future time, but which

Sir David Wedderburn

could not now be dealt with. The Bill, however, was a step in the right direction, and would, as far as it went, be in the nature of the redress of an inequality. In reply to the right hon. Member for Greenwich (Mr. Gladstone), he asserted that the scale did not operate adversely to occupiers as compared with owners.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER freely admitted that the hon. Member for Reading had made an interesting statement, which was well worthy of consideration when the succession duties could be dealt with; but it required some courage to deal with them, and would involve some delay, while the House declared last Session that the probate duties called for speedy action. The general effect of the scheme was to diminish the burdens of small properties and increase those of larger ones, as small estates were now very much overburdened in proportion to large estates. An owner would be likely to have a larger personal estate than an occupier; and, therefore, it could not be said that the change was in favour of occupiers as against owners. It would not be possible to do away altogether with the charge on small properties; but he thought that on properties between £100 and £2,000 there ought to be no increase. Taking the proportion of intestate to testate estates, he considered the effect of the change would be to make some increase on the latter, while as to intestate estates the new scale, in his opinion, would practically operate as a reduction. It was true that, on the whole, the new scale would considerably increase the Revenue; but still there would be a considerable reduction in the amount of probate duty to be paid on all estates under £500. He was, however, prepared to alter the rates in the proposed scale as follows:—For properties of the value of £500 and under £600, he should substitute £11 for £13; for properties of the value of £600 and under £800, £15 instead of £17; between £1,000 and £1,500, £30 instead of £31; and between £1,500 and £2,000, £40 instead of £44. This would be leaving these properties as they were at present. He hoped, when the proper time came, he should be allowed to make these proposals to the House.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn*.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE urged that all properties under £500 should be exempt. The loss in consequence of this change would not be greater than £50,000 a-year. He begged to move an Amendment in the Schedule exempting properties under £500.

Amendment proposed,

In page 7, line 4, to leave out from the word "be," to "£9," at the end of line 8.—(*Mr. Shaw Lefevre.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Schedule."

MR. PAGET opposed the Amendment. He did not see the justice of entirely exempting the small properties. He hoped that the Chancellor of the Exchequer would say that the Government had carefully considered the matter, and would endorse the view he now expressed that the moderate burthen imposed by the Bill on personalty would but partially redress the inequality of taxation which now pressed unfairly on real property.

SIR ALEXANDER GORDON called attention to the fact that what was equivalent to leasehold property in Scotland came under the same category as real property, and urged that the English law should be assimilated in this particular to the Scotch.

GENERAL SIR GEORGE BALFOUR thought £500 net amount of an estate low enough to commence to charge probate duty.

MR. CHADWICK said, it was an injustice to exempt real property from probate duty.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL said, he should support the Amendment of the hon. Member for Reading.

SIR GEORGE BOWYER insisted that there was no such unfair distinction as alleged between the charges upon personal and real property. On the contrary, owners of landed property suffered far more severely from taxation than the owners of personal property.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said, he could not agree to the Amendment, and protested against the imputation of injustice which had been made against the proposals of the Government. It was, he said, a dangerous principle to admit that small properties should be exempt altogether. With regard to the Income Tax, no doubt, small

incomes were exempt; but that was on the ground that enough must be left to a man to maintain him. He pointed out that, under the proposals of the Government, estates under £500 would be so relieved that the Revenue would lose £40,000; and if this proposal was carried out they would lose another £76,000. It had been suggested that the debts on these small properties might be deducted; but he did not think that could be worked.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn*.

Bill to be read the third time *To-morrow*.

CONSOLIDATED FUND (APPROPRIATION) BILL.

(*Mr. Raikes, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson.*)

THIRD READING.

Order for Third Reading read.

† Motion made, and, Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read the third time."—(*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.*)

MR. W. CARTWRIGHT inquired whether the Government would produce Papers already asked for with regard to the Greek Frontier?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said, the particular Paper referred to, as he supposed, by the hon. Member, was part of negotiations still going on; and it would be contrary to the usual practice to produce Papers of this character not yet presented by the French Government.

Motion *agreed to*.

Bill read the third time, and *passed*.

EPHING FOREST (No. 2) BILL.—[BILL 96.]
(*Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson, Mr. Gerard Noel.*)

SECOND READING. BILL WITHDRAWN.

Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson.*)

MR. BARING said, he wished to raise his protest against the passing of this measure during the last few days of a dying Parliament. The principle of the 4th clause was to enable the Corporation of the City of London to exchange certain portions of lands which had al-

ways been open forest, upon which they could not build, for other portions now inclosed. But he understood that the open spaces which would be given up were much valued by the people living in the neighbourhood, and it was only right that they should have time to express their opinions. It was true that no exchange could be made without the assent of the Arbitrator; but his constituents were too poor to compete before him against the wealth of the City Corporation. There was besides an ambiguity in the wording of a later clause, which might possibly authorize building on the lands acquired under the Bill. When they were re-modelling the Bill they ought to make a good Bill of it; for at present there was no penalty for bribery or intimidation at the election of verderers, and the Committee of the Corporation was at present made the arbiter of all claims to vote for the very persons who were supposed to be, in some sense, a check on its action.

Notice taken, that 40 Members were not present; House counted, and 40 Members being found present,

MR. BARING said, he had not put down Amendments because he believed they could not be entertained in such a small House. He begged to move that the Bill be read a second time that day month.

MR. DILLWYN seconded the Amendment.

Amendment proposed, to leave out the word "now," and at the end of the Question to add the words "upon this day month."—(*Mr. Baring.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question."

SIR HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON said, the Bill had been introduced as a Continuance Bill, and he believed that it would prove advantageous to the public; but, as real opposition to the measure was now offered, he was prepared to withdraw it, and to let the fresh House of Commons judge of the value of the proposed exchange of lands.

Amendment, and Motion, by leave, *withdrawn*.

Bill *withdrawn*.

House adjourned at twenty-five minutes before Six o'clock.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Thursday, 18th March, 1880.

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILLS—*First Reading*—Consolidated Fund (Appropriation)*; Customs and Inland Revenue*; Parliamentary Elections and Corrupt Practices (No. 2)* (50).

Second Reading—Valuation (Metropolis) Act (1869) Amendment* (38), *discharged*.

Committee—*Report*—Municipal Corporations (Property Qualification Abolition)* (40); Common Law Procedure and Judicature Acts Amendment* (44-51); Blind and Deaf-Mute Children* (39-52).

Third Reading—Companies Acts Amendment* (48); Hypothec Abolition (Scotland) (49), and *passed*.

HYPOTHEC ABOLITION (SCOTLAND)
BILL—(No. 49.)

(*The Earl of Haddington.*)

THIRD READING.

Order of the Day for the Third Reading, read.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 3^a."
—(*The Earl of Haddington.*)

LORD STANLEY OF ALDERLEY quite concurred with what had been said on a former occasion as to the inconvenience of bringing forward such a measure as the present at so late a period of the Session, when it was impossible to discuss it. Conflicting statements had been made as to this Bill by Members of the Government, for the noble and learned Earl on the Woolsack had said that this Bill had been so often before Parliament that everybody understood it; whilst the noble Duke the Lord President had said that the noble Earl the Chairman of Committees did not know or understand any part of the Bill. If, with his experience, the noble Earl the Chairman of Committees did not understand it, it could not be so simple a matter, and required more discussion.

THE EARL OF REDESDALE (CHAIRMAN OF COMMITTEES) stated that, after what had transpired, he would urge no further objections against the provisions of the measure. He had already expressed his opinion with regard to the inconvenience of bringing forward Bills

in that House at a time when it was practically impossible to discuss them with any effect, and he thought this was a very glaring instance, and not at all consistent with the usual practice of Parliament. The original Bill might be said to have been reduced to a mere shadow. At all events, it had been cut clean in two. The last half had been thrown away, and a new provision had been substituted by way of Amendment by the noble and learned Earl on the Woolsack, which Amendment, like the one of the noble Earl (the Earl of Haddington), on which it was founded, had never been bruited in the usual way. All this had been done within two days of its final stage, so that the people of Scotland had had no opportunity of considering the effect of the changes. Such legislation as that could not be worth very much; but whether that was so or not, he entertained the gravest objection to the practice he had alluded to, as, if persisted in with regard to other Bills, it must prove very detrimental to sound legislation.

THE MARQUESS OF LANSDOWNE said, he should be glad if the noble and learned Earl on the Woolsack would, before the Bill was read a third time, give some explanation of the concluding words of Sub-section 3 in Clause 2. The sub-section had been quite altered from the form in which it originally stood, and their Lordships had no opportunity of consulting any local or other advisers on the matter.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR said, in answer to the question of the noble Marquess, he could only imagine that the noble Marquess was not in the House on the previous day, because, had he been present, he would have heard a full explanation of the Amendment which he had introduced into the Bill. Since then the Bill had been reprinted, in order that their Lordships might consider the Amendment in connection with the rest of the Bill. It was to be understood that the words were introduced as an Amendment on the Amendment of the noble Lord near him (Lord Blantyre). From what the noble Marquess had said he thought he could not have read the Bill, as he certainly did not appear to have the least idea as to the effect of the Amendment. However, before he proceeded to point out its effect, he wished to notice what had

just been said by his noble Friend the Chairman of Committees. His noble Friend (the Earl of Redesdale) had said that one part of the Bill had been cut out; but that appeared to him to prove conclusively that his noble Friend had not read it, because it had not been mutilated in the smallest degree. The Amendment was a very simple one, easily understood, and the meaning of it was this. In the Bill, as it came up from the other House, there was a provision that when a tenant was ejected, as it was called, out of his farm in the middle of the half-year, all just allowances should be made to him, as if he were an out-going tenant who had completed his term. It was felt, however, that matters would be left in an unsatisfactory condition, unless it was stated what those just allowances should be. The only object of the Amendment, therefore, which he introduced, was to define exactly what were to be the rights of the outgoing tenant, in the place of leaving them to be adjudicated upon under a provision of a vague description. The purpose of the Amendment was simply to define for the landlord what would otherwise be left to the justices to define. Now, in the first place, if any crop had arrived at maturity, at the period at which the tenant was ejected, and he had not had time to separate and carry away the crop, it was only reasonable that he should be called upon to pay the rent of the land on which it grew. But if on any portion of the farm there were immature crops, which could not be cut or taken up, and carried away at the time of ejection, it was proposed by this clause to give the tenant all his rights in respect to such crops. When, however, they were matured, he would not be allowed to separate them or carry them off the farm without paying the rent which was due upon the portion of the land on which they grew up to Martinmas, when the land was perfectly clear. That appeared to him to be a perfectly fair and just solution of the question. That really was all. As the Bill originally stood, it was not quite clear whether, under the working of the clause, the tenant would not be made liable to pay the rent of the whole of the farm, and not simply of that portion upon which the immediate crop stood, and also that he would only have to pay the

rent up to the time of the severance; but, inasmuch as the ground would be useless to the incoming tenant until after the period he had named, it was obviously nothing but just and right that the out-going tenant should pay the rent up to Martinmas, or the end of the next term.

LORD BLANTYRE denied that the Amendment of the noble and learned Earl would meet the objection that by the Bill, after the tenant was ejected owing to being in arrears, he was to be allowed to add a further considerable sum to the previous unsecured debt to his landlord, as he was only required to pay rent for the land occupied by the way-going crop for the period between his ejection and removal of crop, say, three months; for the remaining three-quarters of the year's rent, due on the removal of the crop, the landlord would be a common creditor.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR remarked, that the particular provision applied only to that portion of the farm on which the crop was maturing, and could not possibly create a new debt to the landlord, seeing that the tenant would remove the crop at maturity, and the sale of it might reasonably be expected to enable him to pay his rent. At the same time, if the landlord wished to cover the other portion of the land, it was quite open to him to do so; and the tenant would not be liable to pay the rent for that portion of the ground which the landlord or the incoming tenant had covered.

THE EARL OF AIRLIE observed, that he did not quite understand the last provision to which the noble and learned Earl had referred.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR said, it really meant that where a tenant had by law the right to remove crops he would do so; but that where immature crops were standing it was a provision to make the tenant pay the rent up to Martinmas on that portion of the land on which they were standing.

On the Motion of the Earl of AIRLIE, the following Amendment was made in Clause 2, Sub-section 3:—In page 2, line 26, after (“always”) insert the words (“unless otherwise expressly stipulated”); and in line 34, after (“estimated”) leave out (“unless otherwise expressly stipulated”).

THE EARL OF REDESDALE (CHAIRMAN OF COMMITTEES) was of opinion that everything that had been done on the third reading ought to have been done in Committee. It was of the utmost importance that proper time should be given for the consideration of Bills; and what had happened in this instance was an abundant proof of the truth of his words that so important a question as the relation between landlord and tenant required proper time for consideration. But what had been done? A clause was introduced in the first instance; it was altered, and then re-printed. It had been brought before their Lordships, and the only two noble Lords from Scotland who had spoken admitted that they did not understand it. The Bill, in fact, had been almost re-cast; and the extent of the alterations which had been made showed that the measure required the fullest consideration.

LORD DENMAN pointed out that in case of a late harvest the tenant might not be able to clear the ground by Martinmas, and, therefore, ought to pay a proportionate rent beyond that time, to compensate the incoming tenant for the delay, preventing him from ploughing and preparing his land for a crop.

After a few words from Lord ORANMORE and BROWNE,

Motion agreed to.

Bill read 3^a accordingly; Bill *passed*, and sent to the Commons.

House adjourned at a quarter past Five o'clock, till To-morrow, half past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Thursday, 18th March, 1880.

MINUTES.]—PRIVATE BILL—*Third Reading*—Rammingen's Naturalization*, and *passed*.

PUBLIC BILLS — *Committee — Report*—National Debt* [115]; Exchequer Bills and Bonds* [116].

Third Reading—Parliamentary Elections and Corrupt Practices (No. 2) [107]; Customs and Inland Revenue [111], and *passed*.

The House met at Three of the clock.

QUESTIONS.

DISTRESS (IRELAND).

MR. SULLIVAN: As the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland is not in his place, perhaps the Attorney General for Ireland will be able to answer the Question of which I gave Notice yesterday—namely, If the Chief Secretary is correctly reported in the "Times" of the 17th instant, as having stated in a speech at York on the 16th instant, that amongst the applications made to the Government in reference to the prevalent distress in Ireland were applications "to provide every person in Ireland with a comfortable meal at all hours of the day;" and if he would lay upon the Table Copies of the applications thus referred to?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (MR. GIBSON): The best answer I can give to the hon. and learned Member is to read the context which contains the quotation mentioned in the Question, and which will show exactly what my right hon. Friend intended to convey. I read the following from *The York Herald* of yesterday:—

"But we unfortunately must admit and deplore that through adverse seasons and other causes a sad calamity now overhangs Ireland. That calamity has afforded an opportunity which has been nobly taken advantage of all over the United Kingdom at large, and I am thankful to think not only the United Kingdom, but the world at large, has come forward and displayed its sympathy with the people in its suffering. (Cheers.) We have seen that contributions have flocked in from many Continents that have succeeded in alleviating, to a great extent, the sufferings of Ireland. The duty of a Government under conditions like these is not to chill the heart of charity. It is, I should rather say, to stimulate charity. (Cheers.) We occasionally—I am thankful to think only occasionally—see it alleged that the Government should spurn charity, and see that the British taxpayer—who, Heaven knows, has enough to do to look at himself just now (a laugh)—should bear all the burden upon his shoulder; that we should spurn all charitable aid, and that the Government should undertake to provide every person in Ireland with a comfortable meal at all hours of the day without recourse in any shape or form to charity. Now the Government, I am thankful to think, not only endeavoured, but, I may say without presumption, succeeded in obviating the occurrence of a single case of starvation. (Applause.)"

MR. SULLIVAN: Is the right hon. and learned Gentleman able to say whether the report in *The Times* is incorrect, or if it is from the correct report from which he quotes?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (MR. GIBSON): Not being the speaker, I cannot say which is incorrect; but the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary has referred me to this particular speech in giving an answer.

NAVY—CASE OF ACTING STAFF SURGEON ALLEN.

MR. SULLIVAN (for Mr. O'SHAUGHNESSY) asked the First Lord of the Admiralty, If Mr. Marcus Allen, Acting Staff Surgeon of H.M.S. "Albatross," with seniority as Surgeon in the Navy of November 1870, was admitted as a patient in Haslar Hospital in November 1878, and after remaining some time under treatment was reported by Dr. Watt Ried (now Medical Director General of the Navy) as suffering from incurable disease and a fit subject for survey, with a view of his being invalided out of the service; whether it was true that such survey was not granted by the late Medical Director General; whether Mr. Allen was subsequently discharged from hospital as "relieved," not cured, and detailed for service afloat; whether, on his applying to the Admiralty for permission to be surveyed at Haslar as to his fitness for duty, he was surveyed at the office of the then Medical Director, and being pronounced fit to serve, and having taken up his appointment, his health completely failed, and he tendered his resignation in consequence; and, whether, under the circumstances, he will be given any compensation for his services, or whether his case will be referred back to Dr. Watt Ried, the present Medical Director General?

MR. W. H. SMITH: Mr. Marcus Allen, while a patient in Haslar Hospital in 1878, was recommended for survey by Dr. Watt Ried, on the ground that he was suffering from an incurable disease, but one which, nevertheless, was not beyond remedial measures. This survey, however, was not then ordered by the Medical Director General. On Mr. Allen's discharge from hospital he was appointed to a Coastguard cruiser. In accordance with the practice of the Ser-

vice, he was medically surveyed in London, and not at Haslar, as he had requested, and was reported fit for active service. On this he requested permission to resign, as not equal to the responsibilities of the position either mentally or physically. His resignation was accepted, and he never joined his ship. It is not customary to give compensation to officers who resign, nor to re-consider their cases with a view to their re-admission into the Service, for which an Order in Council would be required.

RELIEF OF DISTRESS (IRELAND) — APPLICATIONS FOR LOANS — THE RETURNS.

MR. ERRINGTON said, as the Attorney General for Ireland had not given him sufficient information on the previous day, as to the date when Returns of the number of scheduled unions in Ireland would be in the hands of hon. Members, he would ask him now to say, If he had any additional intelligence as to the time when they would be issued?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (MR. GIBSON), in reply, said, he had received that morning a communication from the Board of Works in Ireland, stating that the great pressure of business caused the delay; but the Returns would be sent in on Saturday.

CORN AVERAGES AND TITHE RENT CHARGE.

MR. PAGET asked the President of the Board of Trade, Whether he is prepared to take immediate steps to obtain further information as to the method by which the official corn averages are now taken, and into the fluctuations of the Tithe Rent Charge?

VISCOUNT SANDON: The Board of Trade during the last two years have been taking various steps to elicit information and communicate it to the public respecting the corn averages, and lately we have been in communication on this subject with the Tithe Commissioners and the Inland Revenue Department, by whose officers, mainly, the Returns are collected, and the inquiries are still proceeding. Some weeks ago my hon. and gallant Friend the Member for East Essex (Colonel Brise) informed me that he proposed to move for a Select Committee to inquire into the matter on the 23rd of this month; and I told him that, as the subject was a very

complicated one, and one which naturally excited great interest in many parts of the country, I thought it was very desirable that such a Committee as he proposed should be appointed, and that such an appointment should have the support of the Government. I have every hope of being able, when Parliament re-assembles in the month of May, to support my hon. and gallant Friend the Member for East Essex in proposing such a Committee to the House.

DOMINION OF CANADA—THE CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILWAY.

MR. W. E. FORSTER asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether there was any correspondence in 1879 between Her Majesty's Government and the Government of the Dominion of Canada respecting the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway; and, if so, whether he will lay such correspondence upon the Table of the House?

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH, in reply, said, there was some correspondence in 1879 upon the general question of the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway, but not upon the particular point to which he thought the Question referred—namely, the proposal that this country should assist by a guarantee, or in some other shape, in the construction of that railway. Some confidential and informal communications had passed between himself and the Members of the Canadian Ministry who visited England last autumn upon that subject; but those communications never assumed the form of correspondence, and led to no result.

SOUTH AFRICA—THE BASUTOS.

MR. JUSTIN M'CARTHY asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether his attention has been called to a Reuter's telegram published in the "Daily News" of Tuesday, March 16th, to the effect that

"The condition of affairs in Basutoland is regarded as critical in consequence of the determination of the Cape Government to insist upon the disarmament of the Natives;"

and, whether Her Majesty's Government has sanctioned, or intends to sanction, the disarmament of the Basutos by force?

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: I think the hon. Member is under some misapprehension as to the relative position of Her Majesty's Government and the Cape Government in this matter. We have sanctioned, more than a year ago, legislation based on the general policy of securing the Cape Colony against the grave dangers resulting from the indiscriminate possession of arms by the large Native population within its borders. But the question of the time and manner of the application of that policy to particular Tribes is a matter for the discretion of the Cape Government, who, so far, have applied it with great care and success in various parts of the Colony. I have no doubt that the Cape Ministry will continue to act with the caution they have hitherto shown in the case of the Basutos; but I think that great mischief might arise from any attempt at further interference on our part than the impression of caution upon them, for they are quite aware that the responsibility in this matter rests with them, and that they will have to bear it.

THE NEW EDUCATIONAL CODE.

MR. W. E. FORSTER, in asking the Vice President of the Council, Whether it is the intention of the Government that the Minutes of the Education Department altering the Educational Code, which was laid upon the Table this month, should be laid upon the Table of the House in the next Session of Parliament for one month before they are put in force? explained that the Act of 1870 provided that all new Minutes of the Department should lie on the Table of the House for one month before they became valid; and it was a question of doubt whether the lapse of time was to be calculated from the date of the presentation of the Minutes, or whether, in the event of a Dissolution taking place before the expiration of the month, the full period was to be completed in the next Parliament. He assumed that, according to the spirit of the enactment, the period would run into the next Parliament.

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON: I am glad to see, from the Question of the right hon. Gentleman, that he assumes that the administration of the Educational Code will in the next Parliament be con-

tinued by the present Government; and, believing that this assumption is the correct one, I will to-night lay upon the Table a Minute, by which the application of all changes, or proposed changes, will be postponed for three months; and, therefore, they will not come into effect or apply to any schools to which grants were made before the 1st of July. There will, therefore, be ample time for the discussion of the matter.

AFGHANISTAN.

MR. GOURLEY asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, If he will be good enough to inform the House how far the negotiations for peace which are reported to have been instituted by General Roberts with the Chief Mahomed Jan, have been successful, or otherwise; and, if he can state what prospects there are of an early termination of hostilities in the various Provinces of Afghanistan, and the terms upon which Her Majesty's Government hope to conclude peace?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: I am not in a position to answer the last part of the Question; but, in regard to the first, I can only say that General Sir Frederick Roberts is now taking all possible steps to ascertain the precise state of affairs at Ghuznee. The Government, however, have nothing to report in regard to negotiations with Mahomed Jan.

THE GENERAL ELECTION—GOOD FRIDAY—BANK HOLIDAYS.

MR. ALEXANDER M'ARTHUR asked Mr. Attorney General, Whether, according to "The Bank Holidays Act, 1871," 34 Vic. c. 17, any business transacted on Easter Monday will be legal?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER, in reply, said, he was informed that the Ballot Act did not refer to Bank Holidays, but only excluded Sundays, Christmas Day, Good Friday, and any days set apart for public fast or thanksgiving. It did not appear that Section 3 of the Bank Holidays Act in any way applied to elections.

BREWERS' LICENCES—REPORT OF THE DEPARTMENTAL COMMITTEE.

In reply to Mr. W. E. FORSTER,

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said, the Report of the Depart-

mental Committee on Brewers' Licences had only been sent in that morning, and until he saw it he could not say whether it was one which ought to be presented to the House.

TURKEY AND GREECE—RECTIFICATION OF THE FRONTIER.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: I wish, Sir, to ask the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer a Question of which I have not given Notice, and I hope the House will allow me to say a few words in explanation of it. I do not wish to move the adjournment of the House; but if it be necessary I will do so. The Question refers to an answer which was given by the right hon. Gentleman yesterday to a Question put by my hon. Friend the Member for Oxfordshire (Mr. Cartwright) with regard to the Papers on the subject of Greece. The right hon. Gentleman is reported to have said that certain Papers for which my hon. Friend asked could not be produced at present, inasmuch as they referred to negotiations still pending. In the debate on the Address the right hon. Gentleman went in considerable detail into an account of the transactions with regard to the Greek Frontier; and he referred in his speech to certain proposals which had been made by the Government of France, through M. Waddington, on the 19th of December, and which were renewed by M. de Freycinet on the 7th of January. He also stated that Lord Salisbury had, in the course of January, made a proposal for an International European Commission, which, in his opinion, would form a more satisfactory mode of bringing this matter to a conclusion; and he added that the result of these negotiations would be indicated in the Papers shortly to be laid upon the Table. Since that time, two Questions have been put to Her Majesty's Government by Members on this side of the House, evidently pointing, and intended to point, to the Papers referred to by the right hon. Gentleman, and the answers which were given have been such as to lead us to suppose that as soon as the Papers were complete they would be laid upon the Table, and that the Correspondence relating to these matters would be included. The right hon. Gentleman is, however, reported to have said yesterday

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that these Papers, for the production of which my hon. Friend asked, related to negotiations which have not been concluded, and therefore could not, in accordance with the usual practice, be produced. The Question I wish to ask the right hon. Gentleman is, Whether he adheres to that answer; and whether we are to understand that until these negotiations are brought to a conclusion—which the House will see may be a very long time—we are to have no further information than that which is contained in the Greek Papers already presented? If so, I think the House is entitled to some explanation why the right hon. Gentleman referred in his speech, contrary to the usual practice, to Papers which he was not prepared to lay upon the Table of the House.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: I have referred back to what I stated in the debate on the Address, and I see that, in answer to some observations that had been made, I stated the general position at that time of the negotiations with regard to the Greek and Turkish Frontier. There had been some misapprehension as to what had taken place; and in order to state what the case was, I informed the House that the matter had been lately under the discussion of the Greek and Turkish Commissioners at Constantinople, and that the details would be contained in Papers that would be very soon presented to the House. I then said that the first meeting was held on the 7th of November, and that other meetings were from time to time suggested, but were put off until the 29th of December, at which time the Conference seemed to have come to an end. In the meanwhile, on the 19th of December, M. Waddington communicated to Her Majesty's Government the proposal of a line of Frontier which he recommended, and that proposal was submitted to the other Great Powers. I then explained what took place in consequence of the resignation of the French Ministry; and I stated that M. de Freycinet had informed Lord Lyons that the French Government adhered to M. Waddington's proposal, and that Lord Salisbury had since discussed the matter with the French Ambassador, and that the result would be found in one of the Papers which would be presented to the House, in which Lord Salisbury expressed himself in favour of proceeding

by an International European Commission. I stated that the matter would be more clearly shown by Papers which would be laid upon the Table; and I probably led the House to suppose that in the first Paper that would be presented those proceedings would be included. I can hardly say from memory whether it was in my mind that that would be the case, or whether it would be possible to lay on the Table the Papers containing all those proceedings. That was stated on the 5th of February; but, four days afterwards, the hon. Member for Birmingham (Mr. Chamberlain) put a Question to me when the Papers promised with reference to the Greek Question would be laid upon the Table: and in answer to that the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs said they were in print, and would be issued soon; but active negotiations were at present going on between the Powers. Therefore, it would be impossible to lay the Papers on the Table until the negotiations were terminated. That is in accordance with the general practice, that whilst negotiations are going on Papers with reference to them ought not to be presented, and especially that they could not be presented without the concurrence of the French and other Governments concerned in the matter. I had thought, when speaking in February, that we might have been able to bring the matter to such a point that the Papers could all have been laid together, and that the negotiations would have been sufficiently advanced for that purpose. But when we were pressed by the hon. Member for Birmingham the Foreign Office found it impossible to lay on the Table those which were connected with negotiations that were then pending; and the result has been that, in order not to delay information which could be presented to the House with regard to that part of the proceedings which had terminated, we laid Papers bringing the matter down to the end of last year; but it was impossible to include in those Papers the Papers that had reference to the new negotiations which were taken up on the basis suggested by Lord Salisbury. That is the explanation of any discrepancy that may appear in the answers that have been given on the subject.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: I do not wish to be unduly pertinacious

in this matter; but I wish to make an appeal to the right hon. Gentleman, as no representative of the Foreign Office is present, to impress upon the Foreign Office to give as soon as possible so much of the Papers relating to these negotiations as may be possible. We know very well that Papers are frequently produced bearing upon negotiations before those negotiations are absolutely and finally concluded. Now, the Papers which have been presented contain no information whatever as to the negotiations with regard to Greece which have passed between the Powers. They are simply a record of the abortive negotiations which took place between the Turkish and Greek Commissioners. It is quite evident that when the Chancellor of the Exchequer spoke on the 5th of February he did not have it in his mind that any public inconvenience could be caused by the production of these despatches. If it had been otherwise, he would not have referred to Papers which he was not prepared to lay upon the Table. I cannot help thinking, also, that although the negotiations may not have been entirely concluded, and although some Papers cannot possibly be produced, it would be in the power of the Foreign Office, before the new Parliament re-assembles, to give some information as to what has taken place. I only press the right hon. Gentleman to make inquiry as to whether some information cannot be given upon this important question.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: I will endeavour to ascertain from the Foreign Office, before the House meets to-morrow, whether any of the Papers could at this stage of the negotiations be produced.

H.R.H. THE PRINCESS FREDERICA OF HANOVER.

MR. E. JENKINS wished to ask a Question with reference to the Rammingen Naturalization Bill, the object of which naturalization, he understood, was to enable the Baron de Rammingen, a foreigner, to marry the Princess Frederica of Hanover. The Princess Frederica, being an English Princess, required to obtain the approval of Her Majesty in Council to this marriage; and he wished to know, Whether it was intended that any proposition would be submitted to

the House in the nature of a demand for a dower for the Princess?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: That is a Question which should not be put without Notice; but I should say certainly not.

MR. E. JENKINS: I will repeat the Question to-morrow, if the Chancellor of the Exchequer gives only his own opinion.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: It had better be put on the Paper.

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS AND CORRUPT PRACTICES (No. 2) BILL.

(*Mr. Attorney General, Mr. Solicitor General.*)

[BILL 107.] THIRD READING.

Order for Third Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read the third time."—(*Mr. Attorney General.*)

MR. ANDERSON said, he could not let this Bill be read a third time without congratulating the Chancellor of the Exchequer on the great success of himself and his Party in constituting themselves the champions of legalized corruption. At the last General Election "Bible and beer" served the Conservatives well as a Party cry. They could now go to the country with the new cry—"Cabs and corruption."

Motion agreed to.

Bill read the third time, and passed.

CUSTOMS AND INLAND REVENUE BILL—[BILL 111.]

(*Mr. Raikes, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson.*)

THIRD READING.

Order for Third Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read the third time."—(*Mr. Raikes.*)

MR. GREGORY drew attention to the incidence of the probate and succession duties, observing that he did not think that when the whole subject was carefully inquired into real property would have any reason to shrink from the investigation. There were, however, cer-

tain details in which a modification of the existing rules was desirable.

MR. J. G. HUBBARD expressed the opinion that, amid a choice of difficulties, the Chancellor of the Exchequer had chosen to make financial proposals the least disturbing to the general interests of the country. He trusted, however, that the whole of our financial system would be reviewed in a new Parliament.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE complained that, under the operation of the Bill, the incidence of the tax was increased on personal property only. The succession duty was not above $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of the annual value; whereas the probate and legacy duties together were already 3 per cent, and it was intended by this Bill to increase them, so that they would be something like $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. The result would be that for the future personal property would pay, in the shape of probate and legacy duty, seven times as much as real property. But that was greatly aggravated by the fact that leasehold house property was treated differently from freehold, and was subject to probate and legacy duty. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, in dealing with the subject in this hasty manner, was greatly aggravating the injustice which already existed; and he (Mr. Shaw Lefevre), if he should have the honour of being a Member of the next Parliament, would take every opportunity of calling attention to the grave injustice that was caused and aggravated by this Bill. The worst of the matter was that this was not a mere temporary tax. They could not increase the probate duty without making a permanent addition to the burdens of the country, and in making it it might have been possible to solve some of the questions on which complaints were made. He should protest against the Bill in its present shape, and against the course which the Chancellor of the Exchequer had taken in introducing it at such a period of the Session.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said, he would not follow the hon. Member for Reading (Mr. Shaw Lefevre) into the questions which he raised before and had now briefly revived again. He admitted that there were some points referred to by the hon. Gentleman which were deserving of consideration at a future time. With regard

to certain details mentioned by the hon. Member for East Sussex (Mr. Gregory), his hon. Friend had communicated with him. He was aware that they were matters worthy of attention, and he would be glad to communicate with his hon. Friend to see what could be done to mitigate the inconvenience.

Motion agreed to.

Bill read the third time, and *passed*.

HYPOTHEC ABOLITION (SCOTLAND) BILL.

LORDS' AMENDMENTS.

MR. VANS AGNEW moved that the Lords' Amendments be agreed to forthwith.

SIR DAVID WEDDERBURN said, he did not wish, at this very critical period of the Session, to offer any opposition; but he would like to know what would be the effect of the Lords' Amendments?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. WATSON) explained that they only rendered the provisions of the measure more clear, and did not affect its principle at all. The most important of them only described more clearly what would be the rights of a tenant upon removal or ejectment between terms.

Motion agreed to.

House adjourned at half
after Five o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Friday, 19th March, 1880.

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILLS—*First Reading*—National Debt*; Exchequer Bills and Bonds*.

Second Reading—Committee negatived—Consolidated Fund (Appropriation)*; Customs and Inland Revenue*; Parliamentary Elections and Corrupt Practices (No. 2) (50).

Committee—Settled Land (*re-comm.*)* (32); Conveyancing and Law of Property (*re-comm.*)* (33), discharged.

Third Reading—Municipal Corporations (Property Qualification Abolition)* (40); Common Law Procedure and Judicature Acts Amendment* (51); Blind and Deaf-Mute Children* (52), and *passed*.

Royal Assent — Beer Dealers Retail Licences [43 *Vict.* c. 6]; Road Debts on Entailed Estates (Scotland) [43 *Vict.* c. 7]; Artizans Dwellings Act (1868) Amendment Act (1879) Amendment [43 *Vict.* c. 8]; East India Loan (East Indian Railway Debentures) [43 *Vict.* c. 10]; India Stock (Powers of Attorney) [43 *Vict.* c. 11]; Army Discipline and Regulation (Annual) [43 *Vict.* c. 9]; Rammingen's Naturalization [43 *Vict.* c. i].

PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS AND CORRUPT PRACTICES (No. 2) BILL.

(*The Lord President.*)

(NO. 50.) SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading, read.

VISCOUNT CRANBROOK, in moving that the Bill, which had just come up from the Commons, be now read a second time, said, it was rendered necessary by a doubt as to the existing law in respect of the conveyance of voters to the poll. Its object, therefore, was to make legal the use of conveyances in boroughs at Parliamentary elections. It made no other change in the law beyond introducing into Scotland the same declaration with regard to personation which existed in England.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2^a."
—(*The Viscount Cranbrook.*)

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY said, this was an objectionable Bill. It did not apply to Ireland and Scotland, and it was one which ought not to be pressed through for this country in the last days of the Parliament, seeing that it made a most important change in the law. It was stated that the object of the Bill was to enable people to go to the poll who might not be otherwise able to do so; but it was singularly anomalous that while this provision applied to England it was not considered necessary in Scotland or Ireland. If there was anything objectionable in the present system of election it was the expense, and this was a device to increase the expense. If anything was necessary to be done in this matter, surely the proper course would have been to make the existing law more strict. The objection to this Bill was not merely the expense to which candidates would be put, but that the employment of conveyances was a direct means of influencing votes. He could not conceive a more retrograde or objectionable step than that which was taken

by this Bill. It was a deliberate attempt to narrow the choice of constituencies, and to limit them to the selection of rich candidates; but, in his opinion, nothing could be worse than that candidates should be rejected merely because they were poor. It was to be regretted that a Bill of the kind should have been brought in at the tail end of Parliament and on the eve of a General Election.

LORD DENMAN said, that a quorum of their Lordships' House being only three the Bill might be discussed; but he objected to it on different grounds than the lateness of the Session. Noble Lords might attend if they wished to oppose any Bill.

Motion agreed to: Bill read 2^a accordingly; Committee *negatived*; and Bill to be read 3^a on *Monday* next.

INDIA—FACTORY LEGISLATION.

QUESTION.

THE EARL OF SHAFTESBURY said, that last year the Secretary of State for India held out a strong hope of legislation in India on the subject of the women and children employed in the mills of that country. He wished to ask the noble Viscount (Viscount Cranbrook), Whether the Government of India has passed any measure for the regulation of the labour of women and children in mills and factories?

LORD STANLEY OF ALDERLEY said, it had been stated in the public prints that a measure, such as that which had been asked for by the noble Earl, had been before the Indian Legislative Council, but that it had been shelved, owing to the opposition of the unofficial Members of the Council. The discussion of this measure was an instance of the necessity of having Indians as Members of that Council, as their opinion on the labour of women and children would be of more value than that of Europeans.

VISCOUNT CRANBROOK, in reply, said, he had hoped that there would have been legislation on the subject before now. The noble Earl would remember that when he (Viscount Cranbrook) spoke upon the subject last year he quoted from a Minute of Sir Richard Temple, and at that time he was under the impression that a Bill was to be brought in for the Presidency of Bombay. But the Bill was taken up in No-

member for the whole of the country, and it was sent to the different Governors of all the districts of India in order that public opinion on it might be ascertained. It came back to the Governor General in Council to consider as a permissive measure which the Local Governments might adopt or not as they thought fit. It was then referred, in the ordinary course, to a Committee of the Council, which Committee changed it to a compulsory Bill. Considerable opposition was then raised against it, and it was put aside with the view of its being again submitted to the Local Governors of the districts. He regretted that legislation had not been accomplished; but he must say that on looking through the Bill, and taking certain facts into consideration which had since come under his notice, he did not think it was one which would be applicable to the whole country. What occurred to him was this. The new Governor of Bombay, Sir James Fergusson, who had been Chairman of the Factory Commission in this country, and who was as well acquainted with these subjects as any other person, had not yet gone over to India. He would confer with Sir James Fergusson before he did go, with a view to securing a legislative measure on the subject as soon as possible.

THE EARL OF SHAFTESBURY felt much obliged to the noble Viscount, and was quite satisfied with the assurance he had just given. He should be quite content if legislation on the matter were commenced in Bombay.

ARMY (INDIA).—QUESTION.

LORD DORCHESTER asked the Secretary of State for India, Whether it is true that—

“Owing to the complete failure of the Recruiting Department and the prospect of an early campaign, the Government of India is contemplating the re-enlistment of the Native Pensioners to supply the place of the troops despatched to the front;”

and, what the numbers of those troops and what those of the Pensioners are?

LORD DENMAN moved the adjournment of the House, that he might be in Order, and said, the noble Viscount the Secretary of State for India (Viscount Cranbrook) knew that he (Lord Denman) had given considerable attention to the history of India; and he must

remark that the Army of that country was large, and that although the tenets of the Mahomedan Natives of Afghanistan were in exact accordance with the Turks, yet no attempt to raise a Jihad ever produced any effect at Constantinople. It was now well known by Mahomedans that no attempt to convert by the sword was ever made by English Forces, and that although under the Mahomedan creed such a course was formerly considered indispensable, yet that now it was not pursued by the Sultan. The proportion of Mahomedans in Hindostan was of 40,000,000 to 200,000,000; but it had been truly said by Bernier that a small disciplined army, such as Turcanis, could well maintain itself against all, and the conduct of Sir Frederick Roberts and of statesmen had turned enemies into friends in India. Bernier had even referred to the retreat of the 10,000 as detailed by Xenophon. He (Lord Denman) believed that the whole of India would be better defended from Cabul than from any other position, and that it would not require more troops for the whole of Hindostan than if they were to remain in the south. The embassy of Mount-Stuart Elphinstone could only reach Peshawur, which was then part of Afghanistan; and he (Lord Denman) trusted that a friendly feeling might be re-established amongst the Sirdars and different Tribes, who would cease from their intestine dissension, if a strong power became established.

Moved, “That this House do now adjourn.”—(*The Lord Denman.*)

VISCOUNT CRANBROOK said, that the Question of which the noble Lord had given him private Notice was one which it was very natural he (Lord Dorchester) should ask. The quotation in that Question was from a newspaper which had made certain statements in respect to the Army in Afghanistan; but the noble Lord, being himself an old soldier, must see that the present recruiting could not very much affect the immediate campaign in Afghanistan. As in England, so in India; a recruit could not be sent to the front under nine or ten months of preparation. Nor had he any reason to think that the Armies of Afghanistan were not all-sufficient for the purposes which they were intended to fulfil. On the contrary, so far as he

was informed, they were in an highly efficient state and fit for the duties they had to discharge. With respect to the Question of the noble Lord, therefore, he was able to answer it in the negative. There was no reason to suppose that any permanent steps would be taken for the purpose of raising more recruits than were required under ordinary circumstances, though he was quite willing to say that recruiting in India was not in the condition which was desirable, and would require some temporary inducement, as was frequently the case in this country in time of war. He did not mean, however, to imply that there was any reason to suppose that a permanent inducement was required to promote recruiting in India; and, as to the re-enlistment of Native Pensioners to supply the place of troops despatched to the front, he could only say that the Report was quite inconsistent with the information which he had received from India. It was not contemplated, nor was it intended in that way to supply any temporary default in recruiting.

Motion (by leave of the House) *withdrawn*.

House adjourned at a quarter past Four o'clock, to Monday next, a quarter before Five o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Friday, 19th March, 1880.

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILLS—*Third Reading*—National Debt [116]; Exchequer Bills and Bonds * [116], and *passed*.

The House met at a quarter after Three of the clock.

QUESTIONS.

CUSTOMS RE-ORGANIZATION—COLLECTORS AT OUTPORTS.

MR. SULLIVAN asked the Financial Secretary, Whether the Collectors of Customs are to be included in the scheme for the Re-organization of the Out-Ports;

Viscount Cranbrook

and, if not, whether anything is intended to be done to improve their salaries?

SIR HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON, in reply, said, the Collectors of Customs would not be affected. There was no intention of altering the present scale of salaries.

THE OXFORD AND CAMBRIDGE BOAT RACE AND THE LONDON STEAMBOAT COMPANY.

SIR GEORGE BOWYER asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether it was true that three powerful steam-tugs have been specially licensed to accompany the Boat Race on the 20th, and whether he is aware of the danger likely to accrue therefrom; and whether, in view of the fact that one of them swamped, last Saturday, a twelve-oared outrigger belonging to the London Rowing Club, he will have the licences cancelled and prevent the tugs from accompanying the race?

SIR MATTHEW WHITE RIDLEY: Sir, I understand that the usual arrangements have now been made with the London Steamboat Company, and steam tugs will, therefore, not be used. The police authorities do not license steam vessels to accompany the race. This matter is entirely in the hands of the Thames Conservancy.

H. R. H. THE PRINCESS FREDERICA OF HANOVER.

MR. E. JENKINS asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether any demand will be made upon Parliament for any grant in consequence of the marriage of the Princess Frederica of Hanover?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: No, Sir. There is no foundation whatever for such an idea.

PARLIAMENT—THE PROROGATION.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: I beg to move that the House, at its rising, do adjourn to Wednesday next. I believe the Prorogation will take place on that day, and therefore I make this Motion.

COLONEL THE O'GORMAN MAHON said, that he presumed he would be in

Order if he now made the Motion of which he had given Notice.

MR. SPEAKER: The Question before the House is that the House at its rising do adjourn until a particular day. The only Amendment which can be moved upon that Question is one to alter the day to which the House is to adjourn. The Amendment of which the hon. and gallant Member has given Notice will come on after the Order of the Day.

COLONEL THE O'GORMAN MAHON said, he should move that the day to which it was proposed that the House should adjourn should be altered for the purpose of bringing on his Resolution. It would have been perfectly inconsistent with his duty if he had permitted the House to adjourn without calling its serious notice to the extraordinary letter which had been addressed by the Prime Minister—

MR. SPEAKER: The hon. and gallant Member has given Notice of a Motion to be brought forward to-day. That Motion will come on in the ordinary course after the Orders of the Day. The hon. and gallant Member cannot anticipate that Motion.

Motion agreed to.

House, at its rising, to adjourn till Wednesday next.

Message to attend the Lords Commissioners;—

The House went;— and being returned;—

MR. SPEAKER reported the Royal Assent to several Bills.

FORM AND PRECEDENT—THE SUMMONS TO THE HOUSE OF PEERS.

SIR GEORGE BOWYER: I rise, Mr. Speaker, to Order, and I desire to bring before the notice of the House an irregularity which has occurred in the message just delivered by Black Rod, in the hope that that irregularity may not be drawn into a precedent. The Usher of the Black Rod, in summoning the House of Commons, said, just now, that the Lords Commissioners "required" the presence of the Commons in the House of Lords to hear the Commission read. That expression is one which, according to the Books, has been held to be con-

trary to the dignity of the House. The expression which he should have used was that the Lords Commissioners "desired" the presence of the House of Commons. I wish, Mr. Speaker, to ask you to state from the Chair whether I am right on this point.

MR. SPEAKER: The expression referred to by the hon. and learned Member may have been made use of by Black Rod. The ordinary expression is—"Desire the attendance of this House;" but I am not prepared to say that that expression may not have been made use of by Black Rod.

SIR GEORGE BOWYER: I can state positively that the word used was "require" and not "desire;" and I should wish you to state, Sir, whether the word should not be "desire."

MR. DILLWYN: I can certainly confirm what has been said by my hon. and learned Friend that the expression used was "require" and not "desire," though it does not appear to me that there is any material difference between them.

MR. SPEAKER: I have already stated, in answer to the Question of the hon. and learned Member for the county of Wexford, that the word usually used is "desire."

ORDER OF THE DAY.



NATIONAL DEBT BILL.—[BILL 115.]

(Mr. Raikes, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer,
Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson.)

THIRD READING.

Order for Third Reading read.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER, in moving that the Bill be now read the third time, said, he desired to correct a statement which he had made inadvertently to his right hon. Friend the Member for the City of London (Mr. J. G. Hubbard) the other night in regard to the rate of interest to be paid on the Terminable Annuities which were to extinguish, by 1885, the £6,000,000 of Debt. His right hon. Friend had rather put into his mouth the rate of 3½ per cent, the amount at which the last Terminable Annuities for that purpose were issued. But, on a careful consideration of the matter between the officers of the Treasury and the National Debt Com-

missioners, it had been decided that the reasons which led to the fixing of that rate of interest on previous occasions did not apply in the present state of the market. In the present state of the money market, it had been thought that $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent was the proper rate of interest to be fixed. In this case the effect of this operation would be that the Annuities to extinguish the £6,000,000 in ten half-yearly payments would only be £1,320,000 a-year. There would, therefore, be a smaller demand on the new Sinking Fund, and the amount of the Fund applicable to the reduction in the present year would only be £172,000.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read the third time."—(*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.*)

MR. LAING wished to remind the House of the danger which might arise in times of commercial depression or panic by the maintenance of a large Floating Debt. He thought that where the policy of the Government necessitated the occurrence of deficits in successive years, these deficits, instead of being allowed to accumulate, should be wiped off by new taxation.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Bill read the third time, and *passed.*

M O T I O N.

IRELAND — THE PRIME MINISTER'S LETTER TO THE LORD LIEUTENANT.—RESOLUTION.

COLONEL THE O'GORMAN MAHON, in rising to move—

"That this House highly disapproves of the attempt of the Prime Minister to stir up feelings of hatred between England and Ireland for the purpose of furnishing an election cry to his followers, and regards with indignation his flagrant misrepresentation of the loyal efforts of the Home Rule Party to extend the blessings of constitutional government to Ireland,"

said, he had counted on having his Resolution seconded by his noble Colleague (Lord Francis Conyngham); but he was sure both sides of the House would hear with regret that the close attention which the noble Lord had given to his Parliamentary duties in the early part of the Session had so impaired his health that he had been

obliged to demand leave of absence, and to repair to the Continent, where, he regretted, he was now unable to leave his room. Deprived of such a Secondor, he had not sought for another. In the condemnation which he desired to pass on the Representatives of the Government he wished hon. Gentlemen who usually sat on his side of the House to participate, for it was far from him to give exclusively to the Tory Party the blame which, he was sorry to say, should be shared to a certain extent by others as well as the Prime Minister and the Leader of the opposite side of the House on the Treasury Bench. A native bard, who wanted to convey his ideas of what the respective Parties in the House happened to be with regard to his unfortunate country, expressed himself in these words—

"Oh, who can look on history's damning leaf,
Where Whig and Tory—thief opposed to thief,
On either side in conscious shame are seen,
While Ireland's form hangs crucified between.
Who, Justice, who, such rival regues can see,
But flies from both to honesty and thee."

Where was that "honesty and thee" to be found? Not among the Whigs or Tories in that House. He believed that honesty and justice were to be found in the people of England and Scotland, divested of that taint and slime which these wretched political Parties attempted to cast on them. He believed the people of Ireland had only one chance—that of appealing to them. He believed that they ought no longer to come to that House to be treated with the contumely and contempt with which he had seen their Petitions treated since he came into that House. When he went back to his countrymen he would tell them no longer to burden Parliament with their Petitions, but to rely upon themselves, to concentrate their energies, and to look for honesty and fair treatment from the people of England and Scotland, and to pay no heed to the wretched squabbles of English Parties, who were playing shuttlecock and battledore with Ireland until she at last dropped to the ground and remained hopeless until they had another quarrel, and again raised her to be again tossed about. That, he believed, was the proper advice. The Premier of England had issued a denunciation of what was a mild construction of a principle which, more than half a century ago, when he

The Chancellor of the Exchequer

(Colonel The O'Gorman Mahon) took his place in the House of Commons, he had advocated, and that was Repeal of the Union. What was the answer the Minister of the day, who was an honest man, gave to his demand? He said—"Prove to me that the majority of your countrymen are in favour of the repeal of the Union, and I then shall, as Minister of the Crown, deem it my duty to counsel the King and his Ministers to take into serious consideration the demands of the majority." Then there came a change. The Whigs were turned out, and they forgot their promises, and the Tories came in, and they had given no promise; and now, how did the Minister of the Crown look on a mild construction of that original demand, which would have been recognized half-a-century ago if approved of by a majority of the Irish people? They saw how he treated it in his recent Manifesto. This country of England had been favoured by Providence in the most extraordinary manner, and no one who looked on the pages of history could deny it. Her escapes from ruin had been marked and frequent. He had no need to tell the House of the fate of the Spanish Armada, destroyed by a hurricane; but, coming home to our own time, they had in 1796 the Minister of France sending an Expedition from Brest under General Hoche, which was composed of 17 sail of the line, 13 frigates, 15 transports, and 15,000 troops, with an abundant supply of arms and ammunition for the patriots of Ireland. That Expedition met the same fate as the Spanish Armada, through the intervention of Providence. Six thousand troops certainly got into Bantry Bay; but they departed without the necessity of a shot being fired by the British troops. Then there was the Dutch Expedition, which was detained for five weeks in the Texel by contrary winds; and the other French Expedition which landed in Killala, and when a mere handful of Frenchmen defeated all the Royal troops that happened to be in the country, and were very nearly coming to Dublin. England, nevertheless, thought her hold upon Ireland insecure, and hence the legislative Union—the miscalled Union; and what were its results? That Ireland was at present in a much more dissatisfied state than even after that disgraceful Act was carried. Who

were the first men to protest against it? The Orange Corporation of Dublin, then not only exclusively Protestants, but Orangemen of the worst type. It was necessary, perhaps, to explain to the House that the Orangeman who, in England, was an emblem of liberality, was, in Ireland, an emblem of bigotry and intolerance, as if it were an ordinance of Providence that there should be no assimilation whatever between England and Ireland. The two nations were of a different race. In religion and in natural feeling there was nothing in common between the two countries; and when Parliament took upon themselves to tell the world at large that they were, indeed, competent to make laws for Ireland, and that they knew infinitely better than Irishmen what Ireland wanted, they displayed an arrogance which was really intolerable—utterly intolerable. He was standing on the brink of the grave; but if they were to be his last words, he would say to his countrymen, never submit to the insults of the Saxons, never permit them to domineer over you, but, in public bodies or private bodies, by all lawful means, resist them to the last. He would not detain the House longer. [*Cries of "Go on!"*] Well, he would occupy two minutes more by telling them what was the meaning of Home Rule. The Press of England, for what reason he knew not, had hitherto concealed what it was. This demand was represented as a demand for separation. Such, however, was not the case. Its real meaning might be gathered from a Manifesto of the Home Rule League. That Manifesto stated that the League was formed for the purpose of obtaining for Ireland the right of self-government by means of a National Parliament assembled in Ireland composed of Her Majesty's Lords and Commons, with the right to legislate and regulate all matters relating to the internal affairs of Ireland, and to have control over Irish resources and revenue, subject to the obligation of contributing a just proportion to the Imperial Exchequer. It proposed to leave the Imperial Parliament power to deal with all questions affecting the Crown and the Government legislation affecting the Colonies and other Dependencies, and all matters pertaining to the defence and the stability of the Empire at large. That did not look like severing the fortunes of Ireland from

those of England, or an attempt to dis-unite and destroy the Empire. He had been astonished to read in the papers yesterday that the Attorney General had stated at Preston that all Irish complaints were fictitious and imaginary, and that they were dreaming about their wrongs. The hon. and learned Gentlemen was, no doubt, a Volunteer—a member of the “Devil’s Own”—but if the hon. and learned Gentleman said to a comrade that he had got a prod of a small sword in the ribs or a bullet under the breast some years ago, when he was young, and all the tinkering and plaistering of the doctors had been insufficient to close up the wound, and, therefore, he was unable to attend a muster, what would be the nature of his feelings if his comrade exclaimed—“What is the use of complaining of a wound received so long ago? You must march.” Then, how could it be said that because the British Government had been treating his country for centuries, instead of days or years, in the most scandalous manner, that everyone in Ireland was dreaming? When he went back he would tell his countrymen to bide their time. As long as he lived, at all events, there would be no recourse, recommended by him, to the ridiculous insurrections which had been forced on his country once or twice; but if they were not given justice now, when the tomb was closed over him, some of the hon. Members listening to him would be quoting his words, that when the first cannon shot was fired by a gun-boat hostile to the British Flag, from either France or America, that shot would be the signal for the arrival of a Royal Prince in Ireland, sent by Her Majesty to open an Irish Parliament in College Green, and then it would be for the people of Ireland to choose their allies—he hoped they might be English, but it might be otherwise. He begged to move the Resolution of which he had given Notice.

MR. SULLIVAN, in seconding the Motion, said, he rejoiced to find that on the first occasion since his re-entry within the walls of Parliament his hon. and gallant Friend had given utterance to sentiments identical with those which he held more than half a century ago. His hon. and gallant Friend had proved himself in other days no craven in the cause of Ireland, and came there now with the snows of nearly 90

winters on his head, to make what might be the last effort of his long life in an appeal to the justice and generosity of English people. At what moment was this appeal made? The Prime Minister of England, having marked attentively the growing feeling amongst the people of this country, and amongst the educated classes, in regard to Irish discontent, determined to take this opportunity of inflaming passions of the kind that were aroused in the days of the Lord George Gordon riots. His hon. and gallant Friend had protested against such an attempt. He had pleaded, not for war or enmity between the English and Irish races, but for sentiments of conciliation and friendship. Ireland, he (Mr. Sullivan) declared, was more loyal from 1782 to 1795 than she had ever been from that day to this. Having taken his share in some of the stormiest scenes in Ireland since 1846, he could only say he never saw a moment more fruitful of hope or more conciliatory to every good citizen than at the time of the birth of the Home Rule movement. It was absurd to say that the demand of the Irish people for the control of their domestic affairs implied disloyalty to the Empire. Was Australia or Canada disloyal, or was any other Dependency of the British Crown, to which England, with that generosity which she never failed to display outside Ireland, had granted representative Institutions, disloyal? The Irish people had formulated a demand for a Native Parliament; but they had expressly left in it power to an Imperial Parliament to deal with Imperial affairs, and allow Ireland to settle her own domestic affairs. Well, that was accepted in Ireland by Conservatives as well as Liberals; but when a Conservative majority was returned the blood seemed to freeze in the veins of the Tory Home Rulers. He would be glad to see his countrymen pursue their views by steady rather than by violent means, and it had been the purpose of his life to bring the gentry and the peasantry of Ireland together, and uniting them in sending Representatives to an Irish Parliament. The movement for Home Rule quelled the insurrectionary idea in Ireland; it was a blessed message for the people, who saw that order and liberty might be gained without resorting to strife or bloodshed. He would tell the Prime Minister that there was a feeling grow-

Colonel The O’Gorman Mahon

ing throughout England that what the Irish people asked was only just; but how had their demand been met by the Government? By a declaration that England would not reason with them—she would only strike. Lord Beaconsfield said he would not even inquire. He could not rise to the Christian height of saying—"Let justice be done, though the heavens should fall." He would have his own way, and there was no chance for the Irish people, even though in the attempt to check these chances he imperilled the Empire. The American Colonies had been lost by the same doctrines as those which appeared in the Beaconsfield Manifesto, and Canada had only been retained because she got Home Rule. The Prime Minister himself was the real dismemberer of the Empire, for he imperilled it by trying to hold Ireland as the American Colonies were sought to be held. The English people were told that Home Rulers were traitors to their Queen and country. If that was so, the Government which, like the present Government, refused to remove such traitors from the Privy Council, from the lord lieutenancy of counties, and from the commission of the peace, were the blackest traitors of all. What was the meaning of the Premier's Manifesto? It was to teach Englishmen, if he could, that the country was struck at by the Home Rule Party; and if he could succeed in convincing them that their trade and prosperity would be injured, it would rouse the English working classes to hunt the unhappy Irishmen out of their towns. Lord Beaconsfield, however, had spoken too late. He could not teach that lesson to the working men of England; for, thank God, the days had gone by when passions could be roused between race and race and creed and creed. Undeterred by the threats of Lord Beaconsfield, who wanted to come back to power on an anti-Irish cry, the Irish Members intended to hold fast by the Home Rule policy, to press the demands of Ireland, and to appeal to the impartial judgment of the English people. There was an honourable name to be won by any Irish Member who at home would do all in his power to discountenance violence, while in the House of Commons he asserted with courage and fortitude the claims of his countrymen to self legislation.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That this House highly disapproves of the attempt of the Prime Minister to stir up feelings of hatred between England and Ireland for the purpose of furnishing an election cry to his followers, and regards with indignation his flagrant misrepresentation of the loyal efforts of the Home Rule party to extend the blessings of constitutional government to Ireland."—(*Colonel The O'Gorman Mahon.*)

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: Sir, I think it will seem strange to many that, on the occasion of the last Sitting of a Session of Parliament which has been specially devoted to the consideration of Irish distress and the measures to be taken for its relief, language should be employed and harangues delivered such as those we have just listened to. As far as regards the observations of the hon. and gallant Member for Clare (*Colonel the O'Gorman Mahon*), everyone must have listened to them with the feeling which is due to one of his advanced years, who comes back, after many years experience and political life, to tell us that he now finds, under a new name, that agitation renewed of which he remembers the early days under the name of the Repeal of the Union. We could not but listen with feelings of interest to many of the reminiscences of the hon. and gallant Gentleman, knowing that we were listening to one who has had the experience of years upon his head. But when the hon. and gallant Gentleman, passing from the region of history, went on to the region of prophecy, one could not but feel that there was something singularly inappropriate in the reference he made to the possible sound of that gun-boat which, as he tells us, is to be the introductory signal of the advent of a Royal Prince to Ireland for the purpose of declaring the institution of a National Parliament. Sir, if gun-boats are indeed employed upon the coasts of Ireland, it is for the relief of distress, and not for the purpose of giving the signal of insurrection; and if a Royal Prince is likely to visit the coasts of Ireland it would be rather, I think, on a mission of charity and friendliness than on the one to which the hon. and gallant Member refers. I will say but little of the observations of the hon. and gallant Gentleman. I appreciate entirely the spirit in which the hon. and gallant Member speaks; but my right hon. Friends and myself think that it is

altogether inappropriate, both on account of the time and the circumstances in which we stand, that any question of the kind now under consideration should be introduced into this House. I confess that, listening to the speech of the hon. and gallant Gentleman, I was very much puzzled as to what the meaning of this demonstration was; but when I heard the speech of the hon. and learned Member for Louth (Mr. Sullivan), then, indeed, I began to perceive what the *animus* and the intention were. This, Sir, is an electioneering appeal; and the hon. and learned Member, and possibly some of his Friends, are endeavouring from the platform of the House of Commons to address the constituencies of the United Kingdom and to do a stroke of business for a certain political Party. I think the hon. and gallant Member for Clare spoke on this subject of Home Rule with impartiality as far as the two great Parties in this House are concerned. But everybody must have observed the very different attitude of the hon. and learned Member for Louth. According to him, it was a Conservative Government that was to blame in this matter. It was that Government that was dashing the cup of hope from the lips of the Irish people, and it was that Government that was denying an inquiry into a matter of such immense importance as that of Home Rule. As we could not but remark that every other Party was pointedly excluded from the observations of the hon. and learned Gentleman, we are led to believe that the hon. and learned Gentleman and his Friends base their hopes of success on giving their political support to some other Party. Sir, I admit that such tactics are clever; and I admit that the hon. and learned Gentleman makes good use of his presence in this House, which he and his Colleagues are continually telling us they wish to separate themselves from.

MR. MITCHELL HENRY: No, no! Not separate! What then?

COLONEL THE O'GORMAN MAHON said, that the only demand which he and his Friends made was for the right to legislate for their own domestic affairs.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: I believe the principle is, "What is yours is mine, and what is mine is my own." This, I believe, could be taken as the short and simple motto of the Home Rule Party; at any

The Chancellor of the Exchequer

rate, it is not the motto we are inclined to accept. We do conscientiously think that this demand ought to be resisted on the ground that it is likely to be injurious to the interests of the nation, and particularly injurious to the interests of Ireland. We may be wrong in our views, and others may have sounder views on this matter than ourselves; and, if so, they are perfectly at liberty to put them forward. But whether we are right or wrong, I say, unhesitatingly, looking to the effect of such a measure as is proposed, that it is not a measure to be played and trifled with, or one with regard to which anyone has the right to come forward and say that he distrusts and dislikes it, but will, nevertheless, make it a subject of inquiry. This is a very clever electioneering move, and the hon. and learned Gentleman has put excellent arguments into the mouths of those whom he wishes to use them; but we are not to be taken in, and I believe the nation is not to be taken in, by such sophistry. Although we quite acknowledge the ingenuity with which the hon. and learned Gentleman has spoken, we do not think his tactics upon this present occasion will meet with any success in the electioneering contest upon which we are about to enter.

MR. MITCHELL HENRY rose to address the House, when—

Notice taken, that 40 Members were not present; House counted, and 40 Members not being present,

House adjourned at a quarter
after Five o'clock till
Wednesday next.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Monday, 22nd March, 1880.

MINUTES.]—*Sat First in Parliament*—The Earl of Winton, after the death of his father.

PUBLIC BILLS—*Second Reading*—Committee negatived—*Third Reading*—National Debt*; Exchequer Bills and Bonds*, and passed.

Third Reading—Consolidated Fund (Appropriation)*; Customs and Inland Revenue*; Parliamentary Elections and Corrupt Practices (No. 2) (50), and passed.

STANDING ORDERS.

Moved, That the Standing Orders relating to the Public Business of the House (together with the proposed additions thereto), as re-arranged and recommended to the consideration of the House by the Select Committee on the Office of the Clerk of the Parliaments and the Office of the Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod, be adopted as the Standing Orders of the House; on question, *agreed to*: Ordered, that the said Standing Orders be *printed*. (No. 56.)

PUBLIC HEALTH—TRICHINOSIS—
SCHOOL SHIP "CORNWALL."

QUESTION.

LORD THURLOW asked the Lord Steward, Whether he is yet able to give any information respecting the reported outbreak of trichinosis in January last on board the reformatory school ship "Cornwall," lying off Purfleet, on the Thames?

EARL BEAUCHAMP: Mr. Power was instructed by the Local Government Board last November, as the noble Lord is aware, to make inquiry as to an alleged outbreak of "fever" on board the *Cornwall*. He found that among 262 boys there had been 43 cases of sickness, with one death. In the course of a very laborious inquiry, he found peculiarities in the history of the outbreak that led him to doubt whether the "fever" was any of the usual fevers of this country, and, with the object of settling these doubts and of throwing new light on the nature of the disease, the body of the boy who had died was exhumed, and subjected to *post-mortem* examination. It was found that the body was infected with trichinæ, but gave no evidences of "fever" in the common acceptance of the word. Further review of the whole history led to the conclusion that the whole outbreak had been due to the same disease—trichinosis. A most able Report on the entire subject of the *Cornwall* outbreak has been made by Mr. Power, and it is now with the printers, with the view of being laid upon the Table.

PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS AND
CORRUPT PRACTICES (No. 2) BILL.

(*The Lord President.*)

(No. 50.) THIRD READING.

Order of the Day for the Third Reading, read.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 3^d."
—(*The Lord President.*)

LORD DENMAN moved that the Bill be read a third time that day three months, saying that it was contrary to the spirit of the Ballot Act that any expenses should be incurred for the conveyance of voters; and the retention of the clause for allowing expenses in Cricklade, Aylesbury, East Retford, and Shoreham, could do no harm; while allowing candidates to pay conveyance expenses, in places distant from each other, might be very inconvenient. And as the Ballot Act would expire only at the end of December, 1880, he hoped that the Government would not renew this Bill only till 1881, when the Ballot Act would expire. He believed that all Election Petitions might be disposed of before December, 1880. He believed that voters might be conveyed by one candidate and vote for his opponent.

Amendment *moved*, to leave out ("now") and add at the end of the Motion ("this day three months.")—(*The Lord Denman.*)

LORD O'HAGAN characterized the measure as re-actionary and retrograde. It was unnecessary and mischievous. It would reverse the legislation which was well discussed and well considered in 1867. There had been no demand for such a change as was made in the Bill. In 1872, the provision of the Act of 1867 preventing the employment of conveyances in counties was extended to the municipalities. Before the Select Committee which sat in 1875 this very question was raised; and the result was the expression of an opinion that in most boroughs the polling places could be so conveniently selected as to render unnecessary the use of vehicles for the conveyance of voters, and that a penalty should be attached to payments made by the candidates for that purpose. So that, after experience of the working of the Municipal Act from 1872, and the Parliamentary Election Act from 1867, the Committee came to the conclusion that the law should not only be maintained, but enforced by penalties. Yet, in 1880, though the existing Act continued till 1881, they were asked in a hasty and ill-considered measure to put an end to a provision which had operated for so many years with great satisfaction to the public. He maintained that if the Bill were passed rich candidates would have undue ad-

vantages over poor ones; and bribery, under the cloak of the practices sanctioned by the Bill, would unquestionably prevail.

VISCOUNT CRANBROOK said, he had no idea that there would be any discussion on the matter, seeing that the law was in a very unsatisfactory condition when the Government was implored to bring in a Bill. He was bound to say that it appeared to the Government to be not an unreasonable thing in itself to deal with the question. The law was not observed anywhere in reality because it was uncertain, and there was no penalty attached to its breach. Anyone who had witnessed the late election at Southwark would have seen just as many cabs as had ever been employed at an election. The case was the same at Liverpool, where, he believed, both sides recognized the necessity of employing cabs, and came to an agreement that each should use as many as they thought proper. Why was that? It arose from the necessities of the case. Many working men were called upon to give their vote at a considerable distance from their work; and he thought that the working man need not be deprived of a ride which he could only enjoy once in five or six years. The Government had been called upon to deal with the question for a short period in one way or another; and they did not see their way to make the employment of vehicles more penal than it had been before, and they thought it best to make the practice legal for the short time which elapsed before the new Parliament assembled. With respect to the Committee which had sat on the subject, that Committee had reported that some change was necessary. They were now met by a Motion which was not upon the Paper, and which took them by surprise; but the House of Commons had passed the Bill, and, as it mainly affected that branch of the Legislature, he hoped their Lordships would not accede to the Amendment, but would pass the Bill.

LORD DENMAN said, that as he knew persons who were candidates and could not afford the expense of conveying voters to the poll he had been against the Bill; but he had since seen reasons to change his mind. After the explanation which had been given, he was quite justified in proposing to withdraw his Amendment. The reasons just given

by the noble Viscount convinced him that he ought not to further oppose the Bill.

LORD STANLEY OF ALDERLEY said, that the noble Viscount had not touched the point of the increased expenses of elections which this Bill would cause, and which would make it still more impossible for poor but able men to get into Parliament.

EARL GRANVILLE said, that he had heard no argument which should induce the noble Lord opposite (Lord Denman) to withdraw the Amendment.

LORD DENMAN said, that he thought with the noble Viscount (Viscount Cranbrook) it was idle to have a law forbidding the practice, and no penalty to enable the magistrates to enforce the law; also noble Lords often conveyed voters to the poll.

EARL GRANVILLE said, that looking to the fact that the conveyance of voters was not allowed at municipal elections it was quite as absurd to allow the practice to exist at Parliamentary elections.

Amendment (by leave of the House) withdrawn.

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY said, that as the noble Lord opposite (Lord Denman) had withdrawn his Amendment he would move it.

Amendment moved, to leave out ("now") and add at the end of the Motion ("this day three months.")—*(The Earl of Kimberley.)*

THE EARL OF BEACONSFIELD: I regret that any opposition has been raised to the measure. The course proposed to your Lordships is most unusual, for it is very inconvenient to have a Motion of this kind brought forward without any Notice on the third reading of a Bill, and more especially as it does not appear to me that this Bill is of the importance which noble Lords opposite seem to attach to it. As to the argument which has been drawn from the practice of municipal elections, there really is no analogy between municipal and Parliamentary elections; for, in the former, the electors have not to go any distance, for they all vote in wards. Noble Lords know very well, from their own experience, that there are cases in boroughs where the distance between electors and the polling booths is to be counted by miles. Then we are told that it is in the interest of the rich

that these conveyances are used. But, my Lords, that is a fallacy. It is the working classes who benefit by them, and avail themselves of the convenience. They very often only have half-an-hour or an hour in which to get their dinner, and in that time they also have to vote; and should they not be able to record their votes in that time, they are, to a great extent, disfranchised. That, I am sure, cannot be the wish of your Lordships. This is a Bill which comes up from the House of Commons, the Members of which are greatly interested in it. It was brought forward in consequence of a feeling on both sides of the House that something should be done to put an end to the present unsatisfactory state of affairs. The noble Lord who addressed us a few minutes ago talked about the increased expense; but the fact is, there will be no increased expense, because in all elections, ever since the Corrupt Practices Bill originally passed, the law has been set at defiance, and cabs and conveyances have been used in which voters are conveyed to the poll. But the disadvantage of it is that you are violating a law, according to many high authorities, which you cannot enforce, because no penalty is attached to it. The general feeling was that to avoid continuous Petitions, and all those disagreeable circumstances which sometimes attend an appeal to the people, the best thing to do would be to come to a determination whether the practice should be legalized or the reverse. There was a general opinion in the House of Commons—certainly not a Party opinion—that it should be legalized; and I hope, therefore, that your Lordships will not support the Amendment of the noble Earl (the Earl of Kimberley).

THE MARQUESS OF LANSDOWNE said, that the Bill had only come before their Lordships' House on the 18th of the present month, when they were called together at an unusual hour, and they were necessarily precluded by shortness of time, and the small attendance of Peers present, from giving the measure the attention which it demanded. The question was one which they might fairly ask for a little more time to consider, and this was not the first Bill that the House had been asked to carry through all its stages without having had an opportunity of discussing it. He would oppose the Bill.

On Question, That ("now") stand part of the Motion? Their Lordships *divided*:—Contents 39; Non-Contents 24; Majority 15.

CONTENTS.

Cairns, E. (<i>J. Chancellor.</i>)	Bateman, L.
Leeds, D.	Blantyre, L.
Northumberland, D.	Brodrick, L. (<i>V. Middleton.</i>)
Richmond, D.	Charlemont, L. (<i>E. Charlemont.</i>)
Rutland, D.	Chelmsford, L.
Hertford, M.	Clanwilliam, L. (<i>E. Clanwilliam.</i>)
Beaconsfield, E.	Colchester, L.
Beauchamp, E.	Colville of Culross, L.
Cadogan, E.	Denman, L.
Faversham, E.	de Ros, L.
Hardwicke, E.	Dunsany, L.
Redesdale, E.	Ellenborough, L.
Waldegrave, E.	Elphinstone, L.
Cranbrook, V.	Foxford, L. (<i>E. Lime-riek.</i>)
Hawarden, V. [<i>Teller.</i>]	Norton, L.
Melville, V.	Silchester, L. (<i>E. Longford.</i>)
Sidmouth, V.	Skelmersdale, L.
Templetown, V.	[<i>Teller.</i>]
St. Albans, L. Bp.	Stewart of Garlies, L. (<i>E. Galloway.</i>)
Ashford, L. (<i>V. Bury.</i>)	Zouche of Haryngworth, L.

NOT-CONTENTS.

Bedford, D.	Greville, L.
Lansdowne, M. [<i>Teller.</i>]	Hammond, L.
Dartrey, E.	Keane, L.
Granville, E.	Kenry, L. (<i>E. Dunraven and Mount-Earl.</i>)
Ilchester, E.	Lawrence, L.
Kimberley, E. [<i>Teller.</i>]	Monson, L.
Northbrook, E.	O'Hagan, L.
Blachford, L.	Oxenfoord, L. (<i>E. Stair.</i>)
Boyle, L. (<i>E. Cork and Orrery.</i>)	Sefton, L. (<i>E. Sefton.</i>)
Braye, L.	Stanley of Alderley, L.
Foley, L.	Stratheden and Campbell, L.
	Thurlow, L.
	Wentworth, L.

Resolved in the Affirmative.

Bill read 3^a accordingly.

On Question, "That the Bill do pass?"

THE LORD CHANCELLOR said, that, according to his experience, this was the first time that upon the Motion for the third reading of a Bill there had been a division, there having been no division upon any earlier stage. The Bill had been brought forward by Her Majesty's Government, and taken notice of by one of the principal Members of the Opposition; and yet it had now been met by the noble Earl opposite (the Earl

of Kimberley) with a side wind, and what he might call a sort of ambush, as the Motion for its rejection was made without any Notice whatever, and without the noble Earl having intimated his intention of doing so at its earlier stages.

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY begged leave to say that the noble and learned Earl on the Woolsack had no right so to describe his Motion, as no ambush whatever had been contrived, and the noble and learned Earl should withdraw the word. He (the Earl of Kimberley) intended the Motion to reject the Bill to be a protest against Bills being pushed through that House just in the last days of an expiring Parliament. On the occasion of the second reading of the Bill the noble Viscount opposite (Viscount Cranbrook) got up and moved the second reading in, he thought, one sentence. There were about four or five Peers on that (the Opposition) side, and about the same number of Peers on the other side. It had been said, and he (the Earl of Kimberley) admitted that the proceeding he took was unusual. He meant it to be so, and he did not regret what he had done, for he thereby protested most emphatically against the manner in which the Bill, as well as the Hypothec Abolition Bill, had been pushed through the House, especially when they had been meeting as early as 2, 3, and 4 o'clock.

Moved, "That Clause 3 be struck out of the Bill."—(*The Lord Denman*.)

THE EARL OF REDESDALE (CHAIRMAN of COMMITTEES) said, there was no one in the House who was more jealous than he of the privileges of their Lordships, and he had taken exception to the manner in which the Hypothec Abolition Bill had been hurried through at the last moment; but the reason why he had taken no objection to this Bill was because it was sent up by the Commons and related to a matter affecting particularly the interests of that House. He thought that, in the face of a General Election, such a question as this was proper to be dealt with if the Commons thought so. There was a declaration that the conveyance of voters was illegal; but no one was able to enforce any penalty. To leave the law in such a state at the present moment was open to objection, and the Commons had passed

this Bill to settle the question, and no franchise was in any way affected by it. He did not think there was any very strong objection to the Bill in the other House.

EARL GRANVILLE considered that the noble Earl was mistaken in his facts, as though the Bill passed through the other House when very few Members were present, there were several divisions which were very small, considering the power of Her Majesty's Government, and the result was that the Government were obliged to give up the provisions affecting Scotland and Ireland. This was exactly a case in which the House of Lords might come to the assistance of those who were strongly opposed to the Bill.

Motion negatived.

Bill passed.

STATE OF AGRICULTURE AND TRADE.

QUESTION. OBSERVATIONS.

THE DUKE OF RUTLAND, on rising to call the attention of the House to the depressed state of agriculture and trade, and to inquire, How far it is owing to our present system of free importations? said, that he did so because he was under the apprehension that, in the hurry and turmoil of a General Election, the subject of trade and agricultural distress would be altogether overlooked. He had no desire to disguise the fact that there was a partial revival of trade. In fact, he would admit that, according to the statement of the American Consul in London, there had been a considerable increase in our trade with that country. In 1878 our exports to America showed a decrease of £2,260,000, while those of 1879 showed an increase of £3,250,000. In the six years following 1872 the decrease was continuous, amounting in the aggregate to more than £19,000,000. That revival of Free Trade was mainly owing to a rise in the price of iron, consequent upon an increased demand for that article in America for the construction of railways to enable the farmers in the Western States to send down their corn to the Eastern ports for exportation to Europe. When these railways were completed the price of iron would again decline, and co-incident with it would be a renewed depression of trade. In order,

The Lord Chancellor

however, to bring his observations within a reasonable compass, he would confine his remarks to the effect of the Commercial Treaty which was entered into with France in 1860 at the instance of Mr. Cobden. The exports and imports of France in 1848 amounted to £72,000,000, while they amounted to £284,000,000 in 1879—a fact which showed beyond the possibility of doubt that she had largely benefited by the working of that Treaty. But how had it affected England? In 1876 the value of English goods imported into France was £26,000,000, while the value of the French goods imported into this country was £41,320,000, the value of French manufactured articles which we imported exceeding that of those which we sent her in return by £7,800,000. There was contained in the new volume of *The Life of the late Prince Consort*—who was anything but a Protectionist—which had been recently published, a letter written by His Royal Highness at the time that the negotiations with regard to Mr. Cobden's Treaty were being carried on, from which the following was an extract:—

“The Emperor proposes to break with the French Protectionists, and to give in his adherence to English Free Trade, and from this Mr. Cobden anticipates the cessation of our defensive preparations and of our Volunteer Force. Strange to say, the Treaty will give the Emperor our coal and iron, which he will want if he should come into collision with us, and by the abolition of the wine duties we shall sustain a loss of £2,000,000 in our Revenue receipts.”

It was unnecessary for him to dilate at length upon the disadvantageous operation of this Treaty as far as we were concerned, because the whole matter had been fully explained the other day by the deputation from the Manchester Chamber of Commerce which had waited upon Mr. Bourke, in the absence—which all must regret—of the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. That deputation was a most remarkable one, as it expressed the opinion of the Manchester manufacturers with regard to the Treaty, which was supposed to be a Free Trade Treaty of Commerce entered into for the mutual advantage of the two countries. The gentlemen who formed the deputation stated that it was the opinion of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce that the Treaty was a most one-sided one, that the French tariffs enforced under it were

not so much protective as prohibitory against English goods, and that, unless some steps were taken to have the French rates lowered, the Commercial Treaty between the two countries would be perfectly useless in the interests of Lancashire, as those rates were not only protective, but calculated to annihilate the trade in English yarns and cotton goods; while, owing to the increased skill of the French artisans, there now remained but few specialties in the textile manufactures of England, so that Lancashire did less and less every year in this branch of industry, until it was now hardly worth following. Mr. Hutton, one of the members of the deputation, told Mr. Bourke that the export of cotton and calico goods had nearly ceased. The subject, therefore, was a very serious one, and demanded the attention of their Lordships. Mr. Bourke's answer to the deputation was that he would do all he possibly could to persuade the French nation to give a more favourable tariff, and that we should try to show foreigners what an injury they were inflicting on their own people by these protective duties. He also added that the Government had that day received a communication from France which did not leave the Government without hope. This he (the Duke of Rutland) contended was childish and foolish language, and was most pitiable, inasmuch as it amounted to an admission of the justice of the complaints made to him, and expressed but feeble hope that any terms more favourable to the English manufacturer could be obtained. He wondered, in fact, that the reporter, in describing the scene, had not concluded by saying that in the end Mr. Bourke burst into tears. With the great advantage France derived from the last Treaty, it was absurd to suppose that she would be persuaded to relinquish her duties in order to benefit our manufacturers. France thought only of France, and did not care what happened to the trade of Manchester. So long as she could introduce her goods into this country free, and could charge 30, 40, or 50 per cent on our goods introduced into France, she was not likely to reduce her tariff. He knew one dressmaker alone in Paris imported ready-made dresses from France to the value of £60,000 in the month of October last, the dullest month of the year. Other French

manufactures, such as clocks, watches, fancy goods, and other miscellaneous articles all came into this country perfectly free of duty; while our goods, no matter what the articles, were burdened by such heavy duties that every branch of industry was impoverished. The depression in trade was not confined to iron, coal, cotton, or agriculture; every single interest had been depressed, and that, not by accident, but in consequence of the insane system of free importations. If nothing were done in the shape of retaliation to force France to take off her protective duties, it was absurd to suppose that there would be a revival of English trade. It was impossible. Mr. Bright had made a speech on this subject. Mr. Bright was a great Free-trader—a very eloquent, able, and, he (the Duke of Rutland) believed, a very conscientious man. He was perfectly convinced, as they all were, of his own honesty, patriotism, and integrity; but the moment anyone differed from him in opinion he believed him to be the most selfish, unpatriotic, and ignorant man that ever existed. What did Mr. Bright say? He said that those who opposed the repeal of the Corn Laws created a famine in the land and starved the people, and did it purposely, with *malice prepense*. Why, those who opposed the repeal of the Corn Laws believed that, with a sliding scale, admitting corn free when prices rose and storing it up in the warehouses of the country, they were doing their best to keep a steady supply of food for the people. Mr. Bright went on to say—"In those days—before the Corn Laws were repealed—your industry was not free. You could not exchange any article of your manufacture, so ingenious and admirable in Birmingham, with the farmer in the far West of America for his barley or flour; but it was directed by law that you should exchange it with Warwickshire, or Norfolk, or Lincolnshire." But had they Free Trade with America now? He (the Duke of Rutland) would ask whether the manufactures of Birmingham could be exchanged for produce with the farmers of the far West of America now? Why, they were obliged to pay in hard cash, with extravagant duties, on nearly everything they took from her. Mr. Bright himself, when writing to Mr. Gray, the Secretary of the Agricultural Board of the State of Kansas, in fact, admitted this, by

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showing how America would be benefited by Free Trade. Mr. Bright's speech was addressed to the working classes, and he (the Duke of Rutland) would address himself to the same classes, for they knew that their industry was not free, and would not be free so long as the present system of free imports existed. Take the sugar trade, which held a meeting recently at Cooper's Hall, Commercial Road, London. That meeting put forth a statement emanating from 57,300 working men engaged in the sugar industry, urging the abolition of foreign sugar bounties. From that statement it appeared every branch of labour connected with the sugar industry of Great Britain had suffered, and was still suffering, a grievous wrong by the foreign manufacture being admitted duty free and the English manufacture being prohibited the foreign markets. Instead of Free Trade, they were subject to unfair hostile competition. The workmen who signed this document concluded by calling on all Parliamentary candidates to declare that they would vote for countervailing duties as a means of redressing the grievous and insufferable wrong to which we were exposed by the foreign export bounty. If we were to have a revival of trade that was to be lasting, we must alter our present unfair, unjust, and unequal arrangements. He need not detain their Lordships by proving the reality of the distress in agriculture, for there was hardly one of them who would not come forward as a witness of that reality. It was not the men with capital who were suffering most; they were able to bide their time, and to tide over the difficulties of the situation; but it was the small landowner and the small occupier, the men without capital, thousands of whom were quitting an ungrateful country for the shores of America, where they could enjoy the advantage of Protection. He might be told that, if they talked of Protection, the working classes would not listen to them; but they were becoming more educated; they thought more for themselves; they knew that cheap food and cheap raiment were not all they required; they knew that before they could buy the cheap loaf, or cheap coal, or a cheap hat, they must have the money to pay with. An Irishman in Liverpool grumbled at being asked 1s. for a basket of eggs which he said he could buy for 6d.

in Ireland. "Then, why don't you go back to Ireland?" said the shopkeeper. "Faith, where should I get the 6*d.*?" was the answer. The Radical candidate at Grantham had called attention to an advertisement inserted in the paper by a gentleman who wanted to sell his false teeth, because, as he said, he had nothing to eat, and, therefore, they were of no further use to him. We were all rapidly coming to a condition in which we should be able to sell our false teeth for the same reason. The candidate who told the story at Grantham was trying to get the votes of the workpeople of the large manufacturers of agricultural implements, whose trade had fallen off so much that they had been obliged to accept lower wages. The other day Lord Hartington made merry over the candidature of Mr. Eckroyd, and declared he did not know what Reciprocity was; but he (the Duke of Rutland) would try to enlighten him. If the noble Lord had read the published letter of Mr. Eckroyd he could not have feigned such ignorance. Mr. Eckroyd wrote that he wished to see the United Kingdom, its Colonies, and Dependencies, formed into one great Free Trade Empire, supplying all its essential wants, and resorting to Protection only as against those nations that imposed duties on our productions. No duties, it was said, should be levied on the raw materials of our industries, from whatever quarter they came; but, in the matter of food, our own Colonies were capable of supplying five times all that we required, so that we were under no necessity to take food from those who would not receive our manufactures. Mr. Eckroyd went on to say that a large field for emigration would thus be opened, and that our Dependencies, bound to the Mother Country by the material ties of serious advantages, would be more ready to meet our wishes and to establish Free Trade with us and one another. He (the Duke of Rutland) maintained that the policy which he advocated was an intelligible policy; but if they should deem it impossible to follow it, he would ask them to fall back upon another remedy—namely, real Free Trade, in accordance with which they would not only obtain food from abroad free of taxation, but would allow the British farmer to raise food also free of taxation, and especially from the tax on malt. He held that it would only be fair and

patriotic to place English and foreign food on the same footing. They could not tax English food and not tax foreign food. He would be told that if his views were adopted the Revenue would suffer. But if they were to put a tax upon goods coming from France, Germany, and America, they would easily recoup their losses. He was obliged to the Government for what they had done in the shape of remission of local taxation; but if British agriculture were to be kept alive, and if they should refuse to accede to his proposals, it would be necessary to relieve the country to a greater extent from the rates which burdened it. Before sitting down, he wished to refer to Ireland. A noble Marquess on the other side of the House had lately shown how fearful was the present distress; but added, he saw no Royal road to remedy it. The people were unfitted for emigration; they could only rely on the spread of education and of sound opinions; but he (the Duke of Rutland) would like to ask whether their Lordships did not think that the condition of Ireland might be improved by making an attempt to revive industrial enterprise, and to restore the manufactures which once existed there, while, at the same time, protecting the people from foreign imports? If the result of their present policy was that their trade was paralyzed and their agriculture ruined, he would have the satisfaction that, previous to the Election, he had done his best to inform his countrymen of what would happen; and he hoped that men would be returned to the next Parliament who would not repeat the cuckoo cry of the great advantages derived by this country from Free Trade, but who would endeavour to pass measures likely to increase the well-being of the industrial classes.

THE MARQUESS OF HERTFORD said, that he was always loth to occupy their Lordships' time, because he was a great admirer of the manner in which a vast amount of real business was done in that House with as few speeches as possible; but the subject before their Lordships was one that particularly interested him, and he must ask their indulgence for a short time. He should confine himself to the first part of the noble Duke's Motion—namely, the depressed state of agriculture, of which he had, unfortunately, personal experience, and he

should leave the *vexata questio* of " Protection " to those more competent to discuss it. He lived in one of the Midland counties, which had been more seriously prostrated than any other part of Great Britain by the disastrous seasons of the last four years. It only required a glance at the advertisement sheet of the local papers, especially of *The Farmers' Gazette* , to see how wide-spread the distress was. Whole columns were taken up with notices of farms to let and of auctions to be held on the premises of outgoing tenants. He trusted, however, that the present dry, genial weather was the harbinger of a bounteous harvest; but it would take two, if not three, years to get back to where we were before, even in the most favourable circumstances. The murrain, which had rotted whole flocks of ewes, and which had been the last straw that had broken the back of many a poor struggling tenant, would make its results felt for long; and this from no fault of the farmers, except, perhaps, in a few instances, for they had gallantly contended against adversities of no common order, and had won the respect and esteem of those who had had opportunities of judging. And he must also stand up for the landlords as a class, for, except in a small number of instances, they had done their duty and had tried to help their tenantry through their troubles as far as their diminished rents permitted; and he never spoke to a brother landlord without hearing expressions of kind sympathy with the tenants as a class. It was sometimes said that the only cause of this distress was the continuous bad weather, and, undoubtedly, it was chiefly due to that visitation of the Almighty; but the farmers had much right on their side when they complained of increased local burdens. A few years ago, when they were somewhat less, and when prices were better, they did not feel these so much; but when the pocket was touched all other grievances, however small, were intensified, and now the local rates were considered unendurable. He would instance the highway rate. Since turnpikes were abolished—why, he never could make out—farmers had to see the roads, for which they paid heavy rates, increasing every year, cut up by the heavy traffic of timber merchants, brewers, coal merchants, and others, who did not pay one sixpence

towards their maintenance. Surely that was an anomaly that must be remedied, and all property should be taxed and made to bear its fair share. Then, again, the education rates pressed very heavily upon the land, especially in those unlucky parishes where there were school boards. The farmers found their labourers did not care about the education so expensively bestowed upon their children, because they wanted them to be earning their bread early; and they, therefore, grudged having to pay high rates, especially when it prevented their obtaining boys to work, except at men's wages. Surely, these schools were for national objects, and ought to be chiefly paid for out of the national purse, and not out of the local rates. He was not finding fault with the present Government, for the head of it had been the only Prime Minister in his recollection who had ever evinced a real desire to help the tenant farmer. Among other measures having this object in view, he might mention the considerable saving occasioned to the ratepayers by the repayment of a portion of the pauper lunatic charges, also the Prisons Act and the Contagious Diseases (Animals) Act, which was a most valuable measure, not only to farmers, but to the whole community. Again, the Agricultural Holdings Act was a step in the right direction, and the official recognition of their Chambers of Agriculture by the Government would give the agricultural classes a better *status* for promoting or opposing measures as they believed them to be good or bad. Those measures, and, above all, the Royal Commission, proved that the Government were fully alive to the exigencies of that important interest; but he urged that more relief in the same direction was much needed, and he did not doubt that if they remained in Office they would do their best, even before the Report of the Royal Commission was presented, to carry out the measures to which he had called their attention. The Government would thus make the British farmer a far happier man, because he would then feel that strict justice had been done him, and that he was no more taxed than his neighbours. He would, at all events, feel that proper sympathy for his troubles had been shown him; and if this unjust American competition went on, he would, perhaps, bear with more equanimity

mity the sight of cargoes of American beef conveyed by our Railway Companies for little more than half what he had to pay for his home-grown bullocks; and even of his neighbour, the brewer, buying Californian barley, which, whether it was the case or not, he must look upon as so much out of the pocket of the British farmer.

THE EARL OF BEACONSFIELD: My noble Friend the noble Duke (the Duke of Rutland), when he last brought this subject before your Lordships' consideration, had to dilate upon the commercial depression which then prevailed. On the part of Her Majesty's Government, I expressed our opinion that that commercial depression would not last long, and told your Lordships that we saw signs which, though they might be deceptive, still, in our opinion, indicated a remedial rally in our commercial relations. I am glad to hear from my noble Friend the noble Duke a recognition of the fact that there is a considerable improvement in our commerce. It is true that my noble Friend based his consolation upon the increased commercial relations between this country and the United States; and though it is impossible for anyone to deny that there has been a great improvement in our trade with America, and although it is impossible to deny that our commercial relations with the United States amount at present to several millions more than they did 12 months ago, still the noble Duke wished to impress upon your Lordships that it was a sudden demand for one particular article which alone occasioned this improvement. Now, there I differ from my noble Friend. The demand of the United States for iron has, no doubt, been very great, and it has been for objects which, according to the noble Duke, may in time be exhausted; but I venture to say it is an error to suppose that the commercial improvement comes only from the advance which has been effected in our trade with the United States. The commercial improvement is a general improvement, and I think it is one which applies to almost every country, and now to almost every article. It is also an error to suppose that our commerce as regards iron is confined to the United States, for there are other States with whom we are now carrying on an active commerce in iron. Well, then, the noble Duke

having acknowledged the improvement in our trade, and having rested his illustration of our present position in that respect mainly upon one very important article of commerce—namely, iron—the noble Duke went on to warn us that we could not depend upon a continuance of our commerce in that respect, and to endeavour to enforce those views which he always so consistently upheld, and which he has expressed with so much ability to-night. Upon that subject, the noble Duke, wishing to show the fallacy of what he regarded as the principle on which our commercial system is now established, took the case of France, and endeavoured to show that our Commercial Treaty with France had been one of immense benefit to France, but very slightly beneficial to this country. But that, I venture to say, is an error of my noble Friend. I have no doubt that the Commercial Treaty with France has been a vast advantage to this country. If it has not been of equal advantage, as I hope it has, to both countries, I maintain that it has been of vast advantage to this country. But I must stop for a moment to remark that if my noble Friend wishes to advocate a commercial system, based upon protection of native industry, he ought, to a certain degree, to be a supporter of the Commercial Treaty with France, because it is a Treaty entirely of Reciprocity; and there is no doubt that if that principle had not been adopted in the negotiations which led to the Treaty the commercial relations between France and this country would have remained probably much in the same state and of the same amount as they were before that Treaty was entered into. The question of Reciprocity and the question of Protection are utterly different questions. I have previously made remarks on the question of Reciprocity, and it is quite unnecessary that I should now say anything on the principle of the protection of native industry. If the nation chose to adopt a protective policy, nothing could resist that policy being carried into effect. But, with regard to Reciprocity, I have always impressed upon those who brought it forward as a remedial measure that it was now practically impossible; that we had diminished our tariff to such an extent that it was only by chance that the British Government were able to carry the French Treaty into effect; and, in

fact, if the French Treaty were continued, as I believe is the wish of many who are good judges of what is advantageous to this country, there would be no materials by which we could adopt this principle of Reciprocity, on which my noble Friend so much dilated, and which, it appears, from some cheers, would be very popular in this House. Popular or not, it is impossible. Now, the noble Duke, after having admitted that commercial depression had disappeared, brought before your Lordships the real subject under consideration—the depressed state of agriculture; for the commercial depression has so far subsided that I do not think, had there been no agricultural depression, we should have been called upon to consider this Motion. No one can deny that there is great distress and depression in our agricultural condition. I think that is universally admitted; but the question is, How far is it in our power to relieve this distress? Well, that is a question from which we do not and ought not to shrink. My noble Friend who spoke just before me (the Marquess of Hertford) said the remedy was that there should be a further diminution of local taxation. Well, if it can be shown to Parliament that there is still local taxation which is unjustly imposed upon real property, and not equally on all kinds of property, nobody who has confidence in the wisdom of Parliament and in its sense of duty can doubt that, if a fair case be made out, Parliament will give relief in that respect. Parliament has already shown that it sympathizes with that class of property in this country which was subject to taxation from which all other classes of property were exempt. And if it can be fairly demonstrated that there are still taxes levied, not on agricultural land only, be it remembered, but on real property which may exist in towns, I have no doubt that, General Election or not, the sense of duty which influences Parliament will induce it to do what is right in that matter. But I must say that I do not think any further remission of local taxation, though it may be just, could be offered as a remedy at all adequate to the distress from which the agricultural world is now suffering. Now, it appears to me that there are many things which may be done, which require consideration, no doubt, but the

principles of which appear to me to be accepted by the general opinion of the country as the result of discussion, debate, and public writing, which may very much facilitate the improvement of the soil, and, by facilitating the improvement of the soil, may benefit the occupiers of the soil. Whether we consider the question of removing the restrictions on its cultivation, or that most important point as to which I introduced in the other House of Parliament a measure—namely, the securing for a tenant a complete protection for the capital which he has invested on the farm which he occupies, whether it takes that form or any other, I think myself that before we can beneficially act to relieve and improve the agriculture of this country, the agriculture of this country must be in a normal condition, and that it would be most unwise in a moment of distress to hurry through some measure when we are not dealing with the land of England in its usual state. I think it must be at once acknowledged by all that it is not so much competition, it is not so much unjust local taxation, but what is infinitely more injurious and more powerful—namely, an almost unprecedented series of disastrous seasons, which has brought about the present unfortunate state of agriculture in England. That condition of the cultivators of the soil, however, is not a permanent one, and, as far as I can see, matters are tending towards improvement. I will not pretend to say I can foresee what may occur; but all the evidences of nature that can guide us rather make us hope that we are about to enjoy a season of prosperity and abundance; and should this promise be fulfilled, the agricultural mind will be relieved from a great deal of the despondency and distress which, at this moment, paralyze to a great degree the energies of the farmer. Then will be the right time for us to consider whether we cannot alter many things in the relations of the farmer with the landowner, and deal with other matters which do not now beneficially act upon his condition. Among the measures which might then be introduced are those which will place the local taxation of the country upon a just basis, should it be found unequal, and secure to the tenant complete protection for the capital which he has invested, and which the Agricultural Holdings Act endeavoured, at least, to procure

for him—an Act of which almost every day I hear something that shows me that very scant justice was done to it by those who opposed it. And again, if we find that a change in the normal condition of English agriculture has been brought about by a series of bad seasons, we may venture, at the same time, to come to some accurate estimate of what the degree of competition is which it has to encounter with the produce of foreign countries. I must say that, although I have myself read all those estimates and accounts of production of the American Continent which have, of late, been so much circulated, I cannot myself say that I feel much anxiety upon the subject, or that I have arrived at those conclusions which some of my friends have. We want more data; we want more opportunities of examination, and more experience, before we can come to any decided opinion as to the effect of the importation of foreign-grown corn upon our home produce. When the English farmer has been blessed with a harvest worthy of his industry, and when we have gained greater experience of the effect of the produce of other countries upon our own, then will be the time for us to consider a variety of measures which, undoubtedly, may not appear very important in themselves, but which will in the aggregate place him in a more advantageous and improved position than he now occupies. By adopting that course we shall be able to look back with satisfaction, when these times of depression are passed, to the fact that we were guided by the dictates of prudence and did not rush into hasty legislation. I know that it may be said that it is very easy to preach patience to those who are suffering. Nobody can esteem more than I do the character and endurance of the British farmer. I think that the patience and the high spirit with which he has borne up against a series of disastrous seasons, the few complaints he has made notwithstanding the great suffering he has experienced, exhibit his conduct in a light in which it is impossible to view it without a feeling of admiration. Whatever may happen, the cultivator of the soil still forms the largest class of our industrial world; he is the greatest employer of labour; and your Lordships especially and the country are bound to him by

those ties which the traditions and the pleasantness of his occupation and his good conduct and loyalty have rendered so strong. Aristotle says that the agricultural class is the least given to sedition. That we have found in England; and we have, at the same time, found among that class some of the best exemplars not only of moral life, but of that devotion to the Sovereign and that strict performance of public duty which have given such a high character to this country. Therefore, my Lords, when we meet again, I hope we shall do so with a less gloomy feeling with regard to the fortunes of our agricultural friends. I could not recommend at this moment any change in our law affecting the agricultural interests that might be brought about by hasty legislation. Her Majesty has appointed a Royal Commission, which is now engaged in examining into the subject, and from the labours of that body I augur considerable results. I think that from them we shall obtain much information as to the productive powers of the American Continent which may guide us in our decision with advantage, and that they will also lay before us the opinions of some of the most experienced and practical men in England as to the conditions under which the cultivation of the soil can be most beneficially carried on. My Lords, I shall be deeply disappointed if one result of the labours of that Commission is not to afford the farmer the most complete and absolute security for the capital which he has invested in the cultivation of the land which he occupies.

HONG KONG—THE CONTAGIOUS DISEASES ORDINANCE, 1867.

ADDRESS FOR PAPERS.

LORD STANLEY OF ALDERLEY rose to call the attention of the House to the Copy of Report of the Commissioners appointed by the Governor of Hong Kong to inquire into the working of the Contagious Diseases Ordinance of 1867, which had been presented to the other House of Parliament; and to move for the despatch of the Secretary of State for the Colonies in reply thereto. He had been speaking for some time, when—

THE DUKE OF RICHMOND AND GORDON said, at the present moment this was asking the House to discuss a

Report which was not before it. He would suggest that the proper course would be to move that a Copy of the Report be laid on the Table, and then call the attention of the House to it.

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY joined in the appeal to the noble Lord (Lord Stanley of Alderley) not to bring forward the question at the present moment. It was an important subject, and he thought the course suggested by the noble Duke (the Duke of Richmond and Gordon) was the right one to take under the circumstances.

LORD STANLEY OF ALDERLEY said, he was willing to adopt the suggestion of the noble Duke, and would accordingly move for a message to the other House for the Papers to which he had referred.

EARL CADOGAN said, there was no objection to the production of the Papers; but he would ask the noble Lord to defer the Motion to allow him an opportunity of looking through them.

Motion postponed.

AFFAIRS OF AFGHANISTAN.

OBSERVATIONS.

THE EARL OF DUNRAVEN rose to call the attention of the House to the affairs of Afghanistan. He said, before this expiring Parliament absolutely died, he was anxious to make a few remarks on the subject of the state of things in Afghanistan. He had listened with great attention to the conversation which took place some little time ago on Afghan affairs. That debate must have been of absorbing interest to those who had taken an active part in the proceedings discussed; but to all ordinary unemployed Englishmen it was instructive only from an historical or antiquarian point of view. Never having been an Ambassador, or General in command in the field, or a Viceroy or Secretary of State for India, or a Prime Minister, or any of those kind of things, it did not interest him so very much to know who began it, or what the different actors in the drama did some years ago. He would rather have learnt who was going to finish it, and what was going on now, and what was to be done next. But these matters were passed over comparatively in silence. He confessed that he saw much to approve of in the general policy of Her Majesty's Government,

The Duke of Richmond and Gordon

and he recognized great force in their plea that circumstances had completely changed since the late Government were in Office. He believed it was necessary for the Government to take action in regard to Afghanistan to assert the proper position of England in regard to that country, to check Russian ascendancy, to re-assure the people of India that we intended to be masters, and to secure a better Frontier for our Indian Empire. The faulty nature of the opposite policy pursued by the noble Duke (the Duke of Argyll) who spoke first in that debate was indicated by his own statement. He said he was frequently taunted with not having shared in Shere Ali's fear at the Russian advance. But the noble Duke declared solemnly, in the face of their Lordships' House, that he never had been afraid and was not afraid then. But the noble Duke did not condescend to explain why he was not afraid, or to advance arguments to show that there was no cause for alarm. He merely asserted that he was not frightened. That did not prove there was no danger—it only showed that the noble Duke was incapable of fear. That was the difficulty. The noble Duke was too courageous. Being incapable of fear, he was also unable to appreciate danger. Circumstances had abundantly proved that Shere Ali was right, and that the noble Duke was wrong. The noble Duke spoke of the Government as listening, appalled and trembling, with ears to the ground, to the approach of the thirsty and tired Russian battalions, and said that such a posture was undignified. He would not stop to inquire how far Her Majesty's Government was affected by the ignoble sentiment of fear; but he believed that the ordinary Englishman, determined that this Empire should be maintained intact, or that the ordinary Englishman, actuated by more sordid motives and having large sums of money invested in India, would prefer that the Government should hear the approach of these Russian battalions, even if they were frightened, rather than that the Government should not be afraid because they were deaf. No one could deny or ignore the rapidity with which Russia had of late years approached our Frontier—a rapidity which was marvellous considering the nature of the country she had had to traverse. He did not pretend to

say that her object was to attack India. He only meant to say that a very powerful and aggressive nation—a nation that could bring an Army of about 1,000,000 of men into the field—had advanced comparatively close to the Frontiers of British India. Russia would go to Merv. She had said that if necessary she would go there; and the noble Duke said that he saw no reason why she should not go there, if it was desirable that she should extend her civilizing influence as far as that. The present was a rather unfortunate moment for speaking of the civilizing influences of Russia. The morals and manners of the Turkomans must be bad indeed if they could be much improved by copying from Russia. However, he quite agreed that there was no reason why Russia should not go to Merv if she desired it; but at Merv she would be within 220 miles of Herat. Then came the serious question whether she should be permitted to go to Herat. Herat might not be the key of India; but it certainly was a very important place. If Russia were meditating an invasion of India, it would be the natural end and object of her advances across the deserts. In that valley she could gradually accumulate the forces necessary for an invasion, and could there develop all requisite materials for war. She could organize an invasion with little drain upon her own resources by drilling and utilizing the native material in men and the various products of the earth. For an invasion it was essential to have a base, and Herat and the adjacent country afforded the only base convenient for the purpose of invading India. For an invasion of India Herat was invaluable. It could be of no use to Russia for any other purpose. The noble Earl, who was formerly Viceroy of India (the Earl of Northbrook), said that Russia ought never to be allowed to go to Herat. That was very strong language, stronger than he (the Earl of Dunraven) should like to use. However, he could understand the policy which contended that Russia should never be allowed to occupy Herat; but he could not understand the policy which said that, and argued at the same time that England should have remained on her old Frontier, should not prevent the Russian occupation of Herat by occupying it herself, and should not even place

herself in a position to nullify as much as possible the effects of a Russian occupation of Herat. With Russia at Merv, whither she would certainly go, and with England at her old Frontier line, we should be perfectly powerless to prevent a further Russian advance. But with Candahar, and railway communication from Candahar to the sea—and it should not be forgotten that England's base of operations in India was the sea—they would be in a very different position. They would be in a good position to act in the event of any Russian advance on Herat. He believed that, with the Passes in their hands and with such a magnificent flanking position as Candahar, British India would be perfectly defensible and secure. In the Paper containing the Treaty of Gandamak, which was presented to Parliament, mention was made of a Schedule annexed, dealing with the delimitation of certain districts, and he supposed that in the Schedule the scientific Frontier was marked out. The Schedule was omitted, and he did not believe that it had ever been presented to Parliament. If not, he thought that Her Majesty's Government should give the House some information as to what the Frontier was or was to be. It was a question whether it were a better strategical position to hold the heads of the Passes, the entrances to them, as they now did, or whether they would not have done better in making the mouths, the exits of the Passes on the Indian side, easily defensible. That was a matter he should like to have heard discussed in that House. In civil life, if he expected the approach of a burglar through a long and narrow passage, he should prefer waiting for him just outside, so that he might conveniently knock him on the head the moment he emerged. But in this question of a Scientific Frontier there was much to be considered, and he could understand that it might be advisable to hold the crests of the mountains. Besides, there was the question of health to be considered, if European garrisons had to be kept at the mouths of the Passes. The Government asserted that they had got the scientific Frontier they wanted, and they had as yet heard no strong arguments urged against it. It was true that the noble Duke (the Duke of Argyll) spoke about its being useless to occupy the crests of the mountains they now

held, because there were other crests beyond them which they would have in turn to occupy. But the noble Lord (Lord Napier of Magdala) pointed out that a plain, about 120 miles in width, extended at the base of the mountains they now held. Big guns not having been yet developed to an extent that they could throw projectiles 120 miles, the enemy could not affect them in any way without deploying on the plain, and giving them the opportunity of attacking their forces when and how they pleased. Their position on the mountains was, with the addition of Candahar, so strong, that they ought to be quite content with it, provided, of course, it was understood that Herat was outside the sphere of Russia. If, however, Herat was such a very important place, and if it were absolutely certain that under no circumstances must Russia be allowed to take it—that her possession of it would be fatal to them—then he trusted that they would take it themselves. He quite agreed with the noble Duke in saying that it would be foolish to bolster up Persia. Nothing could be more injudicious than to hand over Herat to Persia. The noble Lord so long connected with the Foreign Office (Lord Hammond) touched the most important point of the debate when he called attention to the position which Russia would occupy, acting upon her Treaty rights, if Persia were possessed of Herat. Her Majesty's Government had been asked by the noble Earl the Leader of the Opposition (Earl Granville) if they had had any negotiation or convention with Russia as regarded Herat. They had never yet given a definite answer on that subject. He (the Earl of Dunraven) noticed in *The Standard* of that day a telegram from Candahar, saying that the Shah had sent an Envoy to Herat with a strong escort, and it was supposed that he had treasure with him. That rather looked as if some arrangement had been entered into with Persia as regarded Herat, and he trusted that Her Majesty's Government would be able to give some definite assurance that such had not been the case. There was only one thing that could be worse than giving a guarantee to Persia, and that would be for England and Russia to enter into a co-partnership in the matter. They had had enough of mutual interference in

the case of Egypt; and he feared that before the next Parliament met they might be pledged to co-partnership with Russia, or a guarantee of Persia. Her Majesty's Government had been very reticent on the question of Herat, and they had returned somewhat evasive answers to the noble Earl the Leader of the Opposition on the subject. It was not unnatural that they should look with some uneasiness upon this silence. The most extraordinary and quite anomalous position of affairs in Afghanistan was that they were at war; they had an Army of 50,000 or 60,000 men in the field; they found great difficulty in recruiting for it. The Commander-in-Chief was going to the front to take command, and they had not the slightest idea what they were fighting for, or what the war was about. The objects the Prime Minister mentioned—the scientific Frontier, the assertion of their determination to put up with the influence of no Foreign Power in Afghanistan—had been accomplished. In securing their position and vindicating their authority the Government acted wisely and well; but they committed one great, fatal error in forcing a European Envoy upon the Afghans at Cabul. The results of that error the Prime Minister described as an incident or accident of war. It cost the life of a most talented and gallant officer, and many brave men. It cost to this country the services of a man who might have been of the greatest value to it, and it dragged this country into war, or into warlike complications out of which we saw no way of extricating ourselves. And the reason why that was done was, according to the noble Viscount the Secretary of State for India (Viscount Cranbrook), because a Native Envoy would not have been so useful. He (the Earl of Dunraven), however, believed a Native Envoy would have been found infinitely more useful than a European one. But it was thought necessary, because a Russian Envoy had been to Cabul, that we should send an Englishman there. That appeared to him a childish assertion of power; and that was called an "accident." He called it a grave diplomatic error—an error in judgment, that entailed most disastrous results—a mistake, and a fatal one, in policy; not an accident. If they went to war to vindicate their authority and honour and to improve their Frontier, then every penny spent and every

drop of blood shed since the Treaty of Gandamak had been poured out and wasted on account of that "accident" or "incident" of war. The differences between England and Russia had been narrowed to a very small issue—down to a question of boundaries and ultimate aims and objects in Central Asia—and it would be very strange if an understanding—permanent, because satisfactory to both parties—could not be arrived at. No understanding that consisted of a co-operation or co-partnership could be satisfactory. It was right and proper that Russia should be allowed to fulfil what she deemed her civilizing mission in Central Asia; but the possession of Herat could not be necessary to secure that object. The possession of Herat would be a direct menace to British rule in India, and should be dealt with according as circumstances would at the time indicate; and, in the meantime, we should take up a position which would secure us even against any evil arising from that eventuality. But if it be agreed, as the noble Earl (the Earl of Northbrook) appeared to think, that it was absolutely essential that Herat should never be in the possession of Russia, then let them settle that question in the only way in which it could be settled satisfactorily—namely, by taking it themselves. He did not believe, however, that was necessary; he believed, with the Passes and Candahar in their hands, India was safe enough. Her Majesty's Government might be actuated by a very laudable desire to extend the blessings of their rule to people who sadly needed it; the settled dwellers in the cities and valleys would be only too glad to be protected by them from the savage highland clans that now ruled them; but he trusted the Government would consider chiefly what was best for the interests of England and for our fellow-subjects in India. There were two distinct policies, and a good deal could be said to recommend each of them. They could remain where they were, on the lines settled by the Treaty of Gandamak with the addition of Candahar, or they could take Herat and annex the whole country. They knew not as yet in which direction the policy of the Government lay. There was an intermediate policy—a policy that would be fatal—a policy that would endeavour to exercise a feeble control

over Herat through another Power; that would give Persia a vicarious authority in Afghanistan; that would possibly involve England in some international arrangement with Russia—some joint-stock business, in which of a surety their liability would not be limited. It was a policy which would be very fatal to the country, and yet the Parliament was about to be dissolved, leaving the country in absolute ignorance as to whether the policy of Her Majesty's Government tended in that direction or not. It would, therefore, be to the interest of the country if the Government would give some information on the subject before Parliament dissolved.

LORD STANLEY OF ALDERLEY said, the noble Earl who had just sat down (the Earl of Dunraven) had understated the case with regard to the unfortunate death of Major Cavagnari; it was no accident of war; not only should the Government not have insisted on sending a European officer as Envoy, but Major Cavagnari was the last man that should have been chosen for that service, for he was identified in the minds of the Afghans as the man who caused and began the first war; and what had happened was foreseen and anticipated. If a European were selected as Envoy he should have been a civilian, and either have had no escort, and trusted himself to the hospitality of the people, or have had a larger escort. We did not yet know who was responsible for this selection; whether it was the Home Government or the Indian Government. He would not say much about the first war, as their Lordships had already heard so much about it; but it would have been unnecessary, if the Government had then done what they had seemed lately to be inclined to do, to make an alliance with Persia. Sir Henry Rawlinson had advocated an alliance with Persia for the last 20 years, and his ideas were very good; but they must be taken as a whole and fully carried out. Now they had had an alliance with Persia; but in 1825 they had abandoned Persia, although several British officers were at that time in command of Persian troops; and in 1827 the Treaty of Turkman Tchai had excluded Persian ships from the Caspian. In Nadir Shah's time an Englishman had commanded a Persian ship on the Caspian, and from the Caspian Sea the

Russians could be taken not only on the flank, but in the rear. The telegraphic news from Afghanistan was conflicting. One telegram spoke of negotiation with the Afghans in Ghuznee, and another said orders had come from India to attack it. He hoped that this would be avoided by negotiation and pacification, and that they would not uselessly throw away the lives of their own men in attacking it, nor uselessly increase the blood-feud between them by killing more of the Afghans. He also wished to say that if Abderrahman Khan should succeed in establishing himself over a considerable part of Afghanistan, it would be very short-sighted on their part to oppose him, merely because, when in exile, he had been a pensioner of Russia. By his age and position he was one of the family of the Barakzais, who had most claim to rule in Afghanistan; and the most gracious Speech of the Queen at the opening of the Session had repeated the desire for a friendly and independent Afghanistan.

LORD BLANTYRE said, that the invasion of India by a merely Russian Force would be of little consequence; but if Russia gained strength in the advance she was assuredly making upon India, and was allowed by us to add the very formidable Turkoman cavalry and the hardy Afghan races to her own Forces, then their joint invasion of India would probably be a success. A locust was a small and weak thing in itself; yet the locusts in India had been known, by attaching themselves in great numbers to the rails and train, to overcome the power of the engine to move the train. An invasion of India from Central Asia, organized on a large scale, would be overwhelming from its numbers—resistance would be vain. Some military men had proposed to stop invasion by forts and armies; if it took place, probably no resistance of the kind would avail. The safer way was to prevent such an invasion taking place; to detach the whole of Afghanistan, not only from Russia, but from barbarism; for so long as any considerable portion of that country remained barbarian it would yield to the invitations of Russia to join her in looting India. Roads, trade, good government, would civilize Afghanistan, as they had done other countries, and unite her people in a common interest with India. We en-

tered on the policy of drawing the countries yet remaining between us and Russia to our side when we left the Indus Valley; that was not an ancient Frontier, for the Afghan races had dominated a large part of India, and it had only been occupied by us for about 30 years—a weak Frontier, and hemmed in by barbarians. The question was, whether our present plans were sufficiently comprehensive? A Frontier drawn through the middle of the country was likely to involve us in chronic warfare. There is no course that would effect our object of strengthening India by a civilized and dependent Afghanistan, short of ruling the whole country. Why did we delay to take Herat? We had a large force at Candahar—the campaigning season was about to begin—Herat might be expected to offer less resistance now than at any future time. It was necessary to take it to subdue opposition to our arms and authority in Afghanistan. Herat had always occupied a leading position in giving a Ruler to that country. We might use it to that end, or we might, by inactivity, allow it to be used against us. The possession of Herat would allow us to take another step towards the prevention of a successful invasion of India. Once there, we should be in a position, by diplomacy, or by acts, to secure the independence from Russia of the Tekke Turkomans.

VISCOUNT CRANBROOK said, he was sure their Lordships would not expect him to notice all the remarks of the noble Lords who had spoken on the subject, or to agree with them in all the conclusions at which they had arrived. Very different opinions had been expressed by the noble Lords who had spoken; and he thought those of their Lordships who had listened to the discussion would come to the conclusion that, at all events, those who were not responsible for our treatment of Afghanistan had very different methods of dealing with it. The noble Lord who spoke last (Lord Blantyre) had told them to annex the whole of Afghanistan. The noble Earl who introduced the subject (the Earl of Dunraven) deprecated anything of the kind, advised them not to go beyond the scientific Frontier of Gandamak, and that we should take particular care not to allow Persia to take Herat, or to have any voice in the affairs of Afghan-

istan. The noble Lord (Lord Stanley of Alderley) said that we should enter into an alliance with Persia and hand her over Herat, and at the same time—which struck him (Viscount Cranbrook) as inconsistent—they should attempt to set up a strong, united Afghanistan. It was very well for noble Lords to evolve out of their own consciousness their various modes of dealing with this question, and they might be worthy of great consideration in the abstract; but when the Government had to deal with the actual facts of the country, and look at the position in which they were placed, they had to deal with causes and effects of which noble Lords were not aware. He was quite ignorant of what was intended by the noble Earl, who merely gave Notice that he would call attention to the affairs of Afghanistan; he did not know whether he was going to support the Government in the course they had taken, or how he was going to deal with the question. He was very glad, however, to hear the noble Earl state that he did not mean to refer to the old history of the country. It was much better to direct their attention now to what had to be done rather than to what had been done. The noble Earl complained of the reticence of the Government. Now, the Government, in the Queen's Speech, announced particularly that they had no desire to annex Afghanistan, and that they would go in the main on the lines of the Treaty of Gandamak. That was the policy to which they still adhered; but he objected altogether, at the very moment when the spring had arrived, and the war might be going to commence, to lay down any particular rule as to any particular line of Frontier until they saw what the dispositions of the Natives were, and how they were to assert their supremacy in that country. The noble Earl asked whether the Treaty of Gandamak did not lay down definitely any plan. No, it did not. Only a short interval elapsed before the unfortunate Cavagnari and his companions, whose loss he (Viscount Cranbrook) deeply deplored, were murdered, and the period was too short thoroughly to survey the position. The noble Earl had condemned the policy of sending an English Envoy to Cabul. Now, Cabul was not their selection; it was the selection of Yakoob Khan, and it was in

deference to his wishes that the Envoy went there. It might be that the fall of Sir Louis Cavagnari might have been foretold; but all he could say was that it was not foretold by himself, or by those who were conversant with the affairs of Afghanistan. Nor was it contemplated by him when he was there; because, although he knew there were great dangers to Yakoob Khan, he had no reason to suspect that there was the deep-rooted hostility against the Mission which was manifested by the attack on the Residency. When the time came for unravelling some of the secrets of the matter, it might be that steps were taken which involved treachery too deep for them to have suspected. However, that was past. But he did not understand the noble Earl to condemn our sending troops to avenge the insult offered to England, or to blame them for having taken steps to vindicate the authority so set at naught. It was, no doubt, their duty to go to Cabul then, although their desire had been in the former campaign not to do anything which might interfere with the security of the Ameer or tend to the disintegration of his Kingdom. With respect to English Envoys as against Native Envoys, he would just say this—In one of his letters he had lately read, Lord Minto expressed himself strongly as to the deficiencies of Native Envoys. They were trustworthy to a certain extent; but it was impossible for them to speak with an authority that could be relied on—with the authority of an Envoy belonging to the ruling nation. They spoke as they were told by those in whose Courts they were; and it was notorious that their reports were actually, in some cases, revised and corrected by the authorities of the Court to which they were attached. That did not seem to be a position of things to enable them to get correct information; and assuming that Yakoob Khan could have protected the Envoy who was sent there at his own request, they would have found themselves on much better terms than they had been before. Unfortunately, that did not take place, and they had to advance upon Cabul. They were now in a position in which they had Forces in the Kurrum Valley, at Candahar, and at Cabul. The noble Lord objected to them marching on Ghuznee; but unless

a pacification was to come he saw no other course open to them. At no distant date he hoped that General Stewart would make his march back to India by Ghuznee. Whether it would be necessary for him to attack it, which he very much doubted, or whether it would not be a peaceable march to its possession, he could not at that moment say. But here, again, he might say rumours of very different characters prevailed as to the disposition of the Chiefs at Ghuznee; and it would be very foolish of him, when they were just at the beginning of spring, to adopt any conclusion as to what would be the conduct of the Tribes at that particular period. It must be remembered that sowing time was a most important time for these people; and they knew if they did not sow their fields they would have no harvest to reap. The time was also most important for us, when the Passes were open. It would give them a great advantage in any movement they might make if it were made at this time. With respect to Herat, the noble Earl was very anxious that they should not annex it. He (Viscount Cranbrook) was disposed to agree with the noble Earl to a certain extent that Herat was not of the infinite importance many attributed to it; and particularly when we were in possession of Candahar, and the other positions we held, Herat became of much less importance than it was on any previous occasion. But, as the noble Earl talked of the civilization of Central Asia, he (Viscount Cranbrook) would say that during last year more steps had been taken with that view than had ever been taken before, and that chiefly by pressing on those railways which had already reached Afghanistan. Sir Richard Temple described the progress of these works, in which he had taken an active part, in a most interesting manner, speaking of dynamite blasting the rocks in Afghanistan and making a way for the railways, which it was to be hoped would in 1882 be carried into Candahar. If that were the case the railways would go further and the trade of Central Asia would come by way of Candahar, and they might look forward to this great question being solved by their further progress towards Herat. In that way a solution would be arrived at far better than any that had been suggested to-night. The noble Earl ex-

Viscount Cranbrook

pressed a hope that they would have no understanding with Russia on this subject, and he asked whether there was any arrangement with respect to Herat. In reply to the noble Earl, he had to say that they had no understanding with Russia on the subject, and that no arrangement had been come to with Persia with respect to Herat. It might be true that Persia had emissaries in Herat, and he had no doubt Persia would be extremely glad to be in possession of Herat. There were possible conditions which might make its acquisition by Persia not so dangerous; but he must ask the noble Earl to leave this question unsolved for the present. He looked forward with great hope to the pacification of Afghanistan, and of its being governed by Rulers of its own choice, without any interference on our part in its internal affairs, only taking care to secure the Frontier we had achieved.

In answer to the Earl of Northbrook, Viscount Cranbrook said, no arrangement had been made by Convention or contract with Persia, to waive the Treaty of Paris with reference to Herat.

House adjourned at half past Eight o'clock, till To-morrow, half past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Wednesday, 24th March, 1880.

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILLS—*Royal Assent*—Exchequer Bills and Bonds [43 *Vict.* c. 16]; Consolidated Fund (Appropriation) [43 *Vict.* c. 13]; Customs and Inland Revenue [43 *Vict.* c. 14]; Hypothec Abolition (Scotland) [43 *Vict.* c. 12]; Companies Acts Amendment [43 *Vict.* c. 19]; Municipal Corporations (Property Qualification Abolition) [43 *Vict.* c. 17]; National Debt [43 *Vict.* c. 15]; Parliamentary Elections and Corrupt Practices (No. 2) [43 *Vict.* c. 18].

PROROGATION OF THE PARLIAMENT —HER MAJESTY'S SPEECH.

THE PARLIAMENT was this day prorogued by Commission.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR acquainted the House that Her Majesty had been pleased to grant two several

Commissions, one for declaring Her Royal Assent to several Acts agreed upon by both Houses of Parliament, and the other for proroguing the Parliament:—And the LORDS COMMISSIONERS—namely, The LORD CHANCELLOR; The EARL OF HARDWICKE; The EARL OF BRADFORD; The SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (The Viscount Cranbrook); and The LORD SKELMERSDALE—being in their Robes, and seated on a Form between the Throne and the Woolsack; and the COMMONS being come, with their Speaker, and the Commission to that purpose being read, the ROYAL ASSENT was given to several Bills.

Then THE LORD CHANCELLOR, pursuant to Her Majesty's Command, delivered HER MAJESTY'S SPEECH, as follows:—

“My Lords, and Gentlemen,

“As the time assigned by law for the termination of the present Parliament is near at hand, I am induced, by considerations of public policy and convenience, to select this period of the session for releasing you from your legislative duties, with a view to an immediate dissolution, and the issue of writs for a general election.

“I cannot part from you without expressing my deep sense of the zeal and ability which, during more than six years, you have consistently displayed in exercising your important functions, nor without tendering to you my warm acknowledgments for the useful measures which you have submitted for my acceptance, and especially for the manner in which you have upheld a policy the object of which was at once to defend my Empire and secure the general Peace.

“My relations with Foreign Powers are friendly, and favourable to the maintenance of tranquillity in Europe.

“I entertain the confident hope that the measures adopted in Afghanistan

will lead to a speedy settlement of that country.

“I have had much satisfaction in assenting to the Acts you have passed for the relief of the distress unhappily prevalent in parts of Ireland, and trusting that these measures will be accepted by my Irish subjects as a proof of the ready sympathy of the Imperial Parliament, I look forward with confidence to the restored prosperity of their country.

“I rejoice to observe the indications of a general improvement in trade, and that the commercial depression which I have had to lament appears to be passing away.

“I have witnessed with the greatest sympathy the heavy losses sustained by the various classes connected with the cultivation of the soil, and have viewed with admiration the patience and high spirit with which they have contended against an almost unprecedented series of disastrous seasons.

“I trust that, with the blessing of Providence, a more favourable harvest may be looked for, and that, from the Commission which I issued to inquire into the causes of agricultural depression, suggestions may come which will lead to the more profitable use of agricultural land, and to a higher development of this branch of national industry.

“The electors of the United Kingdom will be called upon forthwith to choose their Representatives in Parliament, and I fervently pray that the blessing of Almighty God may guide them to promote the object of my constant solicitude—the happiness of my people.”

Then a Commission for proroguing the Parliament was read.

After which,

THE LORD CHANCELLOR said—

My Lords, and Gentlemen,

By virtue of Her Majesty's Commission, under the Great Seal, to us and other Lords directed, and now read, we do, in Her Majesty's Name, and in obedience to Her Commands, prorogue this Parliament to Tuesday the thirteenth day of April next, to be then here holden; and this Parliament is accordingly prorogued to Tuesday the thirteenth day of April next.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Wednesday, 24th March, 1880.

The House met at half after One of the clock.

PROROGATION OF THE PARLIAMENT.

Message to attend The LORDS COMMISSIONERS :—

The House went;—and a Royal Commission to that purpose having been read, the *Royal Assent* was given to several Bills.

And afterwards Her Majesty's Most Gracious Speech was delivered to both Houses of Parliament by the Lord High Chancellor (in pursuance of Her Majesty's Command).

Then a Commission for proroguing the Parliament was read.

After which,

THE LORD CHANCELLOR said—

My Lords, and Gentlemen,

By virtue of Her Majesty's Commission, under the Great Seal, to us and other Lords directed, and now read, we do, in Her Majesty's Name, and in obedience to Her Commands, prorogue this Parliament to Tuesday the thirteenth day of April next, to be then here holden; and this Parliament is accordingly prorogued to Tuesday the thirteenth day of April next.

AND ON THE SAME DAY THE PARLIAMENT WAS DISSOLVED
BY PROCLAMATION.

TABLE OF ALL THE STATUTES

PASSED IN THE SEVENTH SESSION OF

THE TWENTY-FIRST PARLIAMENT OF THE UNITED KINGDOM

OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

43 VICTORIA.—A.D. 1880.

PUBLIC GENERAL ACTS.

1. **A**N Act to enable Guardians of the Poor to borrow Money for the purpose of procuring Seed Potatoes and Seed Oats, and other Seed, for Tenants in Ireland; and for other purposes.
2. An Act to amend the Artizans and Labourers Dwellings Improvement (Scotland) Act, 1875.
3. An Act to amend the Law relating to the Salaries and Allowances of certain Officers in India; and for other purposes relating thereto.
4. An Act to render valid certain proceedings taken for the Relief of Distress in Ireland, and to make further provision for such Relief; and for other purposes.
5. An Act to apply certain Sums out of the Consolidated Fund to the service of the years ending on the thirty-first day of March one thousand eight hundred and eighty, and one thousand eight hundred and eighty-one.
6. An Act for amending the Law relating to the grant by Justices of Certificates for Beer Dealers Retail Licences.
7. An Act to amend the Law in regard to charging Road Debts on Entailed Estates in Scotland.
8. An Act to explain and amend the twenty-second section of the Artizans and Labourers Dwellings Act, 1868, Amendment Act, 1879.
9. An Act to provide during twelve months for the Discipline and Regulation of the Army.
10. An Act to enable the Secretary of State in Council of India to raise money in the United Kingdom for the purpose of paying off or redeeming Debentures of the East Indian Railway Company.
11. An Act to make Powers of Attorney and Requests for Transmission of Dividend Warrants by Post relating to India Five per centum Stock applicable to India Four per centum Stock.
12. An Act to abolish the Landlord's Right of Hypothec for Rent in Scotland.
13. An Act to apply certain sums out of the Consolidated Fund to the service of the years ending on the thirty-first day of March one thousand eight hundred and seventy-nine, one thousand eight hundred and eighty, and one thousand eight hundred and eighty-one, and to appropriate the Supplies granted in this Session of Parliament.
14. An Act to grant certain Duties of Customs and Inland Revenue, to alter other Duties, and to amend the Laws relating to Inland Revenue.
15. An Act to authorise the Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury to borrow a sum on the security of Terminable Annuities, and to

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| <p>increase the permanent Annual Charge of the National Debt.</p> <p>16. An Act to raise the sum of Sixty thousand pounds by Exchequer Bonds, Exchequer Bills, or Treasury Bills, for the service of the year ending on the thirty-first day of March one thousand eight hundred and eighty.</p> <p>17. An Act to abolish the property qualification for members of Municipal Corporations and Local Governing Bodies.</p> | <p>18. An Act to amend the Law relating to the Conveyance of Voters to the Poll, and to continue the Acts relating to the Prevention of Corrupt Practices at Parliamentary Elections and the Acts relating to Election Petitions.</p> <p>19. An Act to amend the Companies Acts of 1862, 1867, 1877, and 1879.</p> |
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PRIVATE ACT,

NOT PRINTED.

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| <p>1. AN Act to naturalize Luitbert Alexander George Lionel Alphons Freiherr Von Pawel Rammingen, and to grant and confer</p> | <p>on him all the rights, privileges, and capacities of a natural-born Subject of Her Majesty the Queen.</p> |
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GENERAL INDEX TO FIRST SESSION 1880.

EXPLANATION OF THE ABBREVIATIONS.

It being a principal object of this Index, that the proceedings on each Motion shall be completely recorded, some abbreviations of forms were necessary. Those who are accustomed to the proceedings of Parliament will readily fill up the voids. Those who are not so familiar, may find the following explanation useful, but will find the whole *formulae* set out at length in the "Contents."

The names which immediately follow the title of a Bill are those of the Peers or hon. Members who have charge of the Bill.

The numbers which are added at stages of Bills are the official numbers of the prints and reprints ordered at each stage, and, with the Statute, will enable the reader to follow all the changes the Bill has undergone.

The entries—Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2^a;" Amendt. "this day six months;" Question put, "That 'now,' &c."—indicate the usual form of raising the issue—namely, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question."

"*The Ballot*, Amendt. on Committee of Supply" indicates that the Question was raised by means of an Amendment moved on the Motion (after the Order of the Day for the House to go into Committee of Supply had been read), "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair." In this case the issue is formally raised by the Motion "To leave out from the word 'That' to the end of the Question, in order to add" other words. The decision is taken on the Question, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

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IN THE SEVENTH SESSION OF THE

TWENTY-FIRST PARLIAMENT OF THE UNITED KINGDOM.

43^d VICTORIA.

1880.

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c. Ordered; read 1^o Feb 6 [Bill 5]
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Highway Board Accounts, Motion for a Return, [251] 128

Beer Dealers' Retail Licences Bill

(*Mr. Ritchie, Mr. Gorst, Mr. Torrens,*

Mr. Mundella)

c. Considered in Committee; Resolution agreed to, and reported; Bill ordered; read 1st Feb 9 [Bill 65]

[*cont.*

Beer Dealers' Retail Licences Bill—cont.

Read 2^o * Feb 16

Committee deferred, after short debate Feb 28, [250] 1709

Committee*; Report Mar 3

Read 3^o * Mar 4

l. Read 1st * (*The Earl Stanhope*) Mar 5 (No. 27)

2R. put off, after short debate Mar 8, [251] 547

Read 2^a, after short debate Mar 11, 788

Committee; Report, after short debate Mar 12, 907

Read 3^a * Mar 15

Royal Assent Mar 19 [43 *Vict.* c. 6]

BELL, Mr. I. L., *Hartlepool*

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BENTINCK, Mr. G. W. P., *Norfolk, W.*

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Lighthouses, Motion for Papers, [251] 813

Navy, State of the, Res. [251] 583

Navy Estimates—Sea and Coastguard Services, [251] 642

Parliament—Privilege—Mr. Plimsoll, [250] 1111

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Navy—Recreation Grounds at Portsmouth, [251] 438

BIGGAR, Mr. J. G., *Cavan Co.*

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Mercantile Marine—"Louisa Fletcher" of Liverpool (Unseaworthiness), [251] 430

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Poor Law (Ireland)—Union of Bailieboro, [250] 908

250] Relief of Distress (Ireland), 528; Comm. 722;

. cl. 3, 733, 765, 768; Motion for reporting

. Progress, 770, 930, 932, 934; Amendt. 937,

. 942, 969; cl. 4, Amendt. 988, 989; cl. 5,

. 995, 997; cl. 9, Amendt. 998, 1001, 1008,

. 1010, 1013, 1150, 1160; cl. 20, 1163; Consid.

. add. cl. 1226, 1228, 1229; cl. 3, Amendt.

. 1232

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- County Court Officers, &c. Ireland, [251] 359, 362, 363
- Criminal Prosecutions—Sheriffs' Expenses, &c. [251] 346
- Law Charges, [251] 345
- Public Works Office, Ireland, [251] 334
- Ulster Tenant Right, 2R. [251] 259

Bills of Sale Act (1873) Amendment Bill
(*Mr. Monk, Mr. Sampson Lloyd, Mr. Merewether, Mr. Morley, Mr. Barran*)

- c. Considered in Committee; Resolution agreed to, and reported; Bill ordered; read 1^o * Mar 15 [Bill 113]
- 2R. [Dropped]

BIRKBECK, Mr. E., Norfolk, N.

- Fishing Vessels, Commission on Lights for, [251] 686, 813

Births and Deaths Registration (Ireland) Bill

(*Mr. Meldon, Mr. Errington, Major Nolan*)

- c. Ordered; read 1^o * Feb 6 [Bill 56]
- 2R. [Dropped]

BLAKE, Mr. T., Leominster

- Parliament—Privilege of Parliament—Immunity from Arrest, Res. [250] 1300, 1316
- Return of Members of the Civil Service engaged in Trading, [251] 439

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- Hypothec Abolition (Scotland), 2R. [251] 959; Report, 1167; 3R. 1200
- India—Afghanistan, Affairs of, [251] 1263

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- Borough Franchise (Ireland), Res. [250] 853
- Parliament—Queen's Speech, Address in Answer to, [250] 310

Blind and Deaf-Mute Children Bill

(*Mr. Wheelhouse, Mr. Montague Scott, Mr. Benjamin Williams*)

- c. Ordered; read 1^o * Feb 6 [Bill 41]
- 250] 2R., debate adjourned Feb 25, 1426
- Read 2^o * Mar 3
- Order for Committee read; Moved, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair" Mar 4, 251] 409; Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Mr. Monk*); after short debate, Question put; A. 9, N. 54; M. 45 (D. L. 36)
- Original Question again proposed; Moved, "That this House do now adjourn" (*Mr. Brogden*); after short debate, Motion withdrawn
- Original Question put, and agreed to; Committee—R.P.
- Committee; Report Mar 8, 665
- Considered * Mar 10
- Read 3^o * Mar 11

Blind and Deaf-Mute Children Bill—cont.

- l. Read 1^o * (*The Lord Norton*) Mar 12 (No. 39)
- Read 2^o * Mar 17, [251] 1172
- Committee*; Report Mar 18 (No. 52)
- Read 3^o * Mar 19

Boiler Explosion, Garngad Ironworks, Glasgow

- Question, Mr. Anderson; Answer, Mr. Assheton Cross Mar 8, [251] 556

BOURKE, Hon. R. (Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs), Lynn Regis

- Africa (West Coast)—Bombardment of Onitsha, [250] 509, 510, 681;—Medina and Liberia, 1444

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[250] 1198, 1299

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- Parliament—Miscellaneous Questions
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- Parliament — Duration of Parliament, Res.
[250] 1345
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nity from Arrest, Res. [250] 1313
- Parliamentary Elections and Corrupt Practices
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- Probates of Wills, &c. 2R. [251] 1032, 1033

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BRIGGS, Mr. W. E., *Blackburn*
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cutions in Kirkdale Gaol, [251] 432; Motion
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BRIGHT, Mr. J., *Manchester*
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c. Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2^o"
(Mr. Fry) Mar 2, [251] 131
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this day six months" (Mr. Wait); Ques-
tion proposed, "That 'now,' &c.;" after
debate, Question put; A. 163, N. 98; M. 65
(D. L. 31)
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BROGDEN, Mr. A., *Wednesbury*
Blind and Deaf-Mute Children, Comm. Motion
for Adjournment, [251] 410, 411

BROOKS, Mr. M., *Dublin*
Borough Franchise (Ireland), Res. [250] 841

BROWNE, Mr. G. E., *Mayo Co.*
Relief of Distress (Ireland), Comm. cl. 3,
[250] 759

BRUEN, Mr. H., *Carlow Co.*
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Bulgaria—Dismissal of the Assembly
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c. Considered in Committee; Resolution agreed
to, and reported; Bill ordered; read 1^o*
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- Chartered Banks (Colonial), 2R. [250] 569
- India—Afghanistan—Military Operations—Loss of Baggage Animals, [251] 798
- Parliament—Privilege of Parliament—Immunity from Arrest, Res. [250] 1310
- Parliamentary Elections and Corrupt Practices (No. 2), 2R. Amendt. [251] 862; Comm. cl. 3, 1163; Consid. Amendt. 1176; *add. cl.* 1188, 1190
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- Army—Auxiliary Forces—Easter Monday Volunteer Review, [250] 672; Address for a Paper, 1430, 1433, 1434; [251] 423, 424
- Eastern Question, [251] 546; Motion for an Address, 973, 1007
- Ireland, State of, Motion for Returns, [250] 1559
- Tripartite Treaty of 1856, [250] 781

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- Hypothec Abolition (Scotland), 2R. [250] 1421

CAMPBELL, Sir G., *Kirkcaldy, &c.*

- Army—Auxiliary Forces—Easter Monday Volunteer Review—The General Election, [251] 1016
- Bulgaria—Dismissal of the Assembly, [251] 23, 24
- Criminal Code, 2R. [250] 1245
- Customs and Inland Revenue, Consid. Amendt. [251] 1192, 1194
- East India Loan (East Indian Railway Debentures), Comm. [251] 114
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- Malta, Despatch of Indian Troops to—Return of Costs, [251] 806
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- Parliament—Business of the House (Order in Debate), Res. Amendt. [250] 1691, 1694
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- Army Estimates—Departmental Statement, [251] 70
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- Consolidated Fund Appropriation, 3R. [251] 1195
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- Supply—War in South Africa (Vote of Credit), [251] 763, 769

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- Army—Auxiliary Forces—Easter Monday Volunteer Review—The General Election, [251] 1016

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- Works, Buildings, &c. [251] 108
- Navy—Bursting of the "Thunderer" Gun, [251] 797
- Strensall Common, 2R. [250] 1382

Census Bill (*Mr. Sclater-Booth, Mr. Secretary Cross, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Salt*)

- c. Ordered; read 1^o * Feb 23 [Bill 85]
- Bill withdrawn * Mar 15

Census (Ireland) Bill (*Mr. James Lowther, Mr. Attorney General for Ireland*)

- c. Ordered; read 1^o * Mar 3 [Bill 101]
- Bill withdrawn * Mar 15

Census (Scotland) Bill

(*The Lord Advocate, Mr. Secretary Cross*)

- c. Ordered; read 1^o * Feb 23 [Bill 86]
- Question, Mr. McLaren; Answer, Mr. Assheton Cross Mar 8, [251] 557
- Bill withdrawn * Mar 15

CHADWICK, Mr. D., Macclesfield

- Customs and Inland Revenue, Consid. [251] 1194
- Parliamentary Elections and Corrupt Practices (No. 2), Comm. cl. 2, [251] 1161
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- Queen's Speech, Address in Answer to, [250] 389, 388
- Parliament—Business of the House (Order in Debate), Res. [250] 1661, 1664
- Parliament—Privilege—Interference of Peers in Elections—Hon. Major Jocelyn, Res. [250] 1209
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- Criminal Code, 2R. [250] 1247

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- Army—Short Service System—Report of Departmental Committee, [251] 906
- Common Law Procedure and Judicature Acts Amendment, 2R. [251] 1079

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- Agricultural Distress, Royal Commission on, [250] 1103
- Ballot Act, [250] 267; [251] 28
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- Blind and Deaf-Mute Children, Comm. [251] 410, 411
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- Parliament—Business of the House (Order in Debate), Res. [250] 1450, 1539, 1607, 1639, 1641, 1652, 1656, 1674, 1690, 1692, 1693, 1699, 1702, 1703, 1705, 1707
- Parliament—Orders of the Day—Standing Order of Supply and Ways and Means, Res. [250] 1572, 1574, 1575, 1577
- Parliament—Privilege—Interference of Peers at Elections—Hon. Major Jocelyn, Res. [250] 1202
- Parliament—Privilege—London Newspapers, Res. Amendt. [250] 1222
- Parliamentary Elections and Corrupt Practices (No. 2), [251] 814; Comm. 953, 1017, 1072, 1111; *cl.* 2, 1118, 1124, 1130, 1137, 1148, 1151, 1156, 1157, 1158, 1160, 1162; Consid. 1178, 1181; *add. cl.* 1191
- Persia and Herat, [250] 383, 520
- Post Office—Investments—Savings Banks, [250] 682
- Probates of Wills, &c. [Stamp Duties], Comm. Motion for Adjournment, [251] 530, 532; 2R. [251] 1018, 1029, 1048
- Railway Servants—Compensation for Injuries, [251] 689
- Registrar General, Appointment of—Dr. Farr, [250] 1193
- Relief of Distress (Ireland), [250] 589;—Irish Church Temporalities Commissioners, [251] 555
- 250] Relief of Distress (Ireland), Leave, 238, 242; 2R. 541, 551, 554; Comm. 710, 712; *cl.* 3, 726, 733, 739, 745, 746, 758, 762, 764, 771, 772, 978; *cl.* 4, Amendt. 986, 988, 990; *cl.* 5, 993; *cl.* 9, 1010, 1011, 1017; *cl.* 17,

CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER—*cont.*

- 250] Amendt. 1162; *cl.* 19, Amendt. *ib.*; Consid. *cl.* 4, 1233, 1234
- Lords Amendts. Consid. [251] 882, 895
- Roumania—The Jews, [250] 795, 1187
- Russia and Western Asia—Lieutenant Colonel Macgregor, [250] 909, 910
- Russia—Explosion at the Winter Palace, [250] 922
- Seed Potatoes (Ireland), 2R. [250] 449; Comm. *cl.* 3, 652; *cl.* 6, 655, 656, 658, 659; *cl.* 12, 665, 772; Consid. *cl.* 6, 880
- South African Colonies, [250] 381
- Supply—Colonial Local Revenue, [251] 405
- Diplomatic Services, [251] 396, 398
- Report, [251] 920
- Technical Education, Central College of, [251] 428
- Tower High Level Bridge (Metropolis) Committee—Mr. Grissell, [251] 26; Amendt. 154, 159, 241
- Treaty Guarantees, [250] 648
- Turkey—Murder of Mr. Ogle, [250] 381, 382, 1104, 1197, 1571
- Turkey and Greece—Rectification of Frontier, [251] 1209, 1211
- Ways and Means—Financial Statement, Comm. [251] 816, 836, 837, 839, 843
- Wine Duties, Select Committee on, [250] 1440

Channel Islands—Jersey—Payment of the Judge

- Question, Mr. Waddy; Answer, Mr. Assheton
- Cross Feb 27, [250] 1572

CHAPLIN, Mr. H., *Lincolnshire, Mid*

- Game Laws, Res. [251] 212
- Parliament—Privilege—Mr. Plimsoll, [250] 1128
- Parliament—Business of the House (Order in Debate), Res. [250] 1514, 1519, 1686

Charities (Ireland) Bill

(*Mr. Meldon, Mr. Errington*)

- c.* Ordered; read 1st Feb 17 [Bill 78]
- 2R. [Dropped]

Charity Commission, The—Sittings of the Board

- Question, Mr. Pemberton; Answer, Lord George Hamilton Feb 26, [250] 1439

Charity Expenses and Accounts Bill

- Question, Mr. W. H. James; Answer, Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson Feb 12, [250] 508

CHARLEY, Mr. W. T., *Salford*

- Army Estimates—Departmental Statement, [251] 86
- Relief of Distress (Ireland), Leave, [250] 242

Chester Gas Bill

- Standing Order 109 read Feb 27, [250] 1565
- Moved, That the Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means be discharged from attendance on the Chester Gas Bill, and that

[*cont.*

[*cont.*

Chester Gas Bill—cont.

the Chairman of the Committee on Standing Orders be appointed Chairman of the Committee on the said Bill (*The Chairman of Ways and Means*); Motion agreed to

CHILDERS, Right Hon. H. C. E., *Pontefract*

Chartered Banks (Colonial), 2R. [250] 575
Commerce and Free Trade, Motion for a Select Committee, [250] 625
Malta, Despatch of Indian Troops to—Return of Costs, [251] 805
Merchant Ships Laden in Bulk, Nomination of Select Committee, [251] 541
Navy, State of the, Res. [251] 583
Navy Estimates—Admiralty Office, [251] 655, 657
Parliament—Business of the House (Order in Debate), Res. [250] 1540, 1676
Probates of Wills, &c. 2R. [251] 1033
Relief of Distress (Ireland), Leave, [250] 240; Comm. 712, 713; cl. 3, 732, 755, 758, 955
Seed Potatoes (Ireland), Comm. cl. 3, [250] 652; cl. 12, 664
Supply—New Courts of Justice and Offices, [250] 1252
Royal Palaces, [250] 1248
Treaty Guarantees, [250] 647
Ways and Means—Financial Statement, Comm. [251] 840, 845

China

Domestic Servitude at Hong Kong, Questions, Mr. Anderson; Answers, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach Feb 12, [250] 514
Hong Kong—The Contagious Diseases Ordinance, 1867, Address for Papers, Lord Stanley of Alderley Mar 22, [251] 1254; after short debate, Motion postponed
The Cheefoo Convention; Question, Mr. Mark Stewart; Answer, Mr. Bourke Feb 6, [250] 149

CHURCHILL, Lord R., *Woodstock*

Post Office Telegrams—Disclosure of Private Telegrams, [250] 1436, 1437

Church of England—Sale of Livings—The Royal Commission

Question, Mr. Leatham; Answer, Mr. Assheton Cross Feb 19, [250] 922

Civil Service Writers

Question, Sir Joseph McKenna; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer Feb 16, [250] 677; Question, Mr. Finigan; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer, 684

CLARKE, Mr. E. G., *Southwark*

Intoxicating Liquors (Licences), Res. [251] 504

Closing of Public-Houses on Sunday

Resolution withdrawn (*Mr. Stevenson*) Ma 9, [251] 680

Coal Mines—The Leyceet Colliery Explosion

Moved, That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty for Report of the inquiry into the Leyceet Colliery explosion (*The Earl De La Warr*) Feb 13, [250] 583; after short debate, on Question? resolved in the negative
Question, Mr. Macdonald; Answer, Mr. Assheton Cross Feb 23, 1191
Question, Earl De La Warr; Answer, Earl Beauchamp Feb 27, 1545
Moved that there be laid before the House, Report of William St. James Wheelhouse, Esq., Q.C., M.P., on the Leyceet Colliery Accident of September 1879 (*The Earl De La Warr*); Motion agreed to

COGAN, Right Hon. W. H. F., *Kildare*
Relief of Distress (Ireland), 2R. [250] 555

COLEBROOKE, Sir T. E., *Lanarkshire, N.*
India—Afghanistan—The War—Expenses of Military Operations, Res. [251] 942
Parliament—Privilege of Parliament—Immunity from Arrest, Res. [250] 1311
Parliamentary Elections and Corrupt Practices (No. 2), Comm. [251] 1108

COLERIDGE, Lord

Common Law Procedure and Judicature Acts Amendment, 2R. [251] 1079

COLLINS, Mr. E., *Kinsale*

Parliament—Queen's Speech, Address in Answer to, [250] 419

COLMAN, Mr. J. J., *Norwich*

Intoxicating Liquors (Licences), Res. [251] 488
Parliamentary Elections and Corrupt Practices (No. 2), Leave, [251] 779

Colonial Chartered Banking Companies Bill—*Afterwards*

Chartered Banks (Colonial) Bill

(*Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer*)

a. Considered in Committee; Resolution agreed to, and reported; Bill ordered; read 1^o * Feb 6 [Bill 4]

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2^o" Feb 12, [250] 567

Amendt. to leave out "now," and add "upon this day six months" (*Mr. Ramsay*); Question proposed, "That 'now,' &c.;" after short debate, Amendt. withdrawn

Main Question put, and agreed to; Bill read 2^o, and committed to a Select Committee

And, on Feb 20, Committee nominated as follows:—Mr. Freshfield, Mr. Lowe, Sir John Lubbock, Mr. Arthur Mills, Mr. Mulholland, Mr. Ramsay, Mr. Sampson Lloyd, Mr. Shaw, and Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson

Report of Select Comm. (P.P. No. 115)
Bill reported * Mar 11 [Bill 109]

COLTHURST, Colonel D. La Zouche, Cork Co.

Ireland—Distress—Presentment Sessions—
Loans for Sanitary Works, [250] 515
Parliament—Queen's Speech, Address in An-
swer to, [250] 178
Relief of Distress (Ireland), 2R. [250] 541
Seed Potato Act—Castletown-Berehaven Union,
[251] 554

Commerce and Agriculture—The Proposed Minister of

Question, Sir Baldwin Leighton; Answer,
The Chancellor of the Exchequer Mar 12,
[251] 916

Commerce and Free Trade

Amendt. on Committee of Supply Feb 18, To
leave out from "That," and add "a Select
Committee be appointed to consider the Com-
mercial Relations at present existing between
England and Foreign Nations, especially
with regard to the import of Manufactured
Goods from Abroad, as well as the effect
caused by our system of one-sided so-called
Free Trade, with a view (if possible) of per-
manently ameliorating the position of the
wage classes of this Country" (Mr. *Wheel-*
house) v., [250] 604; Question proposed, "That
the words, &c.;" after short debate, Moved,
"That the Debate be now adjourned" (Mr.
Newdegate); after further short debate,
Question put, and negatived; after further
debate, Question put, "That the words,
&c.;" A. 75, N. 6; M. 69 (D. L. 5)

Common Law Procedure and Judica- ture Acts Amendment Bill

(Mr. *Gregory*, Mr. *Waddy*, Mr. *Wheelhouse*,
Mr. *Ridley*)

- c. Ordered; read 1^o * Feb 17 [Bill 80]
Read 2^o * Feb 25
Committee*; Report Mar 10
Considered * Mar 11
Read 3^o * Mar 12
- l. Read 1^a * (Lord *Coleridge*) Mar 12 (No. 44)
Read 2^a, after short debate Mar 16, [251] 1079
Committee*; Report Mar 18 (No. 51)
Read 3^a * Mar 19

Commons

Select Committee appointed Feb 9
And, on Feb 20, Committee nominated as fol-
lows:—Sir Walter B. Barttelot, Sir Charles
W. Dilke, Mr. Fawcett, Mr. Leveson Gower,
Mr. Pell, Mr. Spencer Walpole, and Five
Members to be added by the Committee of
Selection

Commons Act (1876) Amendment Bill

(Mr. *Mundella*, Sir *Henry Peek*, Lord *Edmond*
Fitzmaurice)

- c. Ordered; read 1^o * Feb 9 [Bill 61]
Read 2^o, after short debate Feb 18, [250] 899
Bill withdrawn * Mar 10

Companies Act, 1879—Joint Stock Banks
Question, Mr. *Heygate*; Answer, The Chan-
cellor of the Exchequer Feb 26, [250] 1440

Companies Acts Amendment Bill

(Sir *John Lubbock*, Mr. *Coope*, Mr. *Herschell*, Sir
Charles Mills)

- c. Acts considered in Committee; Resolution
agreed to, and reported; Bill ordered; read
1^o * Feb 6 [Bill 52]
Read 2^o Feb 10, [250] 386
Committee*; Report Feb 18
Read 3^o * Feb 16
- l. Read 1^a * (The Lord *Aberdare*) Feb 17 (No. 9)
Read 2^a, after short debate Feb 24, 1276
Moved, "That the House do now resolve itself
into Committee upon the said Bill" Mar 11,
[251] 781
Amendt. to leave out ("now," and add
("this day six months") (The Lord *Den-*
man); after short debate, on Question, That
("now,") &c. ? resolved in the affirmative;
Committee (No. 35)
Report * Mar 16 (No. 48)
Read 3^a * Mar 18
- c. Lords Amends. Mar 18 [Bill 117]
- l. Royal Assent Mar 24 [43 Vict. c. 19]

Consolidated Fund (No. 1) Bill

(Mr. *Raikes*, Mr. *Chancellor of the Exchequer*,
Sir *Henry Selwin-Ibbetson*)

- c. Resolutions in Committee * Mar 5
Resolutions reported, and agreed to; Bill or-
dered; read 1^o * Mar 8
Read 2^o * Mar 10
Committee*; Report Mar 11
Read 3^o * Mar 12
- l. Read 1^a * (Earl of *Beaconsfield*) Mar 12
Read 2^a *; Committee negatived; read 3^a
Mar 18
Royal Assent Mar 15 [43 Vict. c. 5]

Consolidated Fund (Appropriation) Bill

(Mr. *Raikes*, Mr. *Chancellor of the Exchequer* *
Sir *Henry Selwin-Ibbetson*)

- c. Ordered; read 1^o * Mar 12
Read 2^o, after short debate Mar 15, [251] 1070
Committee*; Report Mar 16
Read 3^o, after short debate Mar 17, 1195
- l. Read 1^a * (Earl of *Beaconsfield*) Mar 18
Read 2^a *; Committee negatived Mar 19
Read 3^a * Mar 22
Royal Assent Mar 24 [43 Vict. c. 13]

Contagious Diseases Acts

Question, Mr. *Sullivan*; Answer, Colonel *Loyd*
Lindsay Mar 15, [251] 1010

Contagious Diseases Acts, 1866-1869

Select Committee re-appointed, "to inquire
into the Contagious Diseases Acts, 1866—
1869, their Administration, Operation, and
Effect" Feb 17

Contagious Diseases Acts, 1866-1869—cont.

Committee nominated as follows:—Colonel Alexander, Mr. Cavendish Bentinck, Mr. Bulwer, Mr. Burt, Viscount Crichton, Sir Harcourt Johnston, Mr. Shaw Lefevre, General Shute, Mr. O'Shaughnessy, Mr. Stansfeld, and Five Members to be nominated by the Committee of Selection

Contagious Diseases (Animals) Act

Glandered Horses, Questions, Sir William Fraser, Mr. Mitchell Henry; Answers, Lord George Hamilton *Mar 15*, [251] 1010

Importation of Chinese Hides, Question, Mr. Mark Stewart; Answer, Lord George Hamilton *Mar 8*, [251] 552

Sheep Rot, Question, Mr. Paget; Answer, Lord George Hamilton *Mar 9*, [251] 681

Conveyancing and Law of Property Bill

[H.L.] (*The Lord Chancellor*)

l. Presented; read 1^a *Feb 23*, [250] 1164

Read 2^a * *Mar 4* (No. 15)

Committee *; Report *Mar 9* (No. 33)

Committee * (on re-comm.) discharged *Mar 19*

Co-operative Stores

Select Committee of last Session re-appointed, "to inquire into the constitution and operations of certain Trading Societies, trading under the name of Co-operative Stores, and to ascertain whether they are exempted from taxes and imposts to which the trading community are liable" *Feb 24*

Committee nominated as follows:—Sir Massey Lopes (Chairman), Mr. Baxter, Mr. Blake, Mr. Callan, Earl of Dalkeith, Sir George Elliot, Mr. Forsyth, Mr. Hardcastle, Mr. Isaac, Mr. James, Mr. Macdonald, Mr. Arthur Mills, Mr. Mundella, Mr. Otway, Mr. Ridley, Mr. Ripley, Sir Charles Russell and Mr. Sheil

Report of Select Committee (P. P. No. 112)

Return of Members of the Civil Service Engaged in Trading, Question, Mr. Blake; Answer, Mr. Assheton Cross *Mar 5*, [251] 439

Copyright, Law of—Legislation

Question, Mr. Hanbury Tracy; Answer, Lord John Manners *Feb 10*, [250] 382

CORK AND ORRERY, Earl of

Railway Charges Abroad, Motion for a Return, [250] 506, 507

CORRY, Mr. J. P., Belfast

Parliament—Queen's Speech, Address in Answer to, [250] 71

Volunteer Corps (Ireland), 2R. [251] 120, 121

COTTON, Mr. Alderman W. J. R., London

Army—Auxiliary Forces—Easter Monday Volunteer Review, [251] 690

Commerce and Free Trade, Motion for a Select Committee, [250] 629

County Courts, 2R. [250] 1393

COTTON, Mr. Alderman W. J. R.—cont.

Gaslight and Coke, Commercial Gas, and South Metropolitan Gaslight and Coke Companies, 2R. [250] 783

Leases, 2R. Amendt. [250] 892

Metropolis Waterworks Purchase, [251] 687

Relief of Distress (Ireland), 2R. [250] 555

County Courts Bill (*Mr. Norwood, Mr.*

Rowley Hill, Mr. Watkin Williams, Sir Eardley Wilmot)

c. Ordered; read 1^o * *Feb 6* [Bill 6]

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2^o" *Feb 25*, [250] 1385

Amendt. to leave out "now," and add "upon this day six months" (*Mr. Wheelhouse*);

Question proposed, "That 'now,' &c.;"

after debate, Amendt. withdrawn

Main Question put, and agreed to; Bill read 2^o

Bill withdrawn * *Mar 11*

County Infirmaries (Ireland) Bill

(*Mr. Meldon, Mr. Dease, Mr. Errington, Mr. John George MacCarthy*)

c. Ordered; read 1^o * *Feb 6* [Bill 55]

2R. [Dropped]

COURTNEY, Mr. L. H., Liskeard

Africa, South—Papers, [250] 517

Licensing Laws Amendment, Leave, [250] 877

Malta, Despatch of Indian Troops to—Return of Costs, [251] 916

Metropolis Waterworks Purchase, Leave, [251] 231, 234

Parliament—Business of the House (Order in Debate), Res. [250] 1629, 1639, 1672, 1682, 1693, 1707

Parliamentary Elections and Corrupt Practices (No. 2), 2R. [251] 865

Relief of Distress (Ireland), Lords Amendts. Consid. [251] 891, 896

Supply—Civil Contingencies Fund, Re-payment to, [251] 408

Colonial Local Revenue, &c. [251] 403, 404

National School Teachers Superannuation Office, Dublin, [251] 883

War in South Africa (Vote of Credit), [251] 761, 766, 815

Ways and Means—Financial Statement, Comm. [251] 839

COWEN, Mr. J., Newcastle-on-Tyne

Parliament—Duration of Parliament, Res. [250] 1322

COWPER, Earl

Gallery of Casts from the Antique, Motion for Papers, [250] 1541

CRANBROOK, Viscount (Secretary of State for India)

Army (India), [251] 1218

Capital Punishment—Prisons Act, 1868—Executions in Cheetham and Kirkdale Gaols, Res. [251] 678

Eastern Question, Motion for an Address, [251] 1002

[cont.]

[cont.]

CRANBROOK, Viscount—*cont.*

India—Miscellaneous Questions

Afghanistan, Affairs of, [251] 1264, 1268

Afghan War—Alleged Cruelties at Cabul
—Explanation of General Roberts, [250]
579

Factory Legislation, [251] 1216

India—Afghanistan—Policy of the Govern-
ment, Address for Papers, [250] 1048, 1049,
1050, 1059Parliament—Queen's Speech, Address in An-
swer to, [250] 56, 59Parliamentary Elections and Corrupt Practices
(No. 2), 2R. [251] 1215; 3R. 1235

Relief of Distress (Ireland), Report, [251] 421

Criminal Code Bill (*Mr. Attorney General,
Mr. Solicitor General, Mr. Attorney General
for Ireland*)c. Motion for Leave (*Mr. Attorney General*) Feb 6,
[250] 244; Motion agreed to; Bill ordered;
read 1^o* [Bill 2]Read 2^o, and committed to a Select Committee,
after short debate Feb 23, 1236*Letter of the Lord Chief Justice*, Question,
Mr. Dodson; Answer, The Attorney General
Mar 15, [251] 1014**Criminal Code (No. 2) Bill** (*Mr. Wheel-
house, Mr. Serjeant Spinks, Captain Pim*)c. Ordered; read 1^o* Feb 6 [Bill 47]
2R. [Dropped]

CRIMINAL LAW

MISCELLANEOUS QUESTIONS

Case of Edward Jones, Question, Mr. Osborne
Morgan; Answer, Mr. Assheton Cross
Feb 19, [250] 910;—*Case of Martin Leonard*,
Question, Mr. Edge; Answer, Mr. Assheton
Cross Mar 5, [251] 429*Channel Islands—Case of James Thomas*,
Question, Mr. Pease; Answer, Mr. Assheton
Cross Feb 16, [250] 684**Criminal Law—Capital Punishment—The
Prisons Act, 1868—Executions in
Cheetham and Kirkdale Gaols***Admission of Reporters at Executions*, Que-
stion, Mr. Hibbert; Answer, Mr. Assheton
Cross Feb 19, [250] 919Question, Mr. Pease; Answer, Mr. Assheton
Cross Feb 23, [250] 1187; Question, Mr.
Hibbert; Answer, Mr. Assheton Cross Mar 5,
[251] 431Moved for, Copy of the presentment of the jury
empanelled to sit on the body of William Cas-
sidy, executed in Cheetham Prison, with re-
spect to the admission of reporters to the
prison (*The Lord Houghton*) Feb 24, [250]
1277; Motion agreed toObservations, Lord Houghton, Earl Beauchamp
Mar 2, [251] 127Moved, "That this House do now adjourn"
(*Mr. John Bright*); after short debate, Mo-
tion withdrawnMoved to resolve, "That it is the opinion of
this House that it is advisable that other
than official persons should be present at**Criminal Law—Capital Punishment—The
Prisons Act, 1868—Executions in Cheetham and
Kirkdale Gaols—cont.**intramural executions" (*The Lord Houghton*)
Mar 9, 671; after short debate, Motion put,
and resolved in the negative**Cross, Right Hon. R. A. (Secretary
of State for the Home Depart-
ment), Lancashire, S.W.**

Arms, Carrying of—Revolvers, [250] 379

Boiler Explosion, Garngad Lionworks, Glas-
gow, [251] 557Capital Punishment—Prisons Act, 1868—
Executions in Kirkdale Gaol, [251] 431, 435
Census (Scotland), [251] 557Channel Islands—Jersey—Payment of the
Judge, [250] 1572Church of England—Sale of Livings—Royal
Commission, [250] 922City of London—Gratuities to Officers of the
Corporation, [250] 1194Coal Mines—Leyceett Colliery Explosion, [250]
1191**Criminal Law—Miscellaneous Questions**Channel Islands—Case of James Thomas,
[250] 684

Edward Jones, Case of, [250] 911

Execution at Manchester, [250] 1188

Executions, Admission of Reporters at,
[250] 919Ireland—Return of Criminal Cases at An-
trim Assizes and Sessions, [251] 1096

Martin Leonard, Case of, [251] 429

Game Laws, [250] 1565

Imprisonment for Debt, [250] 1190

Intoxicating Liquors (Licences), Res. [251] 518

Law and Police—Instruction of the Police in
Ambulance Drill, [250] 1572London Water Companies—Metropolis Valua-
tion Act, 1869, [251] 811Lord Clerk Register (Scotland) Act, 1869, [251]
1008Merchant Shipping Act—Imprisonment of
Sailors, [251] 302Merchant Ships—"Louisa Fletcher" of Liver-
pool (Unseaworthiness), [250] 1571Metropolis Waterworks Purchase, Leave, [251]
222, 234, 238, 687, 688, 689, 1094Metropolitan Police—Pay and Organization,
[250] 913

Pensions, [251] 683

Mines Act, 1872—Employment of Boys in
Mines, [250] 1191

Mining Accidents Commission, [250] 1295

Municipal Corporations, Unreformed—Report
of Royal Commission, [250] 508Parliament—Dissolution of, Explanation, [251]
561Queen's Speech, Address in Answer to,
[250] 123, 438, 446Parliament—Business of the House (Order in
Debate), Res. [250] 1665, 1701Parliament—Privilege of Parliament—Immu-
nity from Arrest, Res. [250] 1314Parliamentary and Municipal Registration Act,
1878, [250] 1440Parochial Charities—City of London—Report
of Royal Commission, [250] 508

Poor Law (Scotland), [250] 810

[*cont.*][*cont.*]

Cross, Right Hon. R. A.—*cont.*

Relief of Distress (Ireland), *Comm. cl. 3*, [250] 768

Return of Members of the Civil Service Engaged in Trading, [251] 439

Salmon Fisheries—Solway Fisheries, [250] 1297

Seed Potatoes (Ireland), *Consid. cl. 6*, *Amend.*, [250] 883

Summary Jurisdiction Act—Non-Payment of Rates, [251] 550

Sunday Question—Brighton Aquarium, [251] 299

Supply—Prisons, England, [251] 356, 358
Treasury, [250] 1265

Supreme Court of Judicature Acts—The Assizes, [250] 809

Tower High Level Bridge (Metropolis) Committee—Mr. Grissell, [251] 194

Water Supply (Metropolis), [250] 1184, 1185

Cruelty to Animals Bill (*Mr. Holt, Mr.*

Ashley, Mr. Hardecastle, Sir Eardley Wilmot, Mr. Charles Wilson)

a. Ordered; read 1^o * Feb 25 [Bill 88]
Bill withdrawn * Mar 16

Custom House Re-organization—*The Statistical Department*

Question, Mr. Pease; Answer, Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson Feb 19, [250] 911

Customs and Inland Revenue Bill

(*Mr. Raikes, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson*)

a. Ordered; read 1^o * Mar 12 [Bill 111]

Read 2^o * Mar 15

Committee *; Report Mar 16 [Bill 114]

Considered Mar 17, [251] 1191

Read 3^o, after short debate Mar 18, 1212

l. Read 1^a * (*Earl of Beaconsfield*) Mar 18

Read 2^a *; Committee negatived Mar 19

Read 3^a * Mar 22

Royal Assent Mar 24 [43 *Vict. d. 14*]

Customs Civil Service Writers

Question, Mr. Finigan; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer Feb 16, [250] 684

Customs Re-organization—*Out-Port Customs Clerical Staff*

Question, Mr. Fry; Answer, Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson Feb 20, [250] 1102; Questions,

Mr. Norwood, Mr. Grant; Answers, Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson Mar 11, [251] 810

Collectors at Outposts, Question, Mr. J. R. Yorke; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer Mar 11, [251] 797; Question, Mr. Sullivan; Answer, Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson Mar 19, 1219

Cyprus

Larnaca, Question, Sir Julian Goldsmid; Answer, Mr. Bourke Mar 9, [251] 682

The Ordinance Superseding the Extra-territorial Jurisdiction of Foreign Consuls, Question, Sir Charles W. Dilke; Answer, Mr. Bourke Feb 13, [250] 588

Cyprus—*cont.*

The Ordinances, Question, Sir Charles W. Dilke; Answer, Mr. Bourke Feb 16, [250] 677

Turkish Newspapers, Question, Mr. H. Samuelson; Answer, Mr. Bourke Feb 24, [250] 1300

DALRYMPLE, Mr. C., *Buteshire*

India—Naga Hill Tribes, [250] 681

DAVENPORT, Mr. W. BROMLEY-, *Warwickshire, N.*

Game Laws, Res. [251] 213

Parliament—Queen's Speech, Address in Answer to, Motion for Adjournment, [250] 371

DAVIES, Mr. D., *Cardigan*

Game Laws, Res. [251] 211

Parliamentary Elections and Corrupt Practices (No. 2), 2R. [251] 862

Railway Servants (Compensation for Injury), Res. [251] 739

Relief of Distress (Ireland), *Comm. cl. 3*, [250] 958

Supply—Constabulary Force in Ireland, [251] 369

Criminal Prosecutions—Sheriffs' Expenses, &c. [251] 349

Diplomatic Services, [251] 399

Debt, Imprisonment for—*Legislation*

Question, Mr. Anderson; Answer, Mr. Assheton Cross Feb 23, [250] 1190

DE LA WARR, Earl

Ancient Monuments, 2R. [251] 784

Coal Mines—Leycey Colliery Explosion, Motion for an Address, [250] 583, 1545

Employers Liability, 2R. [250] 487

Highways and Locomotives (Amendment) Act, 1878, Motion for an Address, [251] 902

Railway Brakes, [250] 901

Workmen's Compensation, 1R. [250] 376

DENISON, Mr. C. BECKETT-, *Yorkshire, W.R., E. Div.*

Parliament—Queen's Speech, Address in Answer to, [250] 372

Tower High Level Bridge (Metropolis) Committee—Mr. Grissell, [251] 25, 155

DENISON, Mr. W. BECKETT-, *East Retford*

Post Office (Money Orders), [251] 24

DENMAN, Lord

Army (India), Motion for Adjournment, [251] 1217

Beer Dealers' Retail Licences, 2R. [251] 791, 793; Comm. 907

Capital Punishment—Prisons Act, 1868—Executions in Cheetham and Kirkdale Gaols, Res. [251] 679

Companies Acts Amendment, 2R. [250] 1276; Comm. Amendt. [251] 781

Eastern Question, Motion for an Address, [251] 987

DENMAN, Lord—*cont.*

- Facilities for Interments, 2R. Bill withdrawn, [251] 1078
- Hypothec Abolition (Scotland), 2R. [251] 960; Report, 1171; 3R. 1201
- India—Afghanistan—Policy of the Government, Address for Papers, [250] 1074
- Ireland, Distress in, [250] 506
- Parliamentary Elections and Corrupt Practices (No. 2), 2R. [251] 1216; 3R. Amendt. 1234, 1235, 1236
- Settled Land, 2R. [251] 285

DICKSON, Mr. T. A., *Dungannon*

- Borough Franchise (Ireland), Res. [250] 852
- Parliament—Queen's Speech, Address in Answer to, [250] 305
- Ulster Tenant Right, 2R. [251] 247, 266

DIGBY, Mr. K. T., *Queen's Co.*

- Borough Franchise (Ireland), Res. [250] 845

DILKE, Sir C. W., *Chelsea, &c.*

- Army—Newspaper Correspondents in the Field, [250] 265, 266, 791, 1568
- British Museum—Sale of Duplicates, [251] 1009
- Cyprus—The Ordinance Superseding the Extra-territorial Jurisdiction of Foreign Consuls, [250] 588, 677
- Education Department—Mr. Hullah's Report, [250] 269
- Egypt—Finance, [250] 795
- India—Afghanistan—Miscellaneous Questions
 - Alleged Severities at Cabul—Explanation of General Roberts, [250] 593
 - Cabul, Executions at, [250] 907, 1436;—General Roberts', Report, [251] 1008
 - Negotiations between Russia and the Ameer, [250] 147
 - Proclamation of General Roberts, [250] 683, 684
- Metropolis Waterworks Purchase, Leave, [251] 234, 238, 687
- Municipal Corporations, Unreformed—Report of Royal Commission, [250] 507
- Parliament—Miscellaneous Questions
 - Dissolution of Parliament, Explanation, [251] 561
 - Easter Recess, [251] 440
 - Public Business, [251] 298
 - Queen's Speech, Address in Answer to, [250] 114, 129
- Parliament—Privilege—Interference of Peers in Elections—Hon. Major Jocelyn, Res. [250] 1201
- Parliamentary Elections and Corrupt Practices, [251] 411
- Parliamentary Elections and Corrupt Practices (No. 2), Leave, [251] 778
- Poor Law—Liability to Poor Rates—Overseers of St. Werburgh v. Hutchinson, [251] 425, 1174
- South Western (of London) District Post Office, 2R. [251] 771
- Supply—Colonial Local Revenue, &c. [251] 405
 - Lord Lieutenant's Household, [251] 327
 - War in South Africa (Vote of Credit), Motion for reporting Progress, [251] 769
- Treaty of Berlin—Turkey and Greece—Rectification of Frontier, [251] 915
- War Office Regulation Act, 1878, [250] 1099

DILLWYN, Mr. L. L., *Swansea*

- Civil Service Estimates, [251] 152
- County Courts, 2R. [250] 1406
- Epping Forest (No. 2), 2R., Bill withdrawn, [251] 1196
- Irish Church Act (1869) Amendment, Leave, [251] 276
- Parliament—Miscellaneous Questions
 - Business of the House, [250] 592; [251] 29, 1017
 - Dissolution of Parliament, Explanation, [251] 562;—Private Bills, 691
 - Form and Precedent—Summons to the House of Peers, [251] 1222
 - Queen's Speech, Address in Answer to, [250] 124
- Parliament—Business of the House (Order in Debate), Res. [250] 1487; Amendt. 1706
- Parliamentary Elections and Corrupt Practices (No. 2), Comm. cl. 2, [251] 1123; Amendt. 1134, 1135, 1140, 1167; Consid. 1183; add. cl. 1190
- Patents for Inventions, 2R. [251] 747
- Relief of Distress (Ireland), [250] 589
- Strensall Common, 2R. [250] 1382, 1383
- Supply—Charity Commission for England and Wales, [250] 1268
- Civil Service and Revenue Departments, [251] 665
- Civil Service Commission, [250] 1271
- New Courts of Justice and Offices, [250] 1254, 1255
- Prisons, England, [251] 353
- Public Works in Ireland, [250] 1259
- War in South Africa (Vote of Credit), [251] 767
- Turkey—Hafiz Pasha, [250] 680

DODDS, Mr. J., *Stockton*

- Blind and Deaf-Mute Children, Comm. [251] 409, 410
- Irish National School Teachers, [251] 439
- Probates of Wills, &c. [Stamp Duties], Comm. [251] 531
- Supply—National School Teachers Superannuation Office, Dublin, [251] 384; Amendt. 386, 387, 389
- Temporary Commissions, [251] 407

DODSON, Right Hon. J. G., *Chester*

- Criminal Code—Letter of the Lord Chief Justice, [251] 1014
- Malta, Despatch of Indian Troops to—Return of Costs, [251] 808
- Parliament—Business of the House (Order in Debate), Res. [250] 1683
- Parliament—Orders of the Day—Standing Order of Supply and Ways and Means, Res. [250] 1579
- Parliamentary Elections and Corrupt Practices (No. 2), Leave, [251] 779; Comm. cl. 2, 1161, 1162
- Post Office (Money Orders), [251] 25
- Probates of Wills, &c. 2R. [251] 1037
- Supply—Law Charges, [251] 345
- Prisons, England, [251] 354, 356
- Tower High Level Bridge (Metropolis) Committee—Mr. Grissell, [251] 159
- Ways and Means—Financial Statement, Comm. [251] 837, 838

DONOUGHMORE, Earl of
Relief of Distress (Ireland), [250] 904

DORCHESTER, Lord
Army (India), [251] 1217
Army—Short Service System—Report of Departmental Committee, [251] 906

Drainage and Improvement of Lands (Ireland) Provisional Order Bill

(*Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson, Mr. James Lowther*)

c. Ordered; read 1^o * Feb 25 [Bill 91]
Read 2^o * Mar 10
Committed

DUFF, Mr. M. E. G., *Elgin, &c.*
Russia and Western Asia—Lieutenant Colonel Macgregor, [250] 908, 910
Scotch Fishery Commission—Loans, [251] 802

DUFF, Mr. R. W., *Banffshire*
Hypothec Abolition (Scotland), 2R. [250] 1424
Navy Estimates—Sea and Coast Guard Services, [251] 648

DUNMORE, Earl of
Eastern Question, Motion for an Address, [251] 990

DUNRAVEN, Earl of
India—Afghanistan, Affairs of, [251] 1255
Ireland, Distress in, [250] 498
Ireland, State of, Motion for Returns, [250] 1545, 1564
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DUNSANY, Lord
Ireland, Distress in, [250] 495
Ireland, State of, Motion for Returns, [250] 1564

DYKE, Sir W. H. (Secretary to the Treasury), *Kent, Mid*
Merchant Ships Laden in Bulk, Nomination of Select Committee, [251] 539

East India Loan (East Indian Railway Debentures) Bill (*Mr. Edward Stanhope, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer*)

c. Resolution in Committee Mar 1
Resolution reported, and agreed to; Bill ordered; read 1^o * Mar 2 [Bill 99]

Read 2^o * Mar 8
Committee*; Report Mar 10

l. Read 1^a * (*Viscount Cranbrook*) Mar 12
Read 2^a * Mar 13 (No. 36)

Committee*; Report Mar 15
Read 3^a * Mar 16
Royal Assent Mar 19 [43 Vict. c. 10]

EATON, Mr. H. W., *Coventry*
Commerce and Free Trade, Motion for a Select Committee, [250] 611

Ecclesiastical Dilapidations Act (1871) Amendment Bill

(*Mr. Stanley Leighton, Mr. Whitwell, Mr. Goldney, Mr. Hardcastle*)

c. Ordered; read 1^o * Feb 6 [Bill 35]
2R. [Dropped]

EDGE, Mr. S. R., *Newcastle-under-Lyne*
Ballot Act, [250] 267
Criminal Law—Case of Martin Leonard, [251] 429

EDMONSTONE, Admiral Sir W., *Stirlingshire*
Intoxicating Liquors (Licences), Res. [251] 450

EDUCATION

Central College of Technical Education, Question, Mr. W. H. James; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer Mar 5, [251] 428

Endowed Schools—Tunbridge Grammar School, Question, Mr. Thomson Hankey; Answer, Lord George Hamilton Mar 8, [251] 551

Wales—Legislation, Question, Mr. Hussey Vivian; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer Mar 1, [251] 23

Education Department

Educational Returns, Question, Sir Ughtred Kay-Shuttleworth; Answer, Lord George Hamilton Feb 19, [250] 915

Musical Education—Mr. Hullah's Report, Question, Sir Charles W. Dilke; Answer, Lord George Hamilton Feb 9, [250] 269

School Board Elections, Question, Mr. A. Mills; Answer, Lord George Hamilton Mar 1, [251] 24

The New Educational Code, Question, Mr. W. E. Forster; Answer, Lord George Hamilton Mar 18, [251] 1206

Parl. Papers—

Expenditure, 1879 [2510]

Expenditure (Scotland) [2511]

New Code, 1880 [2512]

New Code (Scotland) [2513]

Minutes [2524]

[See title *School Board Elections*]

Education Department (Ireland)—Salaries of Inspectors of Elementary Education

Question, Major Nolan; Answer, Mr. J. Lowther Mar 12, [251] 908

EGERTON, Hon. A. F. (Secretary to the Board of Admiralty), *Lancashire, S.E.*

Merchant Shipping Acts—Grain Cargoes, [251] 555

Navy—Breech-Loading Guns, The New, [251] 1173

Egypt

Egyptian Affairs, Question, Mr. W. Cartwright ; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer Feb 26, [250] 1439
Finance—International Commission of Liquidation, Question, Sir Charles W. Dilke ; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer Feb 17, [250] 795

ELCHO, Lord, Haddingtonshire

Hypothec Abolition (Scotland), 2R. [250] 1416
 Sea Fisheries Commission—Trawl or Beam Fishing, [250] 1295

Elective County Boards (Ireland) Bill

(Major Nolan, Mr. Fay, Mr. O'Clery, Mr. O'Sullivan)

c. Ordered ; read 1^o * Feb 9 [Bill 64]
 2R. Wed. April 7

ELLENBOROUGH, Lord

Army—Purchase Officers' Widows, [250] 671

ELLIOT, Mr. G. W., Northallerton

Law and Police—Instruction of the Police in Ambulance Drill, [250] 1572

EMLY, Lord

Ireland, Distress in, [250] 487, 503
 Relief of Distress (Ireland), 2R. [251] 20 ; Comm. cl. 3, Amendt. 291 ; cl. 11, Amendt. 295 ; Report, 414, 418

Employers and Workmen Act (1875) (Extension to Seamen) Bill

(Mr. Burt, Mr. Joseph Cowen, Mr. Mundella, Mr. Gourley, Mr. Gorst)

c. Ordered ; read 1^o * Feb 6 [Bill 29]
 2R. Wed. June 30

Employers Liability Bill [H.L.]

(The Lord Chancellor)

l. Presented ; read 1^a, after short debate Feb 9, [250] 260 (No. 4)
 Read 2^a, and referred to a Select Committee, after short debate Feb 12, 486
 And, on Feb 26, the Lords following were named of the Committee :—Ld. Chancellor, Ld. President, D. Somerset, M. Ripon, Ld. Steward, E. Derby, E. Shaftesbury, E. De La Warr, E. Powis, E. Morley, V. Cranbrook, L. Zouche of Haryngworth, L. Colville of Culross, L. Belper, L. Houghton, L. Penzance L. Selborne, L. Blackburn, and L. Norton

Employers' Liability for Injuries to Servants Bill (Mr. Macdonald, Dr. Cameron, Mr. Burt, Mr. Meldon, Mr. Earp)

c. Ordered ; read 1^o * Feb 6 [Bill 22]
 2R. Wed. April 21

Employers' Liability (Railway Servants)

Bill (Mr. Sullivan, Mr. Brassey, Mr. Morley, Mr. Bass)

c. Ordered ; read 1^o * Feb 6 [Bill 57]
 2R. Wed. May 5

Entail and Settlement Bill

(Mr. Shaw Lefevre, Mr. Osborne Morgan, Mr. Wentworth Beaumont, Mr. Chamberlain, Mr. Herschell)

c. Ordered ; read 1^o * Feb 6 [Bill 40]
 2R. Wed. May 5

Epping Forest Act (1878) (Continuance)

Bill (Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson, Mr. Gerard Noel)

c. Ordered ; read 1^o * Feb 12 [Bill 73]
 2R. discharged * Feb 18
 Bill withdrawn * Mar 1

Epping Forest (No. 2) Bill

(Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson, Mr. Gerard Noel)

c. Ordered ; read 1^o * Mar 1 [Bill 96]
 Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2^o" Mar 17, [251] 1195
 Amendt. to leave out "now," and add "upon this day month" (Mr. Baring) ; Question proposed, "That 'now' &c.," Amendt. and Motion withdrawn ; Bill withdrawn

ERRINGTON, Mr. G., Longford Co.

Army Barracks, [250] 677
 India—Emigration of Coolies to La Réunion, [250] 678
 Irish Church Act (1869) Amendment, 2R. [251] 759
 Law and Justice—The Colonial Bar, [251] 550
 Parliament—Queen's Speech, Address in Answer to, [250] 401, 404
 Parliamentary Elections and Corrupt Practices, (No. 2) Comm. cl. 2, [251] 1128
 Ireland—Miscellaneous Questions
 Prisons Act—Infirmary and Gaol Surgeons, [250] 1192
 Relief of Distress, [251] 26 ;—Seed Potatoes, 304 ;—Applications for Loans—The Returns, [251] 1175, 1204
 Relief of Distress (Ireland), Comm. cl. 3, [250] 956
 Supply—National Education in Ireland, [251] 377, 379
 Public Works Office, Ireland, [251] 833

EVANS, Mr. T. W., Derbyshire, S.

Parliament—Business of the House (Order in Debate), Res. [250] 1701
 Tower High Level Bridge (Metropolis) Committee—Mr. Grissell, [251] 157

EWING, Mr. A. ORR-, Dumbartonshire

Hypothec Abolition (Scotland), 2R. [250] 1414

Exchequer Bills and Bonds Bill

(*Mr. Raikes, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson*)

c. Resolutions in Committee Mar 15

Resolutions reported, and agreed to; Bill ordered, upon the Second, Third, and Fourth Resolutions; read 1^o * Mar 16 [Bill 116]

Read 2^o * Mar 17

Committee *; Report Mar 18

Read 3^o * Mar 19

l. Read 1^a * (*The Earl of Beaconsfield*) Mar 19

Read 2^a *; Committee negatived; read 3^a Mar 22

Royal Assent Mar 24 [43 Vict. c. 16]

EXCHEQUER, CHANCELLOR of the (*see* CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER)

Excisable Liquors Traffic (Scotland) Bill

(*Dr. Cameron, Lord Colin Campbell, Mr. Dalrymple, Mr. James Stewart, Mr. Orr Ewing, Mr. Grant, Mr. Yeaman*)

c. Considered in Committee; Resolution agreed to, and reported; Bill ordered; read 1^o * Feb 6 [Bill 49]

Read 2^o * Feb 25

Committee [Dropped]

Facilities for Interment Bill [H.L.]

(*The Lord Denman*)

l. Presented; read 1^a * Mar 13 (No. 45)

Bill withdrawn, after short debate Mar 16, [251] 1078

FAWCETT, Mr. H., *Hackney*

Army—Auxiliary Forces—Easter Monday Volunteer Review—The General Election, [251] 1016

India—Afghanistan—Expenses of the War, Amendt. [250] 453, 477; [251] 694; Res. 922, 946, 949

Malta, Despatch of Indian Troops to—Return of Costs, [251] 918

Metropolis (Water Supply), [251] 27

Metropolis Waterworks Purchase, Leave, [251] 235

Parliament—Public Business, [250] 385

Queen's Speech, Address in Answer to, [250] 123, 125

Parliament—Business of the House (Order in Debate), Res. [250] 1527

Parliamentary Elections and Corrupt Practices (No. 2), Consid. [251] 1179

Post Office—Investments—Savings Banks, [250] 682

Water Supply of London, [250] 519, 1184

Ways and Means, Financial Statement, Comm. [251] 837

FAY, Mr. C. J., *Cavan Co.*

Parliament—Queen's Speech, Address in Answer to, [250] 184

Fiduciary Agents, Frauds by—Legislation

Question, Mr. Burt; Answer, The Attorney General Feb 26, [250] 1438

FINIGAN, Mr. L., *Ennis*

Board of Works (Ireland)—Clare Castle Harbour and Pier, [250] 918

Customs Civil Service Writers, [250] 684

Mercantile Marine—"Louisa Fletcher" of Liverpool (Unseaworthiness), [251] 800

Parliament—Miscellaneous Questions

Privilege—Mr. Plimsoll, [250] 1148

Queen's Speech, Address in Answer to, [250] 437

Viscount Castlereagh, Personal Explanation, [251] 39

Parliament—Business of the House (Order in Debate), Res. [250] 1489, 1627, 1623, 1644, 1685; Amendt. 1688, 1693, 1705

Parliamentary Elections and Corrupt Practices (No. 2), 2R. [251] 869

[250] Relief of Distress (Ireland), 531; Comm. 716;

cl. 3, 731; Motion for reporting Progress,

762, 769, 771, 933; cl. 4, 939; cl. 5, 993;

cl. 9, Amendt. 998, 1002, 1004

[251] Lords Amendts. Consid. 889

FITZMAURICE, Lord E. G., *Calne*

Irish Church Act (1869) Amendment, Leave, [251] 277

Parliament—Business of the House (Order in Debate), Res. [250] 1678, 1701; Amendt. 1702

Supply—Criminal Prosecutions—Sheriffs' Expenses, &c. [251] 347

FORSTER, Right Hon. W. E., *Bradford*

Ballot Act—Cases of Scrutiny, [251] 28

Canada, Dominion of—The Canadian Pacific Railway, [251] 1205

Educational Code, The New, [251] 1206

India—Afghanistan—Expenses of the War, [250] 473; Res. [251] 949

Municipal Corporations (Property Qualification Abolition), 2R. [250] 898

Parliament—Dissolution of, Explanation, [251] 560

Queen's Speech, Address in Answer to, [250] 290, 294, 295

Parliament—Business of the House (Order in Debate), Res. [250] 1606, 1700, 1702, 1708

Parliament—Privilege—Interference of Peers in Elections—Hon. Major Jocelyn, Res. [250] 1211

Parliamentary Elections and Corrupt Practices (No. 2), Comm. [251] 953; cl. 2, 1143, 1146, 1149, 1150, 1155, 1157, 1158, 1162;

Consid. 1180, 1182

Relief of Distress (Ireland), Lords Amendts. Consid. [251] 870, 879, 880, 894

Seed Potatoes (Ireland), Consid. cl. 6, [250] 880

Tower High Level Bridge (Metropolis) Committee—Mr. Grissell, [251] 155, 242

Turkey—Slave Trade Treaty, [250] 267

FORSYTH, Mr. W., *Marylebone*

Parliamentary Elections and Corrupt Practices (No. 2), Comm. [251] 1108

FORTESCUE, Earl

Capital Punishment—Prisons Act, 1868—Executions in Cheetham and Kirkdale Gaols, Res. [251] 674

Metropolitan Water Supply, [251] 1692

School Board Elections—Elections of Guardians of the Poor, Motion for Returns, [250] 378

FRASER, Sir W. A., *Kidderminster*

Contagious Diseases (Animals) Act—Glandered Horses, [251] 1010

Parliament—Privilege of Parliament—Immunity from Arrest, Res. [250] 1315

Parliament—Queen's Speech, Address in Answer to, [250] 388

Relief of Distress (Ireland), Comm. cl. 9, [250] 1014

Tower High Level Bridge (Metropolis) Committee—Mr. Grissell, [251] 157

Fraudulent Debtors (Scotland) Bill

*(The Lord Advocate, Mr. Secretary Cross)*c. Ordered; read 1^o * Mar 1 [Bill 94]
Bill withdrawn, after short debate Mar 16, [251] 1164FRESHFIELD, Mr. C. K., *Dover*

Army—84th Regiment, [250] 267

India Stock—Powers of Attorney, [250] 1104

Leases, 2R. [250] 894

Patents for Inventions, 2R. [251] 745

FRY, Mr. L., *Bristol*

Bristol Corporation, 2R. [251] 134, 139

Customs Re-organization, [250] 1102

GABBETT, Mr. D. F., *Limerick*

Parliament—Queen's Speech, Address in Answer to, Motion for Adjournment, [250] 362

Relief of Distress (Ireland)—The Irish Church Temporalities Commission, [251] 554

Gallery of Casts from the Antique

Moved that there be laid before the House, a memorial presented to the Prime Minister in August 1877 by a Committee presided over by the Duke of Westminster on the subject of the formation of a Gallery of Casts from the Antique:

Also, a communication from the Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury to the Duke of Westminster on the same subject dated 16th July, 1879 (*The Earl Cowper*) Feb 27, [250] 1541; after short debate, Motion agreed to

GALLOWAY, Earl of

Army—Short Service System—Report of Departmental Committee, [251] 905

Hypothec Abolition (Scotland), 2R. [251] 960; Comm. 1081

Game Laws—Legislation

Question, Sir David Wedderburn; Answer, Mr. Assheton Cross Feb 27, [250] 1565

Game Laws

Moved, "That, in the opinion of this House, the existing Game Law Code, maintained for the purpose of preserving certain wild animals for sport, is unjust to the farmer, demoralising to the labourer, and injurious to the whole community, and should therefore be abolished" (*Mr. F. A. Taylor*) Mar 2, [251] 160

Game Laws—cont.

Amendt. to leave out from "That," and add "it is not now expedient to deal with the question of the Game Laws" (*Sir Walter B. Barttelot*) v.; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after long debate, Question put; A. 87, N. 160; M. 73 (D. L. 32)

Question proposed, "That the words, 'it is not now expedient to deal with the question of the Game Laws' be there added"

Amendt. to the said proposed Amendt., to leave out "not" (*Sir William Harcourt*); Question proposed, "That 'not' stand part of the said proposed Amendt.;" Question put; A. 135, N. 119; M. 16 (D. L. 33)

Question, "That the words 'it is not now expedient to deal with the question of the Game Laws' be added to the word 'That' in the original Question," put, and negatived

*Gaslight and Coke, Commercial Gas, and South Metropolitan Gaslight and Coke Companies Bill (by Order)*c. Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2^o" (*Mr. Alderman Cotton*) Feb 17, [250] 784Amendt. to leave out "now," and add "upon this day six months" (*Colonel Makins*); Question proposed, "That 'now,' &c.;" after short debate, Amendt. withdrawnMain Question put, and agreed to; Bill read 2^o

General Police and Improvement (Scotland) Provisional Order (Broughty Ferry) Bill

*(The Lord Advocate, Mr. Secretary Cross)*c. Ordered; read 1^o * Feb 19 [Bill 83]Read 2^o * Mar 1

Committed

GIBSON, Right Hon. E., (Attorney General for Ireland), *Dublin University Consolidated Fund (Appropriation)*, 2R. [251] 1071

Ireland—Miscellaneous Questions

Coroners Fees, [251] 440

Criminal Law—Assault on Lord Fermoy, [251] 379;—Disturbance of a Tenant Right Meeting at Portadown, 1174

Overflow of the River Barrow at Monasterevan, Kildare, [251] 1097

Relief of Distress, [251] 1202, 1203;—Applications for Loans—The Returns, [251] 1175, 1204;—Carrickmacross Board of Guardians, [251] 1098;—Rathangan, Kildare, [251] 1097

Ireland—Borough Franchise, Res. [250] 860

Parliament—Queen's Speech, Address in Answer to, [250] 357, 361

Parliamentary Elections and Corrupt Practices (No. 2), Comm. cl. 2, [251] 1127, 1128; Consid. 1183

250] Relief of Distress (Ireland), Comm. cl. 3, 769, 770, 925, 931, 963, 985; cl. 4, 989; cl. 9, 998, 1003, 1007; Consid. add. cl. 1227, 1230; cl. 3, 1232; Amendt. ib.; cl. 4, Amendt. 1233

Seed Potatoes (Ireland), Consid. cl. 6, [250] 881

GIBSON, Right Hon. E.—*cont.*

Supply—County Court Officers, &c. Ireland, [251] 360, 363
 Law Charges, [251] 345
 Ulster Tenant Right, 2R. [251] 266

GIFFARD, Sir H. S. (see SOLICITOR GENERAL, The)

GILES, Mr. A., *Southampton*

Borough Franchise (Ireland), Res. [250] 845

GLADSTONE, Right Hon. W. E., *Greenwich*

Capital Punishment—Prisons Act, 1868—
 Executions in Kirkdale Gaol, [251] 437
 India—Afghanistan—The War—Expenses of
 Military Operations, Res. [251] 930
 Intoxicating Liquors (Licences), Res. [251]
 465, 473
 Parliament—Business of the House—Dissolu-
 tion, [251] 918
 Parliament—Business of the House (Order in
 Debate), Res. [250] 1587
 Parliament—Duration of Parliament, Res.
 [250] 1317, 1318
 Parliament—Privilege of Parliament—Immu-
 nity from Arrest, Res. [250] 1315
 Probates of Wills, &c. 2R. [251] 1022, 1030
 Ways and Means—Financial Statement, Comm.
 [251] 828, 834

Glebe Loan (Ireland) Amendment Act
 (1878) Amendment Bill

(*Mr. Errington, Mr. O'Connor, Mr. Dease*)

c. Ordered; read 1^o * Feb 19 [Bill 81]
 Read 2^o * Mar 15
 Committee [Dropped]

GOLDNEY, Mr. G., *Chippenham*

Public Accounts—Nomination of Select Com-
 mittee, [251] 545

GOLDSMID, Sir J., *Rochester*

Cyprus—Larnaca, [251] 682, 683
 Merchant Ships Laden in Bulk—Nomination
 of Select Committee, [251] 539
 Parliament, Dissolution of, Explanation, [251]
 661

GORDON, Sir A., *Aberdeenshire, E.*

Army Estimates—Army Reserve, [251] 103
 Departmental Statement, [251] 90
 Customs and Inland Revenue, Consid. [251]
 1194
 Game Laws, Res. [251] 194
 India—Afghanistan—Treaty of Gandamak,
 [250] 147
 Parliamentary Elections and Corrupt Practices
 (No. 2), Comm. [251] 1109
 Poor Law (Scotland), [250] 810

GORST, Mr. J. E., *Chatham*

India—Afghanistan—Expenses of the War,
 [250] 465
 Parliament—Business of the House (Order in
 Debate), Res. [250] 1659
 Supply—Criminal Prosecutions—Sheriffs' Ex-
 penses, &c. [251] 349

GOSCHEN, Right Hon. G. J., *London*

Bankruptcy Law Amendment, 2R. [250] 562
 London Water Companies—Valuation (Metro-
 polis) Act, 1869, [251] 811
 Metropolitan Waterworks Purchase, [251] 688
 Navy Estimates—Dockyards, &c. [251] 659,
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 Sea and Coast Guard Services, [251] 643
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 Consid. [251] 881, 882
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 3R. [251] 897

GOURLEY, Mr. E. T., *Sunderland*

India—Afghanistan, [251] 1207;—Military
 Equipments, [250] 912
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 Select Committee, [250] 1371, 1381
 Navy—Breech-loading Guns, The New, [251]
 1173
 Navy, State of the, Res. [251] 586
 Seed Potatoes (Ireland), Comm. cl. 6, [250] 656
 Treaty of Washington—Canadian and New-
 foundland Fisheries, [250] 512
 Vaccination—Durham Board of Guardians,
 [251] 27

GRANT, Mr. A., *Leith*

Customs—Outport Customs Clerical Staff,
 [251] 810

GRANVILLE, Earl

Africa, South—Zululand—Surrender of Arms,
 [251] 900
 Ancient Monuments, 2R. [251] 785
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 Executions in Cheetham and Kirkdale Gaols,
 Res. [251] 678
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 swer to, [250] 20, 46
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GRAY, Mr. E. D., *Tipperary*

Borough Franchise (Ireland), Res. [250] 810,
 823
 Local Government Board (Ireland), [250]
 1192
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 swer to, [250] 840
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 [250] 1003, 1004, 1005

Greece

- Brigandage in Acarnania*, Question, Mr. J. R. Yorke; Answer, Mr. Bourke *Feb 12*, [250] 511
Capture of Colonel Syngé by Brigands, Questions, Mr. H. Samuelson; Answers, Mr. Bourke *Feb 23*, [250] 1198; *Feb 24*, 1299
The Papers, Question, Mr. Chamberlain; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer *Feb 6*, [250] 162; Question, Mr. Chamberlain; Answer, Mr. Bourke *Feb 9*, 268

Parl. Paper—

- Rectification of Frontier—Further Correspondence . . . [2474]

GREGORY, Mr. G. B., *Sussex, E.*

- Arms, Carrying of—Revolvers, [250] 379
 Bankruptcy Law Amendment, 2R. [250] 562
 County Courts, 2R. [250] 1403
 Customs and Inland Revenue, 3R. [251] 1212
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 Parliament—Privilege of Parliament—Immunity from Arrest, Res. [250] 1312
 Parliamentary Elections and Corrupt Practices (No. 2), Consid. [251] 1182
 Patents for Inventions, 2R. [251] 748
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 Supply—Criminal Prosecutions—Sheriffs' Expenses, &c. [251] 349
 New Courts of Justice and Offices, [250] 1251, 1255
 Ways and Means—Financial Statement, Comm. [251] 837

Gun Licence Act (1870) Amendment Bill

(*Sir Alexander Gordon, Mr. Clare Read, Mr. M'Lagan, Mr. Mark Stewart*)

- c. Ordered; read 1^o * *Feb 11* [Bill 69]
 2R. Wed. *June 23*

HADDINGTON, Earl of

- Hypothec Abolition (Scotland), 2R. [251] 958;
 Comm. cl. 2, Amendt. 1083

HALL, Mr. A. W., *Oxford*

- Railway Servants (Compensation for Injury), Res. [251] 738

Hall-Marking (Gold and Silver)

- Question, Sir Henry Jackson; Answer, Mr. J. G. Talbot *Mar 2*, [251] 150

HALSEY, Mr. T. F., *Herts*

- Ordnance Maps—Hertfordshire, [251] 429

HAMILTON, Marquess of, *Donegal Co.*

- Relief of Distress (Ireland), 2R. [250] 551
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HAMILTON, Lord G. F. (Vice President of the Committee of Council on Education), *Middlesex*

- Charity Commission—Sittings of the Board, [250] 1439

HAMILTON, Lord G. F.—*cont.*

- Contagious Diseases (Animals) Act—Miscellaneous Questions
 Glandered Horses, [251] 1010
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HAMMOND, Lord

- India—Afghanistan—Policy of the Government, Address for Papers, [250] 1074

HANBURY, Mr. R. W., *Staffordshire, N.*

- Parliament—Business of the House (Order in Debate), Res. [250] 1502, 1540
 Parliament—Duration of Parliament, Res. [250] 1346
 Sugar Bounties—Negotiations with Foreign Powers, [250] 1104

HANKEY, Mr. T., *Peterborough*

- Education—Endowed Schools—Tunbridge Grammar School, [251] 551
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 Post Office—Money Orders, [251] 152
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 Summary Jurisdiction Act—Non-Payment of Rates, [251] 550
 Valuation of Property (Metropolis) Act—Schedule of Questions, [251] 681

Hanover—H.R.H. the Princess Frederica

- Questions, Mr. E. Jenkins; Answers, The Chancellor of the Exchequer *Mar 18*, [251] 1211; *Mar 19*, 1220

HARCOURT, Sir W. G. V., *Oxford City*

- Borough Franchise (Ireland), Res. [250] 854, 859
 Game Laws, Res. [251] 206; Amendt. 221
 India—Afghanistan—Expenses of the War, [250] 466, 468, 470
 Parliament—Privilege—Mr. Plimsoll, [250] 1114; Previous Question moved, 1119, 1121
 Queen's Speech, Address in Answer to, [250] 371, 372
 Parliament—Business of the House (Order in Debate), Res. [250] 1519, 1655, 1656, 1689, 1699
 Parliament—Privilege—Interference of Peers in Elections—Hon. Major Jocelyn, Res. Previous Question moved, [250] 1203
 Treaty Guarantees, [250] 638

HARDCASTLE, Mr. E., *Lancashire, S.E.*
 Parliament—Privilege—Mr. Plimsoll, [250] 1135
 Qualification of Voters, Midlothian, [250] 792, 794

HARDWICKE, Earl of
 Parliament—Queen's Speech, Address in Answer to, [250] 56

HARDY, Mr. A. GATHORNE-, *Canterbury*
 County Courts, 2R. [250] 1406
 Parliament—Business of the House (Order in Debate), Res. [250] 1680
 Parliamentary Elections and Corrupt Practices (No. 2), 2R. [251] 869

HARMAN, Colonel E. R., *KING-, Sligo*
 Relief of Distress (Ireland), Comm. [250] 703 ; cl. 3, 754, 760
 Seed Potatoes (Ireland), Consid. cl. 6, [250] 880, 882

HARTINGTON, Right Hon. Marquess of, *New Radnor*
 Capital Punishment—Prisons Act, 1868—Executions in Kirkdale Gaol, [251] 436
 Home Rule, Personal Explanation, [250] 687
 Intoxicating Liquors (Licences), Res. [251] 512
 Parliament—Miscellaneous Questions
 Dissolution of Parliament—Private Bills, [251] 692
 Privilege—Mr. Plimsoll, Motion for Adjournment, [250] 805, 808, 1185
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 Queen's Speech, Address in Answer to, [250] 81, 82, 134, 344, 361, 370
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 Parliament—Privilege—London Newspapers, Res. [250] 1223
 Parliamentary Elections and Corrupt Practices (No. 2), Comm. [251] 1072, 1113
 Persia and Herat, [250] 382
 Relief of Distress (Ireland), Comm. cl. 3, [250] 738, 766, 771
 Russia—Explosion at the Winter Palace, [250] 922
 Turkey and Greece—Rectification of Frontier, [251] 1208, 1210.

HAVELOCK, Sir H. M., *Sunderland*
 Army, Short Service and Recruiting in the, [250] 513

HAY, Admiral Right Hon. Sir J. C. D., *Stamford*
 Army (India)—Kirwee Prize Money, [250] 510
 Lighthouses, Motion for Papers, [251] 310
 Merchant Ships Laden in Bulk, Motion for a Select Committee, [250] 1369
 Navy—Colonial Allowance to Navy and Royal Marine Officers, [250] 268

HAY, Admiral Right Hon. Sir J. C. D.—cont.
 Navy, State of the, Res. [251] 577
 Navy Estimates—Sea and Coast Guard Services, [251] 634
 Parliament—Business of the House (Order in Debate), Res. [250] 1605
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HAYTER, Colonel Sir A. D., *Bath*
 Army Estimates—Army Reserve, [251] 103
 Departmental Statement, [251] 87
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HENNIKER, Lord
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HENRY, Mr. Mitchell, *Galway Co.*
 Capital Punishment—Prisons Act, 1868—Executions in Kirkdale Gaol, [251] 433
 Contagious Diseases (Animals) Act—Glandered Horses, [251] 1010
 Ireland—The Prime Minister's Letter to the Lord Lieutenant, Res. [251] 1231, 1232
 Parliament—Privilege—Mr. Plimsoll, [250] 1154
 Queen's Speech, Address in Answer to, [250] 129 ; Motion for Adjournment, 237, 270, 272, 295, 302, 369
 Relief of Distress (Ireland), [250] 1194 ; Clifden Board of Guardians, [251] 303, 304
 Relief of Distress (Ireland), 2R. [250] 546 ; Comm. cl. 3, 747, 756, 762, 768, 769, 936, 971 ; Lords Amendts. Consid. [251] 873
 250] Seed Potatoes (Ireland), Comm. cl. 6, Amendt. 657, 658, 659, 661 ; cl. 7, ib. ; cl. 8, Amendt. 662 ; cl. 9, 664 ; cl. 13, 665, 667, 772 ; Consid. Amendt. 878, 881

HERBERT, Mr. H. A., *Kerry Co.*
 Relief of Distress (Ireland), Consid. add. cl. [250] 1228

HERMON, Mr. E., *Preston*
 Commerce and Free Trade, Motion for a Select Committee, [250] 637
 Parliament—Queen's Speech, Address in Answer to, [250] 306

HERSCHELL, Mr. F., *Durham*
 Parliament—Privilege of Parliament—Immunity from Arrest, Res. [250] 1309

HERTFORD, Marquess of
 Agriculture and Trade, State of, [251] 1246

HEYGATE, Mr. W. U., *Leicestershire, S.*
 Companies Act, 1879—Joint Stock Banks, [250] 1440

HIBBERT, Mr. J. T., *Oldham*
 Capital Punishment—Prisons Act, 1868—Executions in Kirkdale Gaol, [251] 431, 434
 County Courts, 2R. [250] 1398
 Criminal Law—Admission of Reporters at Executions, [250] 919

HIBBERT, Mr. J. T.—*cont.*

Liverpool Corporation Water, 2R. [250] 1282
 Parliamentary Elections and Corrupt Practices
 (No. 2), Leave, [251] 778; 2R. 868; Comm.
 953
 Parliamentary Reporting—Reporters' Gallery,
 [251] 801
 Poor Law—Election of Guardians, [251] 300
 Post Office—Post Office Savings Bank Regula-
 tions, [250] 1297
 Relief of Distress (Ireland), Comm. cl. 3, [250]
 927, 947; cl. 4, 989

HICKS, Mr. E., *Cambridgeshire*

Criminal Law (Ireland)—Return of Criminal
 Cases at Antrim Assizes and Sessions, [251]
 1096

Highway Board Accounts

Moved, for a "Return of the General Order of
 Accounts issued by the Local Government
 Board to highway boards, under the 'High-
 ways and Locomotives (Amendment) Act,
 1878': Similar Return in respect of the ac-
 counts of the surveyors of highway parishes"
 (*The Duke of Bedford*) Mar 2, [251] 128;
 Motion agreed to

*Highways and Locomotives (Amendment)
 Act, 1878*

Moved, "That an humble Address be presented
 to Her Majesty for Return of parishes in
 each county in England and Wales which
 are not included in highway districts" (*The
 Earl De La Warr*) Mar 12, [251] 902;
 after short debate, Motion withdrawn

HILL, Mr. A. Staveley, *Staffordshire, W.*

Licensing Laws Amendment, Leave, [250] 877
 Liverpool Corporation Water, 2R. Amendt.
 [250] 1278, 1294

HOGG, Lt.-Colonel Sir J. M'GAREL-,
Truro

Gaslight and Coke, Commercial Gas, and South
 Metropolitan Gaslight and Coke Companies,
 [250] 787
 Metropolis Waterworks Purchase, Leave, [251]
 236
 Parliamentary Elections and Corrupt Practices
 (No. 2), 2R. [251] 866

HOLKER, Sir J. (*see* ATTORNEY GENERAL,
 The)

HOLLAND, Sir H. T., *Midhurst*

Parliamentary Elections and Corrupt Practices
 (No. 2), Consid. add. cl. [251] 1189
 Supply—War in South Africa (Vote of Credit),
 [251] 767

HOLMS, Mr. J., *Hackney*

Army—South Africa—Natal and the Trans-
 vaal—Alleged Misconduct of the British
 Troops, [250] 590
 Museum of Natural History, South Kensington,
 [250] 791
 Parliament—Duration of Parliament, Res.
 [250] 1310, 1317, 1318, 1352

HOLMS, Mr. W., *Paisley*

Parliamentary Elections and Corrupt Practices
 (No. 2), Comm. [251] 1111; cl. 2, Amendt.
 1115; Consid. 1184
 Persia and Herat, [250] 520
 Probates of Wills, &c. 2R. [251] 1061
 Supply—War in South Africa (Vote of Credit),
 [251] 767
 Taxation (Great Britain and Ireland), Motion
 for a Select Committee, [251] 707

HOLT, Mr. J. M., *Lancashire, N.E.*

Sunday Question—Brighton Aquarium, [251]
 299

HOPE, Mr. A. J. B. Beresford, *Cambridge
 University*

Game Laws, Res. [251] 202
 Tower High Level Bridge (Metropolis) Com-
 mittee—Mr. Grissell, [251] 158

HOPWOOD, Mr. C. H., *Stockport*

Army—Regulation of Correspondents in the
 Field, [250] 1296, 1297, 1567
 Army Discipline and Regulation (Annual), 2R.
 [251] 852
 Criminal Code, 2R. [250] 1244
 Game Laws, Res. [251] 203
 Mercantile Marine—Carriage of Goods to the
 East, [251] 22
 Parliament—Business of the House (Order in
 Debate), Res. [250] 1679

HOUGHTON, Lord

Criminal Law—Executions in Gaols—William
 Cassidy, [251] 127, 128
 Execution in Cheetham Prison, Address for a
 Paper, [250] 1277; Res. [251] 671, 680
 Workmen's Compensation, 1R. [250] 377

Hours of Polling (Boroughs) Bill

(*Mr. Chamberlain, Sir Charles W. Dilke, Mr.
 Mundella, Dr. Cameron, Major Nolan, Mr
 Henry Samuelson*)

c. Ordered; read 1^o * Feb 6 [Bill 39]
 2R. Wed. July 14

HOWARD, Mr. E. S., *Cumberland, E.*

Salmon Fisheries—Solway Fisheries, [250] 1297

HUBBARD, Right Hon. J. G., *London*

Customs and Inland Revenue, 3R. [251] 1213
 Probates of Wills, &c. 2R. [251] 1039

Hypothec Abolition (Scotland) Bill

(*Mr. Agnew, Mr. Baillie Hamilton, Sir George
 Douglas*)

c. Ordered; read 1^o * Feb 6 [Bill 34]
 250] Read 2^o, after debate Feb 25, 1410
 251] Committee—R.P. Mar 2, 239
 Committee*; Report Mar 8
 .Read 3^o, after short debate Mar 10, 775

[*cont.*]

Hypothec Abolition (Scotland) Bill—cont.

- l. Read 1* (*Evrl of Haddington*) Mar 11 (No. 34)
 251] Read 2*, after short debate Mar 15, 958
 . Committee, after short debate Mar 16, 1080
 . Report Mar 17, 1166 (No. 49)
 . Read 3*, after short debate Mar 18, 1197
 . c. Lords Amends. considered and agreed to
 Mar 18, 1214
 l. Royal Assent Mar 24 [43 Vict. c. 12]

INDIA

- Army Prize*—"The Begum Kooto, Lucknow,"
 Question, Sir Charles Russell; Answer, Mr.
 E. Stanhope Mar 17, [251] 1175
Army Recruiting, Question, Lord Dorchester;
 Answer, Viscount Cranbrook Mar 19, [251]
 1217
*Despatch of Indian Troops to Malta—The Re-
 turn of Costs*, Question, Mr. Mundella;
 Answer, Colonel Stanley Mar 11, [251] 803;
 Moved, "That this House do now adjourn"
 (Mr. Mundella); after short debate, Motion
 withdrawn; Questions, Mr. Courtney, Mr.
 Fawcett; Answers, The Chancellor of the
 Exchequer Mar 12, 916
Despatch of 1869—"The Empress of India,"
 Question, Sir H. Drummond Wolff; Answer,
 Mr. E. Stanhope Feb 6, [250] 146; Personal
 Explanation, The Duke of Argyll Feb 9, 254
East India (Ecclesiastical Department), Ques-
 tion, Mr. Baxter; Answer, Mr. E. Stanhope
 Mar 8, [251] 551;—Mr. William Tayler,
 Question, Sir Eardley Wilmot; Answer, Mr.
 E. Stanhope Mar 11, 811
Emigration of Coolies to La Réunion, Ques-
 tion, Mr. Errington; Answer, Mr. E. Stan-
 hope Feb 16, [250] 678
Factory Legislation, Observations, The Earl of
 Shaftesbury, Lord Stanley of Alderley; Reply,
 Viscount Cranbrook Mar 19, [251] 1216
Indian Army Medical Service, Question, Sir
 Thomas Bazley; Answer, Mr. E. Stanhope
 Mar 11, [251] 810
Indian Famine Commission—The Report,
 Question, Sir David Wedderburn; Answer,
 Mr. E. Stanhope Mar 2, [251] 149; Ques-
 tion, General Sir George Balfour; Answer,
 Mr. E. Stanhope Mar 9, 682
India Office—Shipping Contracts, Questions,
 Mr. Puleston, Mr. E. Jenkins; Answers,
 Mr. E. Stanhope Feb 26, [250] 1443
India Stock—Powers of Attorney, Question,
 Mr. Freshfield; Answer, Mr. E. Stanhope
 Feb 20, [250] 1104
Indigo Cultivation in Behar, Question, Mr.
 O'Donnell; Answer, Mr. E. Stanhope
 Feb 26, [250] 1444
Kirwee Prize Money, Question, Sir John Hay;
 Answer, Mr. E. Stanhope Feb 12, [250] 510
Medical Staff, Question, Mr. Lyon Playfair;
 Answer, Mr. E. Stanhope Feb 26, [250] 1435
Popular Representation, Observations, Sir David
 Wedderburn; Reply, Mr. E. Stanhope; Ob-
 servations, Sir George Campbell Feb 13,
 [250] 593
The Attock Bridge, Question, Mr. Onslow;
 Answer, Mr. E. Stanhope Mar 8, [251] 552
*The Indian Army Commission—The Recom-
 mendations*, Questions, Sir George Camp-
 bell, General Sir George Balfour; Answers,
 Mr. E. Stanhope Mar 16, [251] 1095

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INDIA—cont.

- The Indian Press—Newspaper Correspondents
 in the Field*, Question, Sir Charles W. Dilke;
 Answer, Mr. E. Stanhope Feb 17, [250] 791
The Naga Hill Tribes, Question, Mr. Dal-
 rymple; Answer, Mr. E. Stanhope Feb 16,
 [250] 681
The Wynaad Gold Fields, Question, Mr.
 Puleston; Answer, Mr. E. Stanhope Feb 27,
 [250] 1568

India Stock (Powers of Attorney) Bill

(Mr. Edward Stanhope, Lord George Hamilton)

- c. Ordered; read 1* Feb 27 [Bill 93]
 Read 2* Mar 8
 Committee*; Report Mar 10
 Read 3* Mar 11
 l. Read 1* (Viscount Cranbrook) Mar 12 (No. 37)
 Read 2* Mar 13
 Committee*; Report Mar 15
 Read 3* Mar 16
 Royal Assent Mar 19 [43 Vict. c. 11]

Indian Salaries and Allowances Bill

(Mr. Edward Stanhope, Lord George Hamilton)

- c. Ordered; read 1* Feb 12 [Bill 72]
 Read 2* Feb 23
 Committee*; Report Feb 26
 Read 3* Feb 27
 l. Read 1* (Viscount Cranbrook) Mar 1 (No. 22)
 Read 2* Mar 8
 Committee*; Report Mar 9
 Read 3* Mar 11
 Royal Assent Mar 15 [43 Vict. c. 3]

Inhabited House Duty and Income Tax
Bill(Mr. Hubbard, Mr. Sampson Lloyd,
Mr. Leatham, Sir Charles Forster)

- c. Ordered; read 1* Feb 11 [Bill 70]
 2R. [Dropped]

Intemperance, The Lords Committee on—
The Recommendations

Question, Sir Wilfrid Lawson; Answer, The
 Chancellor of the Exchequer Feb 9, [250]
 267

Intestates Real Estate Bill

(Mr. Potter, Mr. Leatham, Mr. Price, Sir Wilfrid
 Lawson, Mr. Anderson, Mr. Hopwood)

- c. Ordered; read 1* Feb 6 [Bill 13]
 2R. Wed. April 28

Intoxicating Liquors (Licences)

Amendt. on Committee of Supply Mar 5, To
 leave out from "That," and add "inasmuch
 as the ancient and avowed object of licensing
 the Sale of Intoxicating Liquors is to supply
 a supposed public want, without detriment
 to the public welfare, this House is of opinion
 that a legal power of restraining the issue
 or renewal of licences should be placed in
 the hands of the persons most deeply in-
 terested and affected, namely, the inhabitants
 themselves, who are entitled to protection
 from the injurious consequences of the pre-

[cont.]

Intoxicating (Liquors) Licences—cont.

sent system, by some efficient measure of local option" (*Sir Wilfrid Lawson v.*, [251] 441; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after long debate, Question put; A. 248, N. 134; M. 114
Div. List, A. and N. 525

IRELAND

MISCELLANEOUS QUESTIONS

Auxiliary Forces—The Lieutenant Colonel of the Antrim Militia, Questions, Mr. Biggar; Answers, Colonel Stanley *Mar 4*, [251] 300; *Mar 8*, 553
Board of Works—Clare Castle Harbour and Pier, Question, Mr. Finigan; Answer, Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson *Feb 19*, [250] 918; —*Consolidation Acts*, Question, Mr. P. Martin; Answer, Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson *Feb 12*, [250] 518
Coroners' Fees, Question, Mr. O'Clery; Answer, The Attorney General for Ireland *Mar 5*, [251] 440
Crime—Attack on Tenant Right Meeting at Portadown, Question, Mr. O'Donnell; Answer, Mr. J. Lowther *Feb 27*, [250] 1570; Question, Sir Thomas M'Clure; Answer, Mr. J. Lowther *Mar 4*, [251] 303; Questions, Mr. O'Donnell, Sir Thomas M'Clure; Answers, Mr. J. Lowther *Mar 5*, 426; Question, Mr. Sullivan; Answer, Mr. J. Lowther *Mar 15*, 1013; Question, Mr. Sullivan; Answer, The Attorney General for Ireland *Mar 17*, 1174

Criminal Law

Return of Criminal Cases at Antrim Assizes and Sessions, Question, Mr. Hicks; Answer, Mr. Assheton Cross *Mar 16*, [251] 1096
The Assault on Lord Fermoy, Question, Mr. O'Sullivan; Answer, The Attorney General for Ireland *Feb 10*, [250] 379
The Police and Crown Witnesses, Questions, Mr. Sullivan; Answers, Mr. J. Lowther *Mar 15*, [251] 1012
Education Department (Ireland) Salaries of Inspectors of Elementary Education, Question, Major Nolan; Answer, Mr. J. Lowther *Mar 12*, [251] 908
Evictions, Notice of Questions, Mr. O'Donnell *Feb 10*, [250] 384
Fishery Piers—New Shannon Pier, Question, Mr. O'Clery; Answer, Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson *Mar 4*, [251] 302
Grand Juries and Presentment Sessions, Question, Sir Thomas M'Clure; Answer, Mr. J. Lowther *Feb 16*, [250] 685
Home Rule, Personal Explanation, Viscount Castlereagh; Observations, The Marquess of Hartington *Feb 16*, [250] 686
"Home Rulers" *Members of this House*, Question, Mr. Sullivan; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer *Feb 16*, [250] 682
Irish National School Teachers, Question, Mr. Dodds; Answer, Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson *Mar 5*, [251] 439
Irish Poor Law Unions and the Seed Supply Bill, Question, Major Nolan; Answer, Mr. J. Lowther *Feb 20*, [250] 1108

IRELAND—cont.

Landlord and Tenant—Notice to Quit, Question, The O'Donoghue; Answer, Mr. J. Lowther *Feb 23*, [250] 1188
Law and Justice—The Mullingar Assizes, Question, Mr. Sullivan; Answer, Mr. J. Lowther *Mar 11*, [251] 799
Lighthouses (West Coast), Question, Mr. Lea; Answer, Viscount Sandon *Feb 26*, [250] 1435
Local Government Board, Question, Mr. Gray; Answer, Mr. J. Lowther *Feb 23*, [250] 1192
Overflow of the River Barrow at Monasterevan, Kildare, Question, Mr. Meldon; Answer, The Attorney General for Ireland *Mar 16*, [251] 1097
Poor Law—The Union of Bailieboro, Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, Mr. J. Lowther *Feb 19*, [250] 908
Post Office—Emyvale, Question, Mr. Sullivan; Answer, Lord John Manners *Feb 19*, [250] 918
Prisons—Abolition of Spike Island Convict Prison, Question, Mr. O'Connor Power; Answer, Mr. J. Lowther *Feb 16*, [250] 685
Public Works, Question, Lord Monteaigle; Answer, The Duke of Richmond and Gordon *Mar 1*, [251] 1
The Commissioners of National Education—Female Education in Galway, Questions, Mr. P. Martin; Answers, Mr. J. Lowther *Feb 20*, [250] 1107
University Education (Ireland) Act, Questions, Mr. P. Martin; Answers, Mr. J. Lowther *Mar 12*, [251] 909

Ireland—Borough Franchise

Moved, "That the restricted nature of the Borough Franchise in Ireland as compared with that existing in England and in Scotland is a subject deserving the immediate attention of Parliament, with a view of establishing a fair and just equality of the franchise in the three countries" (*Mr. Meldon*) *Feb 17*, [250] 811
Amend. to leave out from "That," and add "it is inexpedient to deal with the question of lowering the franchise in Ireland" (*Mr. Charles Lewis*) *v.*; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after long debate, Question put; A. 188, N. 242; M. 54 (D. L. 10)
Main Question, as amended, put, and agreed to

Ireland—Peace Preservation (Ireland) Act

Moved, That there be laid before the House, Returns showing what parts of Ireland are proclaimed under the Peace Preservation Act" (*The Lord Oranmore and Browne*) *Mar 15*, [251] 965; after short debate, Motion agreed to

Ireland—Potato Crop

Select Committee appointed, "to inquire into the best means of diminishing the frequency and extent of failures in the Potato Crop" (*Major Nolan*) *Feb 10*

Ireland, State of

Moved, That there be laid before the House, "Return of the number of ejectments from agricultural holdings that have been served, the number in which decrees have been pronounced, and the number in which decrees have been executed in each county in Ireland every year from the 1st of January 1860 to the 1st of January 1880; the Return to distinguish between ejectments for non-payment of rent, or on notice to quit, or for breach of contract, or for any other cause: Also, Return of the number of cases of intimidation in Ireland to prevent the payment of rent or occupation of land which came under the notice of the police during the year 1879, and the number of prosecutions undertaken and convictions obtained in such cases" (*The Earl of Dunraven*) Feb 27, [250] 1545; after short debate, Motion withdrawn

[See title *Relief of Distress (Ireland)*]

Ireland—The Ennishowen Fishery Pier, County Donegal

Amendt. on Committee of Supply Mar 1, To leave out from "That," and add "greater facilities than are now available should be granted to the distressed inhabitants of the county Donegal for raising a sum of money required for the erection of a fishery pier and harbour at Malin Head, Ennishowen," (*Mr. O'Donnell*) v., [251] 39; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after short debate, Question put, and agreed to

Ireland—The Prime Minister's Letter to the Lord Lieutenant

Moved, "That this House highly disapproves of the attempt of the Prime Minister to stir up feelings of hatred between England and Ireland for the purpose of furnishing an election cry to his followers, and regards with indignation his flagrant misrepresentation of the loyal efforts of the Home Rule party to extend the blessings of constitutional government to Ireland" (*Colonel The O'Gorman Mahon*) Mar 19, [251] 1223 [House counted out]

Irish Church Act (1869) Amendment Bill
(*Mr. Plunket, Sir Arthur Guinness, Mr. Maurice Brooks, Mr. Ewart, Mr. Kavanagh*)

c. Motion for Leave (*Mr. Plunket*) Mar 3, [251] 274; after short debate, Motion agreed to; Bill ordered; read 1^o* [Bill 100]
Bill withdrawn, after short debate Mar 10, 752

JACKSON, Sir H. M., Coventry

Commerce and Free Trade, Motion for a Select Committee, [250] 616
Hall-Marking (Gold and Silver), [251] 150
Parliamentary Elections and Corrupt Practices (No. 2), Comm. cl. 2, [251] 1144, 1151, 1153; Amendt. 1159, 1160, 1162

JAMES, Sir H., Taunton

Bankruptcy Law Amendment, 2R. [250] 560
County Courts, 2R. [250] 1409
Criminal Code 2R. [250] 1242, 1248
Parliament—Dissolution of, Explanation, [251] 562, 918
Privilege—Mr. Plimsoll, [250] 1133
Parliament—Business of the House (Order in Debate), Res. [250] 1701
Parliament—Privilege of Parliament—Immunity from Arrest, Res. [250] 1313
Parliamentary Elections and Corrupt Practices (No. 2), 2R. [251] 866
Supreme Court of Judicature Acts—The Assizes, [250] 809

JAMES, Mr. W. H., Gateshead

Charity Expenses and Accounts, [250] 508
City of London—Gratuities to Officers of the Corporation, [250] 1193
Parochial Charities—City of London—Report of Royal Commission, [250] 508
Supply—Charity Commission for England and Wales, [250] 1267, 1270
Technical Education, Central College of, [251] 428

JENKINS, Mr. D. J., Penryn, &c.

Merchant Ships Laden in Bulk, Motion for a Select Committee, [250] 1375

JENKINS, Mr. E., Dundee

Acrobatic Performances—Withdrawal of Bill, [251] 1018
H.R.H. The Princess Frederica of Hanover, [251] 1211, 1212, 1220
India Office—Shipping Contracts, [250] 1444
Merchant Ships Laden in Bulk, Nomination of Select Committee, Motion for Adjournment, [251] 534, 543
Metropolitan Waterworks Purchase, [251] 1093
Parliament—Privilege—Interference of Peers in Elections—Hon. Major Jocelyn, Res. [250] 1208
Parliament—Queen's Speech, Address in Answer to, [250] 117
Parliamentary Elections and Corrupt Practices (No. 2), Comm. [251] 1106; cl. 2, 1117, 1119, 1135, 1145; Motion for reporting Progress, 1147, 1157, 1158; Amendt. 1160, 1161; Consid. add. cl. 1189
Probates of Wills, &c. 2R. [251] 1056, 1057
Turkey—Correspondence as to Ahmed Tewfik and Dr. Koella, [250] 269
Murder of Mr. Ogle, [250] 1571

JOHNSTONE, Sir H., Scarborough

Intoxicating Liquors (Licences), Res. [251] 524

Judicial Factors (Scotland) Bill

(*Mr. Ramsay, Mr. Baxter, Sir Graham Montgomery, Mr. Dalrymple*)

c. Ordered; read 1^o* Feb 6 [Bill 50]
Read 2^o* Feb 25
Committee [Dropped]

Katz Naturalization Bill

- l. Presented (on Petition), and read 1st *Mar* 11
 Read 2nd *Mar* 15
 Report *Mar* 16
 Read 3rd *Mar* 17
 c. Read 1st *Mar* 17

KAYANAGH, Mr. A. M., *Carlow Co.*

Relief of Distress (Ireland), Comm. cl. 3, [250] 947

KAY-SHUTTLEWORTH, Sir U. J., *Hastings*
 Educational Returns, [250] 915

KENEALY, Dr. E. V., *Stoke-upon-Trent*
 Game Laws, Res. [251] 198

KENSINGTON, Lord, *Haverfordwest*

Merchant Ships Laden in Bulk, Nomination of
 Select Committee, [251] 539

KIMBERLEY, Earl of

- Africa, South—Basutoland, [250] 258
 Beer Dealers' Retail Licences, 2R. [251] 547;
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 cution in Cheetham and Kirkdale Gaols, Res.
 [251] 679
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 1878, Motion for an Address, [251] 904
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 Ireland, State of, Motion for Returns, [250]
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KINGSCOTE, Colonel R. N. F. *Gloucester-*
shire, W.

Bristol Corporation, 2R. [251] 144

KIRK, Mr. G. H., *Louth*

Relief of Distress (Ireland), Comm. cl. 3, [250]
 974; Consid. add cl. 1228

KNATCHBULL-HUGESSEN, Right Hon. E.

H., *Sandwich*

Bristol Corporation, 2R. [251] 142
 Parliament—Business of the House (Order in
 Debate), Res. [250] 1613

KNOWLES, Mr. T., *Wigan*

Railway Servants (Compensation for Injury),
 Res. [251] 737

LAING, Mr. S., *Orkney, &c.*

India—Afghanistan—The War—Expenses of
 Military Operations, Res. [251] 938
 Malta, Despatch of Indian Troops to—Return
 of Costs, [251] 808
 National Debt, 3R. [251] 1223

Landed Proprietors (Ireland) Bill

(Mr. P. J. Smyth, Mr. Martin, Mr. Fay, The
O'Donoghue)

c. Ordered; read 1st *Feb* 6 [Bill 45]
 2R. Wed. *April* 21

Landlord and Tenant (Ireland) Act (1870)
 Amendment Bill

(Mr. Daniel Taylor, Sir Thomas M'Clure, Mr.
Benjamin Whitworth, Mr. Lea)

c. Ordered; read 1st *Feb* 6 [Bill 31]
 2R. Wed. *July* 7

LANSDOWNE, Marquess of

Army—Auxiliary Forces—Volunteer Review
 on Easter Monday—Statement, [251] 956
 Hypothec Abolition (Scotland), 3R. [251] 1198
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 Abolition), 2R. [251] 1076
 Parliamentary Elections and Corrupt Practices
 (No. 2), 3R. [251] 1237
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 Royal School of Mines, Jermyn Street, Motion
 for a Paper, [251] 963
 Seeds (Ireland), Comm. [250] 1183

LAW, Right Hon. H., *Londonderry Co.*

Parliament—Queen's Speech, Address in An-
 swer to, [250] 397
 Relief of Distress (Ireland), Comm. cl. 3, [250]
 927; Amendt. 935, 939, 946, 962; cl. 9,
 1013; Amendt. 1160; cl. 14, Amendt. *ib.*
 Ulster Tenant Right, 2R. [251] 262

Law and Justice

New Courts of Justice (Buildings), Question,
 Mr. Osborne Morgan; Answer, Mr. Gerard
 Noel *Feb* 10, [251] 380
Supreme Court of Judicature Acts — The
Assizes, Question, Sir Henry James; An-
 swer, Mr. Assheton Cross *Feb* 17, [250] 809
The Colonial Bar, Question, Mr. Errington;
 Answer, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach *Mar* 8,
 [251] 550

Law and Police

Carrying of Arms—Revolvers, Question, Mr.
 Gregory; Answer, Mr. Assheton Cross *Feb* 10,
 [250] 379
Instruction of the Police in Ambulance Drill,
 Question, Mr. Elliot; Answer, Mr. Assheton
 Cross *Feb* 27, [250] 1572
The Oxford and Cambridge Boat Race and
the London Steamboat Company, Question,
 Sir George Bowyer; Answer, Sir Matthew
 White Ridley *Mar* 19, [251] 1220

Law of Ejectment Suspension (Ireland)

Bill (Mr. Sullivan, Mr. Kirk, Mr. O'Sullivan, Mr. O'Shaughnessy)

c. Ordered; read 1^o * Feb 6 [Bill 11]
2R. Wed. April 21

LAWRENCE, Sir J. J. T., *Surrey, Mid.*
Poor Law Officers, Superannuation of—The
Tenterden Guardians, [251] 1011

LAWSON, Sir W., *Carlisle*

Intemperance, Lords Committee on, [250] 267
Intoxicating Liquors (Licences), Res. [251]
441, 473, 519
Merchant Shipping—Grain Cargoes, [250] 1447
Parliament—Public Business, [250] 886

LEA, Mr. T., *Donegal*

Lighthouses, Ireland (West Coast), [250] 1435
Mercantile Marine—The Electric Light in
Lighthouses, [251] 439

Leases Bill (Mr. Marten, Sir Henry Jackson, Mr. Gregory, Mr. Charles Lewis)

c. Ordered; read 1^o * Feb 6 [Bill 30]
Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2^o"
Feb 18, [250] 886

Amendt. to leave out "now," and add "upon
this day six months" (Mr. Alderman Cotton);
Question proposed, "That 'now,' &c.;"
after short debate, Amendt. withdrawn

Main Question put, and agreed to; Bill read 2^o,
and committed to a Select Committee

And, on Mar 2, Committee nominated as follows:—Mr. Allcroft, Mr. Attorney General,
Mr. Alderman Cotton, Mr. Freshfield, Mr. Gregory, Sir Henry Jackson, Mr. Law, Sir James Lawrence, Mr. Leveson Gower, Mr. Charles Lewis, Mr. Marten, Mr. Osborne Morgan, Mr. O'Clery, Mr. Roberts, Mr. Ryder

LEATHAM, Mr. E. A., *Huddersfield*

Church of England—Sale of Livings—Royal
Commission, [250] 922
Intoxicating Liquors (Licences), Res. [251] 481

LECHMERE, Sir E., *Worcestershire, W.*

Liverpool Corporation Water, 2R. [250] 1291

LEFEVRE, Mr. G. J. Shaw, *Reading*

Customs and Inland Revenue, Consid. [251]
1192; Amendt. 1194; 3R. 1213

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Sea and Coast Guard Services, [251] 628,
634

Parliament—Queen's Speech, Address in Answer to, [250] 221, 323

Parliamentary Elections and Corrupt Practices
(No. 2), Comm. cl. 2, [251] 1129, 1136, 1137,
1141, 1146, 1150, 1155, 1167; Consid. 1182

Probates of Wills, &c. 2R. [251] 1053

Relief of Distress (Ireland), Leave, [250] 241;

Comm. cl. 3, Amendt. 726, 925

LEIGHTON, Sir B., *Shropshire, S.*

Commerce and Agriculture, Proposed Minister
of, [251] 916

Liverpool Corporation Water, 2R. [250] 1286,
1294

LEIGHTON, Mr. S., *Shropshire, N.*

Ancient Monuments, Comm. cl. 2, Amendt.
[250] 773

LESLIE, Sir J., *Monaghan*

Volunteer Corps (Ireland), 2R. Amendt. [251]
116

LEWIS, Mr. C. E., *Londonderry*

Borough Franchise (Ireland), Res. [250] 823;
Amendt. 825, 835

Parliament—Privilege—Mr. Plimsoll, [250]
1142, 1143

Queen's Speech, Address in Answer to,
[250] 196

Parliament—Privilege—Interference of Peers
in Elections—Hon. Major Jocelyn, Res. [250]
1208

Parliament—Privilege of Parliament—Immunity
from Arrest, Res. Amendt. [250] 1307,
1316

LEWISHAM, Viscount, *Kent, W.*

Army—Voluntary Retirement of Officers, [250]
1443

Licensing Laws Amendment Bill

(Mr. Staveley Hill, Mr. Mundella, Mr. Isaac)

c. Considered in Committee Feb 17, [250] 877

Moved, "That the Chairman be directed to
move the House, that leave be given to bring
in a Bill to amend the Licensing Laws" (Mr.
Staveley Hill); after short debate, Question
put; A. 208, N. 7; M. 201 (D. L. 11)

Res. reported; Bill ordered; read 1^o * [Bill 76]
2R. Wed. April 28

**Licensing Laws—Closing of Public-Houses
on Sunday**

Resolution withdrawn, Mr. Stevenson Mar 9,
[251] 680

Lighthouses

Motion for Papers, Mr. T. Brassey Mar 4,
[251] 305; after debate, Motion withdrawn

Limitation of Actions Bill [H.L.]

(The Lord Chancellor)

l. Presented; read 1^o Feb 23, [250] 1164 (No. 17)

Read 2^o * Mar 8

Committee *; Report Mar 12 (No. 43)

LINDSAY, Colonel R. J. Loyd (Financial

Secretary for War), *Berkshire*

Army—Miscellaneous Questions

Courts Martial, Returns of, [250] 907

Retirement—Royal Warrant, [251] 430

Seconded Officers, [250] 516

Army Estimates—Clothing Establishments, &c.
[251] 107

Contagious Diseases Acts, [251] 1011

Liverpool Corporation (Loans, &c.) [Composition of Stamp Duty]
Matter considered in Committee; a Resolution agreed to *Mar 11*, [251] 898

Liverpool Corporation Water Bill (by Order)

c. Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2^o"
Feb 24, [250] 1278

Amendt. to leave out "now," and add "upon this day six months" (*Mr. Rowley Hill*); Question proposed, "That 'now' &c.;" after debate, Amendt. withdrawn

Main Question put, and agreed to; Bill read 2^o

Moved, "That the Bill be referred to a Select Committee of nine Members, Five to be nominated by the House and Four by the Committee of Selection, and that such of the Petitioners as shall have presented their Petitions against the Bill may, if they think fit, be heard before such Committee by their Counsel" (*Mr. Selater-Booth*); Motion agreed to

Ordered, That such of the Petitioners as shall have presented their Petitions against the Bill on or before the first day of March next may, if they think fit, be heard before such Committee by their Counsel, and Counsel may be heard in support of the Bill against such Petitions

That it be an Instruction to the Committee, that they have power to inquire into and report upon the present and prospective sufficiency of the water supply of the district which the Corporation of Liverpool are authorized to supply, and into the existence of any other available source of supply; and whether, having regard to the various interests affected by the scheme, and to the present and prospective requirements of the population in the Severn Valley as to water supply, fishing, navigation, and the scouring effect of floods, compulsory powers should be given to take water from the River Vyrnwy and its tributaries; and, if so, to what extent, and under what conditions, as to compensation water, or otherwise; and also what provisions are requisite for enforcing and securing such conditions" (*Mr. Selater-Booth*)

LYOYD, Mr. M., *Beaumaris*

Parliamentary Elections and Corrupt Practices (No. 2), Leave, [251] 780; 2R. 859, 867; Comm. 1107; cl. 2, 1134; Amendt. 1138, 1146; Consid. add. cl. 1189

Probates of Wills, &c. 2R. [251] 1058

LYOYD, Mr. S. S., *Plymouth*

Bankruptcy Law Amendment, 2R. [250] 561

County Courts, 2R. [250] 1405

Navy Estimates—Sea and Coast Guard Services, [251] 635

Parliament—Business of the House (Order in Debate), Res. Amendt. [250] 1500, 1613

Loans for Local Works

Question, Mr. Chamberlain; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer *Feb 12*, [250] 516

Loans for Local Works—cont.

Select Committee appointed, "to inquire into the system under which Loans for Local Works are now advanced out of the Consolidated Fund, or on the security of the Consolidated Fund; and to Report:—

1. Whether the system hitherto in force has been conducted without loss to the Exchequer, pointing out, if there has been loss, the causes which have led to it:

2. Whether it is clear that the present system, if continued, will be carried on without loss to the Exchequer or injury to the public credit:

3. Whether further facilities might not with advantage be given to local authorities so as to enable them to borrow, upon their own local security, without having recourse to the Exchequer; and whether any, and if so, what amendments are required in 'The Local Loans Act, 1875'" (*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer*) *Feb 23*

And, on *Mar 5*, Committee nominated as follows:—Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Balfour, Mr. Chamberlain, Mr. Childers, Sir Edward Colebrooke, Mr. Dalrymple, Mr. Gray, Mr. Hanbury, Sir Graham Montgomery, Mr. Paget, Mr. Pease, Mr. Ridley, Mr. Rylands, Mr. Selater-Booth, Mr. Shaw Lefevre, Mr. Spencer Stanhope, and Mr. Synan

Local Courts of Bankruptcy (Ireland)

Bill [H.L.] (*The Lord Chancellor*)

l. Presented; read 1^a * *Feb 19* (No. 11)

Read 2^a * *Feb 26*

Committee; Report, after short debate *Mar 5*, [251] 412

Read 3^a * *Mar 11*

c. Read 1^o * *Mar 11* [Bill 110]

Questions, Mr. Callan; Answers, The Chancellor of the Exchequer *Mar 12*, 911

Bill withdrawn * *Mar 15*

Local Government Areas (Commission)

Bill

(*Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice, Mr. Pell, Mr. Clare Read, Mr. Backhouse*)

c. Ordered; read 1^a * *Feb 6*

[Bill 14]

2R. Wed. *May 5*

Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (Banbridge, &c.) Bill [H.L.]

(*The Lord President*)

l. Presented; read 1^a * *Mar 2* (No. 25)

Read 2^a * *Mar 9*

Committee*; Report *Mar 17*

Local Inquiries (Ireland) Bill

(*Mr. P. J. Smyth, Colonel King-Harman, Mr. Joseph Cowen, Sir Harcourt Johnstone, Dr. Cameron, Sir Joseph M'Kenna*)

c. Ordered; read 1^o * *Feb 6*

[Bill 33]

2R. Wed. *April 28*

London, City of—Gratuities to Officers of the Corporation

Question, Mr. W. H. James; Answer, Mr. Assheton Cross Feb 23, [250] 1193

LONGFORD, Earl of

Army—Short Service System—Report of Departmental Committee, [251] 907

Army Discipline and Regulation (Annual), 2R. [251] 954; 3R. 1080

Lord Clerk Register (Scotland) Act, 1879

Questions, Mr. M'Laren; Answers, Mr. Assheton Cross Mar 15, [251] 1008

The Regulations, Question, Mr. Fraser Macintosh; Answer, The Lord Advocate Feb 27, [250] 1568

LOTHIAN, Marquess of

Registrar General, Office of—Dr. Farr, [250] 585

LOWTHER, Right Hon. J. (Chief Secretary for Ireland), York City

Ireland—Miscellaneous Questions

Commissioners of National Education—Female Education in Galway, [230] 1107, 1108

Crime—Attack on Tenant Right Meeting at Portadown, [250] 1570; [251] 303, 427, 1014

Criminal Law—Police and Crown Witnesses, [251] 1013

Distress, Relief of, [250] 592, 1194, 1195; [251] 26;—Cliffden Board of Guardians, 304;—Distribution of Seeds, 803, 910; Dundalk Union, 912;—Kilkenny Union, [250] 921;—Longford Union, 150, 519;—Nenagh, 1569;—Newcastle West and Londonderry, 916, 917;—Papers, 151;—Presentment Sessions—Loans for Sanitary Works, 515;—Return of Loans, [251] 911;—Seed Potatoes, 304

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Prisons Act—Infirmary and Gaol Surgeons, [250] 1193

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Ireland—Borough Franchise, Res. [250] 859, 870, 874

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Parliamentary Elections and Corrupt Practices (No. 2), Comm. cl. 2, [251] 1122, 1140

Lunacy Law Amendment Bill

(Mr. Dillwyn, Sir George Balfour, Mr. Herschell)

c. Ordered; read 1^o Feb 6

[Bill 7]

2R. Wed. April 14

Lunacy, Masters in—Appointment of Mr. Henry Graham

Question, Mr. Anderson; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer Feb 16, [251] 679

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Army—Knightsbridge Barracks, [251] 150
Gaslight and Coke, Commercial Gas, and South Metropolitan Gaslight and Coke Companies, 2R. Amendt. [250] 783, 790

MALMESBURY, Earl of

Army—Purchase Officers' Widows, [250] 669

MANNERS, Right Hon. Lord J. J. R.

(Postmaster General), *Leicestershire, N.*
Copyright, Law of, [250] 382
Mercantile Marine—Carriage of Goods to the East, [251] 23
Parliament—Business of the House (Order in Debate), Res. [250] 1524, 1649, 1682, 1700
Parliamentary Elections and Corrupt Practices (No. 2), Consid. [251] 1187
Post Office—Miscellaneous Questions
Ireland—Emyvale, [250] 918
Mails for Gibraltar, [250] 922
New Penny Postage Stamp, [250] 682, 683
Post Office Savings Banks, [250] 811;—Regulations, 1298
Post Office Telegrams—Disclosure of Private Telegrams, [250] 1437
Private Telegraph Wires, [250] 1191, 1192

Marriage Laws Amendment Bill

(*Mr. Blennerhassett, Mr. Morley, Mr. Monk, Mr. Mundella, Mr. Cogan*)

c. Ordered; read 1^o * Feb 6 [Bill 23]
2R. Wed. June 9

Married Women's Property Acts (1870 and 1874) Amendment Bill

(*Mr. Hibbert, Mr. Goldney, Mr. Osborne Morgan*)
c. Ordered; read 1^o * Feb 6 [Bill 18]
2R. Wed. June 2

Married Women's Property (Scotland) Bill

(*Mr. Anderson, Sir Robert Anstruther, Mr. Orr Ewing, Mr. McLaren, Mr. Lyon Playfair*)

c. Ordered; read 1^o * Feb 6 [Bill 44]
2R. Wed. June 2

MARTEN, Mr. A. G., *Cambridge*

Leases, 2R. [250] 886, 895
Parliament—Queen's Speech, Address in Answer to, [250] 414

MARTIN, Mr. P., Kilkenny Co.

Ireland—Miscellaneous Questions

Board of Works—Consolidation Acts, [250]
518Commissioners of National Education—
Female Education in Galway, [250] 1107,
1108Relief of Distress—Kilkenny Union, [250]
920, 921;—Distribution of Seeds, [251]
909, 910Parliament—Queen's Speech, Address in An-
swer to, [250] 128, 184Parliament—Business of the House (Order in
Debate), Res. [250] 1647, 1694Relief of Distress (Ireland), 2R. [250] 548;
Comm. cl. 3, 933; cl. 9, 1005, 1006; Consid.
add. cl. 1227, 1231

Ulster Tenant Right, 2R. [251] 268

University Education (Ireland) Act, [251] 909

Supply—Constabulary Force in Ireland, [251]
374County Court Offices, &c. Ireland, [251]
362

National Education in Ireland, [251] 381

Public Works Office, Ireland, [251] 334,
337

Volunteer Corps (Ireland), 2R. [251] 118

Medical Act (1858) Amendment BillQuestion, The Marquess of Ripon; Answer,
The Duke of Richmond and Gordon Feb 6,
[250] 144**Medical Act (1858) Amendment Bill**(Dr. Lush, Sir Trevor Lawrence, Sir Joseph
M'Kenna)c. Ordered; read 1^o* Feb 6 [Bill 10]Read 2^o* Feb 11Referred to the Select Committee on Medical
Act (1858) Amendment (No. 3) Bill Feb 19
Bill reported, without Amendment,* and not
further proceeded with Mar 12**Medical Act (1858) Amendment (No. 2)**Bill (Mr. Arthur Mills, Mr. Childers,
Mr. Goldney)c. Ordered; read 1^o* Feb 6 [Bill 37]Read 2^o*, and referred to the Select Com-
mittee on Medical Act (1858) Amendment
(No. 3) Bill Feb 12Bill reported, without Amendment,* and not
further proceeded with Mar 12**Medical Act (1858) Amendment (No. 3)**Bill (Lord George Hamilton, Sir Henry
Selwin-Ibbetson)c. Ordered; read 1^o* Feb 10 [Bill 67]Read 2^o*, and referred to a Select Comm.
Feb 12And, on Feb 19, Committee nominated as fol-
lows:—Dr. Cameron, Mr. Dalrymple, Mr.
Errington, Mr. William Edward Forster,
Mr. Goldney, Lord George Hamilton, Mr.
Mitchell Henry, Mr. Heygate, Sir Trevor
Lawrence, Mr. Lowe, Dr. Lush, Mr. John

[cont.]

**Medical Act (1858) Amendment (No. 3) Bill—
cont.**Maitland, Mr. Arthur Mills, Dr. Lyon Play-
fair, Mr. David Plunket, Mr. Serjeant
Simon, and Mr. Wheelhouse

Report of Select Comm. (P. P. 121)

Bill reported, without Amendment,* and not
further proceeded with Mar 12**Medical Appointments Qualifications Bill**

(Mr. Errington, Mr. Blennerhassett)

c. Ordered; read 1^o* Feb 12 [Bill 71]Read 2^o* Feb 17Referred to the Select Committee on Medical
Act (1858) Amendment (No. 3) Bill Feb 19Bill reported, without Amendment,* and not
further proceeded with Mar 12**MELDON, Mr. C. H., Kildare**Borough Franchise (Ireland), Res. [250] 811,
875Consolidated Fund (Appropriation), 2R. [251]
1070, 1071Ireland—Overflow of the River Barrow at
Monasterevan, Kildare, [251] 1097Licensing Laws Amendment, Leave, [250] 877
Parliament—Queen's Speech, Address in An-
swer to, [250] 151, 189Parliamentary Elections and Corrupt Practices
(No. 2), Comm. [251] 1114Relief of Distress (Ireland)—Rathangan, Kil-
dare, [251] 1096Relief of Distress (Ireland), 2R. [250] 553;
Comm. cl. 3, 732, 772Seed Potatoes (Ireland), Comm. cl. 6, [250] 654;
cl. 13, 665, 668**Mercantile Marine**Carriage of Goods to the East, Question, Mr.
Hopwood; Answer, Lord John Manners

Mar 1, [251] 22

Light Dues on Shipping, Question, Mr. C.
Tennant; Answer, Viscount Sandon Mar 4,
[251] 299Lights of Fishing Vessels at Sea, Question, Sir
Edward Watkin; Answer, Mr. J. G. TalbotFeb 6, [250] 148; Question, Sir Edward
Watkin; Answer, Viscount Sandon Feb 20,1099;—The Commission, Question, Mr.
Birkbeck; Answer, Viscount Sandon Mar 9,[251] 686;—Enforcement of the New Regula-
tions, Question, Mr. Birkbeck; Answer, Vis-
count Sandon Mar 11, 813

Report of a Committee. . . . [2508]

Merchant Seamen—Legislation, Question, Mr.
Burt; Answer, Viscount Sandon Mar 4,

[251] 299

The Electric Light in Lighthouses, Question,
Mr. Lea; Answer, Viscount Sandon Mar 5,

[251] 439

Transmission of Seamen's Wages—The
"Midge" Scheme, Question, Mr. Ritchie;

Answer, Viscount Sandon Mar 12, [251] 914

Merchant Shipping ActsGrain Cargoes, Observations, Mr. Plimsoll;
Reply, Mr. Speaker; Question, Sir WilfridLawson; Answer, Sir Charles Russell
Feb 26, [250] 1446; Question, Sir CharlesRussell; Answer, Mr. A. F. Egerton Mar 8,
[251] 555

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[cont.]

Merchant Shipping Acts—cont.

Imprisonment of Sailors, Question, Mr. Plimsoll; Answer, Mr. Assheton Cross *Mar 4*, [251] 302

The "Harter" (Overloading), Question, Mr. Burt; Answer, Viscount Sandon *Mar 9*, [251] 684

The "Hindoo" (Grain Cargoes), Question, Mr. Macdonald; Answer, Viscount Sandon *Mar 9*, [251] 686

The "Louisa Fletcher" of Liverpool (Unseaworthiness), Question, Mr. Burt; Answer, Mr. Assheton Cross *Feb 27*, [250] 1570; Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, Viscount Sandon *Mar 5*, [251] 430; Question, Mr. Finigan; Answer, Viscount Sandon *Mar 11*, 800

The "Strelna," Question, Mr. Burt; Answer, Viscount Sandon *Mar 9*, [251] 683

Merchant Shipping (Grain Cargoes) Bill

(*Mr. Plimsoll, Mr. Joseph Cowen, Mr. Anderson, Mr. Gorst*)

c. Considered in Committee; Resolution agreed to, and reported; Bill ordered; read 1^o* *Feb 6* [Bill 27]
2R. [Dropped]

Merchant Ships Laden in Bulk

Moved, "That a Select Committee be appointed to make inquiry concerning the recent foundering of Ships laden with grain, coal, and other heavy or bulk cargoes; and to ascertain whether such founderings are due to excessive cargoes or to defective dimensions or construction, or to the employment of vessels unsuited for the trades or voyages in which the Ships are employed, or to any other and what cause; and to report whether any change in the Law affecting Merchant Shipping is required to prevent the recurrence of such losses" (*Viscount Sandon*) *Feb 24*, [250] 1352; after debate, Question put, and agreed to

Moved, "That the Select Committee do consist of Twenty-three Members" (*Viscount Sandon*) *Mar 5*, [251] 533

After short debate, Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Mr. E. Jenkins*); after further short debate, Motion withdrawn; original Question put, and agreed to

Committee nominated as follows:—Mr. Bates, Mr. Biddulph, Mr. Birkbeck, Mr. Thomas Brassey, Mr. James Corry, Mr. Algernon Egerton, Mr. Gorst, Mr. Gourley, Sir John Hay, Sir Harcourt Johnstone, Mr. Kavanagh, Mr. Mac Iver, Mr. Mulholland, Mr. Mundella, Mr. Norwood, Mr. Onslow, Mr. Arthur Peel, Mr. O'Shaughnessy, Lord Arthur Russell, Mr. Spencer Stanhope, Mr. Stevenson, Mr. James Stewart, and Mr. J. G. Talbot

Report of Select Comm. (*P.P.* No. 110)

Metropolis Improvement Schemes Modification Provisional Orders Bill

(*Sir Matthew Ridley, Mr. Secretary Cross*)

c. Ordered; read 1^o* *Feb 17* [Bill 77]
Read 2^o* *Mar 2*
Committed

Metropolis—New Courts of Justice (Buildings)

Question, Mr. Osborne Morgan; Answer, Mr. Gerard Noel *Feb 10*, [250] 880

Metropolis Waterworks Purchase Bill

(*Mr. Secretary Cross, Mr. Selater-Booth*)

c. Question, Mr. Fawcett; Answer, Mr. Assheton *251* Cross *Mar 1*, 27

Motion for Leave (*Mr. Secretary Cross*) *Mar 2*, 222; after short debate, Question put, and agreed to; Bill ordered; read 1^o* [Bill 97]

Questions, Mr. Samuelson, Sir Charles W. Dilke, Mr. Alderman Cotton, Mr. Goschen;

Answers, Mr. Assheton Cross *Mar 9*, 687; Question, Mr. E. Jenkins; Answer, Mr.

Assheton Cross *Mar 16*, 1093

Reported (Standing Orders complied with)

Metropolitan Commons Supplemental Bill

(*Sir Matthew Ridley, Mr. Secretary Cross*)

c. Ordered; read 1^o* *Mar 15* [Bill 112]
Referred to the Examiners

Metropolitan Police, The

Pay and Organization, Question, Mr. W. M. Torrens; Answer, Mr. Assheton Cross *Feb 19*, [250] 913

Pensions, Question, Mr. H. B. Sheridan; Answer, Mr. Assheton Cross *Mar 9*, [251] 683

The Metropolitan Police District—Criminal Statistics, Question, Mr. W. M. Torrens; Answer, Mr. Assheton Cross *Mar 1*, [251] 22

Metropolitan Water Supply

Questions, Observations, The Earl of Camperdown; Reply, Earl Beauchamp; Observations, Earl Fortescue *Mar 16*, [251] 1086

Middlesex Land Registry Bill

(*Mr. Osborne Morgan, Mr. Gregory, Sir Sydney Waterlow*)

c. Ordered; read 1^o* *Feb 25* [Bill 89]
2R. *Wed. May 12*

MIDDLETON, Viscount

Beer Dealers' Retail Licences, 2R. [251] 791

Highways and Locomotives (Amendment) Act, 1878, Motion for an Address, [251] 903

Ireland, Distress in, [250] 492

Settled Land, 2R. [251] 285

MILBANK, Mr. F. A., Yorkshire, N.R.

Corrupt Practices at Elections—Re-distribution of Seats, [250] 910

Parliamentary Elections and Corrupt Practices (No. 2), Comm. [251] 1114

MILLS, Mr. A., Exeter

Army—South Africa—Natal and the Transvaal—Alleged Misconduct of British Troops, [250] 590

Education Department—School Board Elections, [251] 24

Parliament—Privilege—Interference of Peers in Elections—Hon. Major Jocelyn, Res. [250] 1210

Mines Act, 1872—Employment of Boys in Mines

Question, Mr. Macdonald; Answer, Mr. Assheton Cross Feb 23, [250] 1191

Mining Accidents Commission

Question, Mr. Macdonald; Answer, Mr. Assheton Cross Feb 24, [250] 1295

MONCK, Viscount

Ireland, Distress in, [250] 504

Monetary Conference (Paris)—Silver

Question, Sir George Campbell; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer Feb 19, [250] 911

MONK, Mr. C. J., Gloucester City

Blind and Deaf-Mute Children, 2R. [250] 1426;
Comm. Motion for Adjournment, [251] 409,
411; *cl.* 1, Amendt. 665, 666, 667
Civil Service Estimates, [251] 314
Liverpool Corporation (Loans, &c.) (Composition
of Stamp Duty), Comm. [251] 893
Liverpool Corporation Water, 2R. [250] 1280
Parliament—Business of the House (Order in
Debate), Res. [250] 1667
Parliamentary Elections and Corrupt Practices
(No. 2), Comm. [251] 1071; *cl.* 2, 1120,
1133, 1146, 1156
Public Accounts, Nomination of Select Com-
mittee, [251] 545
Railways Acts, Regulation of—The Railway
Commissioners, [250] 794
Relief of Distress (Ireland), Comm. *cl.* 9, [250]
1014
Supply—Civil Contingencies Fund, Repayment
to, [251] 408
Colonial Local Revenue, [251] 404
Diplomatic and Consular Buildings, [250]
1262
Diplomatic Services, [251] 398
National School Teachers Superannuation
Office, Dublin, [251] 380, 390
Stationery and Printing, [251] 324
Treasury, [250] 1263, 1265
Water Supply (England and Wales), [250] 1185
Ways and Means—Financial Statement, Comm.
[251] 843

MONTEAGLE, Lord

Ireland—Relief Works in the County of Mayo,
[251] 295
Public Works in Ireland, [251] 1
Relief of Distress (Ireland), 2R. [251] 17;
Comm. *cl.* 9, Amendt. 293
Seeds (Ireland), 3R. [250] 1427, 1429, 1430

MONTGOMERY, Sir G. G., Peeblesshire

Ancient Monuments, Comm. *cl.* 2, [250] 775,
776
Hypothec Abolition (Scotland), 2R. [250] 1425

MOORE, Mr. A. J., Clonmel

Parliament—Queen's Speech, Address in An-
swer to, [250] 141, 179

**MORAY, Colonel H. E. S. H. DRUM-
MOND-, Perthshire**

Parliament—Queen's Speech, Address in An-
swer to, [250] 62
Road Debts on Entailed Estates (Scotland),
2R. [251] 274

MORGAN, Mr. G. Osborne, Denbighshire

Bankruptcy Law Amendment, 2R. [250] 561
County Courts, 2R. [250] 1404
Criminal Law—Edward Jones, Case of, [250]
910
Leases, 2R. [250] 893
Metropolis—New Courts of Justice (Buildings),
[250] 380
Parliament—Privilege—Mr. Plimsoll, [250]
1131
Parliament—Business of the House (Order in
Debate), Res. [250] 1603
Parliamentary Elections and Corrupt Practices
(No. 2), Comm. *cl.* 2, [251] 1123, 1139, 1150

MORLEY, Earl of

Settled Land, 2R. [251] 283

Morocco—Outbreak at Fez

Question, Mr. Serjeant Simon; Answer, Mr.
Bourke Feb 17, [250] 796

**MOWBRAY, Right Hon. J. R., Oxford
University**

Parliament—Privilege—Mr. Plimsoll, [250]
790, 1130
Parliament—Business of the House (Order in
Debate), Res. [250] 1594

MUNDELLA, Mr. A. J., Sheffield

Bankruptcy Law Amendment, Leave, [250] 245,
383
British Museum—Sale of Duplicates, [251] 800
Commons Act (1870) Amendment, 2R. [250]
899
Malta, Despatch of Indian Troops to—Return
of Costs, [251] 803; Motion for Adjourn-
ment, 804, 808
Merchant Ships Laden in Bulk, Motion for a
Select Committee, [250] 1378
Municipal Corporations (Property Qualification
Abolition), 2R. [250] 895
Parliament—Queen's Speech, Address in An-
swer to, [250] 371, 422, 416
Parliamentary Elections and Corrupt Practices
(No. 2), Comm. *cl.* 2, [251] 1149
Patents for Inventions, 2R. [251] 750
Railway Servants (Compensation for Injury),
[250] 1445
Ways and Means—Financial Statement, Comm.
[251] 839

**Municipal Corporations (Property Quali-
fication Abolition) Bill** (*Mr. Mundella,*

Mr. Chamberlain, Mr. Burt, Mr. Sullivan)
c. Ordered; read 1^o * Feb 6 [Bill 43]
Read 2^o, after short debate Feb 18, [250] 895
Committee *; Report Mar 10
Considered *; read 3^o Mar 11

Municipal Corporations (Property Qualification Abolition) Bill—cont.

- l. Read 1st* *Marquess of Lansdowne* Mar 12
Read 2^d Mar 16, [251] 1076 (No. 40)
Committee*; Report Mar 18
Read 3^d* Mar 19
Royal Assent Mar 24 [43 Vict. c. 17]

Municipal Corporations, Unreformed—Report of Royal Commission

Question, Sir Charles W. Dilke; Answer, Mr. Assheton Cross Feb 12, [250] 507; Question, Mr. Richard; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer Feb 23, 1190

Municipal Franchise (Ireland) Bill

(Major O'Gorman, Sir Joseph M'Kenna, Mr. Richard Power, Mr. Blennerhassett)

- c. Ordered; read 1^o* Feb 6 [Bill 28]
2R. Wed. April 7

MUNTZ, Mr. P. H., Birmingham

Bankruptcy Law Amendment, 2R. [250] 563
Chartered Banks (Colonial), 2R. [250] 571
Game Laws, Res. [251] 200
Intoxicating Liquors (Licences), Res. [251] 491

NAGHTEN, Colonel A. R., Winchester

Post Office—Mails for Gibraltar, [250] 922

NAPIER OF MAGDALA, Lord

India—Afghanistan—Policy of the Government, Address for Papers, [250] 1075, 1097

National Debt Bill

(Mr. Raikes, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson)

- c. Resolution in Committee* Mar 15
Resolution reported, and agreed to; Bill ordered; read 1^o* Mar 16 [Bill 115]
Read 2^o* Mar 17
Committee*; Report Mar 18
Read 3^o* Mar 19, [251] 1222
l. Read 1st* (Earl of Beaconsfield) Mar 19
Read 2^d*; Committee negatived; read 3^d* Mar 22
Royal Assent Mar 24 [43 Vict. c. 15]

Naval Discipline Bill

Question, Mr. Macdonald; Answer, Mr. W. H. Smith Feb 13, [250] 590

NAVY

MISCELLANEOUS QUESTIONS

Admiralty Financial Return, Question, Captain Pim; Answer, Mr. W. H. Smith Feb 9, [250] 265
Captain Bedford Pim, Question, Sir George Bowyer; Answer, Mr. W. H. Smith Mar 15, [251] 1011
Case of Acting Staff Surgeon Allen, Question, Mr. Sullivan; Answer, Mr. W. H. Smith Mar 18, [251] 1203

[cont.]

NAVY—cont.

Colonial Allowance to Navy and Royal Marine Officers, Question, Sir John Hay; Answer, Mr. W. H. Smith Feb 9, [250] 268

H.M.S. "Thunderer"—Bursting of the 38-ton Gun, Question, Mr. H. Samuelson; Answer, Lord Eustace Cecil Mar 11, [251] 797

H.M.S. "Wivern," Question, Captain Pim; Answer, Mr. W. H. Smith Feb 23, [250] 1196

Recreation Grounds at Portsmouth, Question, Lord Charles Beresford; Answer, Mr. W. H. Smith Mar 5, [251] 438

The Coastguard, Question, Mr. Sullivan; Answer, Mr. W. H. Smith Mar 11, [251] 799

The New Breech-Loading Gun, Question, Mr. Gourley; Answer, Mr. A. F. Egerton Mar 17, [251] 1173

The Royal Marines, Question, Captain Price; Answer, Mr. W. H. Smith Feb 19, [250] 915; Question, Mr. Anderson; Answer, Mr. W. H. Smith Feb 20, 1103;—*The Departmental Committee*, Questions, Mr. Anderson; Answers, Mr. W. H. Smith Feb 26, [250] 1442; Mar 1, [251] 26

Navy—The State of the Navy

Amendt. on Committee of Supply Mar 8, To leave out from "That," and add "the Navy, whereon, under the good providence of God, the wealth, safety, and strength of the Kingdom chiefly depend, 29 and 30 Vict. c. 109, should be administered by competent officials; should be manned by crews permanently attached to the Service; should consist of ships capable of keeping the sea in all weathers, of blockading an enemy's coast, and of conveying every class of merchant vessel; and should possess a powerful and efficient Reserve ready for service on the shortest notice" (*Captain Pim*) v., [251] 562; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after short debate, Amendt. withdrawn

New Courts of Justice (Buildings)

Question, Mr. Osborne Morgan; Answer, Mr. Gerard Noel Feb 10, [250] 380

NEWDEGATE, Mr. C. N., Warwickshire, N.

Commerce and Free Trade, Motion for a Select Committee, Motion for Adjournment, [250] 614

Parliament—Business of the House (Order in Debate), [250] 1106, 1158; Res. 1477, 1584, 1639, 1642, 1643, 1670, 1689, 1697, 1703, 1708

Parliament—Privilege—Interference of Peers in Elections—Hon. Major Jocelyn, Res. [250] 1205

Parliament—Privilege—London Newspapers, Res. [250] 1225

Parliamentary Elections and Corrupt Practices (No. 2), Comm. cl. 2, [251] 1141, 1147, 1158
Relief of Distress (Ireland), Lords Amendts. Consid. [251] 887

Nicaragua, Great Britain and—The Arbitration

Question, Captain Pim; Answer, Mr. Bourke
Mar 11, [251] 809

NOEL, Right Hon. G. J. (Chief Commissioner of Works), *Rutland*

Army—Knightsbridge Barracks, [251] 150

Metropolis—New Courts of Justice (Buildings),
[250] 380

Museum of Natural History, South Kensington, [250] 791

Ordnance Maps—Hertfordshire, [251] 429

Supply—Diplomatic and Consular Buildings,
[250] 1262

Marlborough House, [250] 1250

New Courts of Justice and Offices, [250]
1251, 1252, 1253, 1254, 1255

NOLAN, Major J. P., *Galway Co.*

Army Discipline and Regulation (Annual),
2R. [251] 857

Army Estimates—Clothing Establishments,
&c. [251] 106

Retired Full Pay, Half Pay, &c. [251] 108

Blind and Deaf-Mute Children, 2R. [250] 1423

Ireland—Miscellaneous Questions

Distress in—Return of Loans, [251] 911;

—The Seeds (Ireland) Act, [251] 803

Education—Salaries of Inspectors of Elementary Education, [251] 908

Irish Poor Law Unions and the Seed Supply
Bill, [250] 1108

Irish Church Act (1869) Amendment, Leave,
[251] 276; 2R. 759

Parliament—Queen's Speech, Address in Answer to, [250] 128, 193

Parliament—Business of the House (Order in Debate), Res. [250] 1538, 1693, 1703

Post Office Telegrams—Disclosure of Private Telegrams, [250] 1437

Relief of Distress (Ireland), Leave, [250] 242;
Comm. cl. 3, 729, 762, 948, 961, 966; cl. 9,

1018; cl. 15, 1161; Lords Amendments. Consid. [251] 875; Amendt. 890, 894

250] Seed Potatoes (Ireland), 2R. 450; Comm.
cl. 2, Amendt. 651; cl. 6, Amendt. 652,

653, 656, 657, 659; cl. 7, Amendt. 661;
cl. 9, 664; cl. 13, 665, 666, 772; Consid.

cl. 6, 882; Amendt. 884

Supply—Local Government Board, Ireland,
[251] 323

Public Works Office, Ireland, [251] 330, 334

Ulster Tenant Right, 2R. [251] 270

NORTHBROOK, Earl of

India—Afghanistan, Affairs of, [251] 1268

India—Afghanistan—Policy of the Government, Address for Papers, [250] 1062

NORTHCOTE, Right Hon. Sir S. H.
(see Chancellor of the Exchequer)**NORTHUMBERLAND, Duke of** (Lord Privy Seal)

Capital Punishment—Prisons Act, 1868—Executions in Cheetham and Kirkdale Gaols, Res. [251] 680

Parliament—Queen's Speech, Address in Answer to, [250] 55

NORTON, Lord

Blind and Deaf-Mute Children, 2R. [251] 1172

NORWOOD, Mr. C. M., *Kingston-upon-Hull*

Bankruptcy Law Amendment, Leave, [250] 245; 2R. 566

County Courts, 2R. [250] 1335, 1409

Customs—Outport Customs Clerical Staff, [251] 310

O'BEIRNE, Major F., *Leitrim*

Parliament—Queen's Speech, Address in Answer to, [250] 183

Relief of Distress (Ireland), 2R. [250] 549;
Comm. 716; cl. 3, 770, 939, 953; cl. 9, 1011

Seed Potatoes (Ireland), Comm. cl. 6, [250] 653; Consid. 879

O'BRIEN, Sir P., *King's Co.*

Army—Return of Courts Martial, [250] 907

Parliament—Queen's Speech, Address in Answer to, [250] 132, 307

Parliament—Business of the House (Order in Debate), Res. [250] 1628, 1637

Relief of Distress (Ireland), 2R. [250] 550, 551;
Comm. cl. 3, 749; cl. 5, 994, 996; cl. 9,

1009, 1011, 1016, 1017

Seed Potatoes (Ireland), Consid. cl. 6, [250] 880

Supply—Law Charges, [251] 343

National School Teachers Superannuation
Office, Dublin, [251] 387

O'CLERY, Mr. K., *Wexford Co.*

Ireland—Coroners' Fees, [251] 440

Fishery Piers—New Shannon Pier, [251] 302

Ireland—Borough Franchise, Res. [250] 844

Ireland—Enniscowen Fishery Pier, County Donegal, Res. [251] 41

Parliament—Queen's Speech, Address in Answer to, [250] 132, 337

Parliament—Business of the House (Order in Debate), Res. [250] 1621, 1683

Relief of Distress (Ireland), 2R. [250] 550;
Comm. cl. 3, 957

Ulster Tenant Right, 2R. [251] 201

Volunteer Corps (Ireland), 2R. [251] 116, 125

O'CONOR, Mr. D. M., *Sligo Co.*

Army—Commissariat and Transport Departments, [250] 681

Parliament—Queen's Speech, Address in Answer to, [250] 413

Parliamentary Elections and Corrupt Practices (No. 2), Comm. [251] 1107

Relief of Distress (Ireland), Comm. cl. 3, [250] 983

O'DONNELL, Mr. F. H., *Dungarvan*

Army Discipline and Regulation (Annual), 2R. [251] 865

India—Indigo Cultivation in Behar, [250] 1444

Ireland—Miscellaneous Questions

Crime—Attack on Tenant Right Meeting at Portadown, [250] 1570; [251] 426

Distress—Newcastle West and Londonderry, [250] 916;—Nenagh, 1569

Evictions, [250] 384

O'DONNELL, Mr. F. H.—*cont.*

- Ireland—Ennishowen Fishery Pier, County Donegal, Res. [251] 39
 Parliament—Privilege—Mr. Plimsoll, [250] 1139, 1140, 1143
 Queen's Speech, Address in Answer to, [250] 216, 363
 Parliament—Business of the House (Order in Debate), Res. [250] 1529, 1639; Amendt. 1640, 1667, 1668, 1670, 1680, 1681, 1691, 1704
 Parliament—Orders of the Day—Standing Order of Supply and Ways and Means, Res. [250] 1577, 1578
 Parliament—Privilege—London Newspapers, Res. [250] 1214, 1221, 1226
 Parliamentary Elections and Corrupt Practices (No. 2), 2R. [251] 868, 870
 Probates of Wills, &c. 2R. [251] 1063
 Relief of Distress (Ireland), Amendt. [250] 477, 520
 250] Relief of Distress (Ireland), Comm. 725; cl. 3, Amendt. 727, 729, 735, 743, 745, 750, 761, 764, 768, 959; cl. 9, 1001, 1002, 1011, 1012; Lords Amendts. Consid. [251] 884, 886
 Supply—Charity Commission for England and Wales, [250] 1270
 Colonial Local Revenue, &c. Motion for reporting Progress, [251] 404, 406
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 Law Charges, [251] 341
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O'DONOGHUE, The, *Tralee*

- Ireland—Relief of Distress—Papers, [250] 151;—Return, 591
 Landlord and Tenant (Ireland)—Notice to Quit, [250] 1188
 Parliament—Queen's Speech, Address in Answer to, [250] 174
 Parliament—Business of the House (Order in Debate), Res. [250] 1623; Motion for Adjournment, 1652, 1684
 250] Relief of Distress (Ireland), 2R. 548; Comm. 717; cl. 3, 927, 931, 934, 961; cl. 9, Motion for reporting Progress, 1008; Consid. add. cl. 1229; cl. 4, 1234
 Seed Potatoes (Ireland), Comm. cl. 7, [250] 662
 Supply—Constabulary Force in Ireland, [251] 373, 375

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- Ireland—The Prime Minister's Letter to the Lord Lieutenant, Res. [251] 1223, 1231
 Parliament—Prorogation, [251] 1220, 1221
 Queen's Speech, Address in Answer to, [250] 155, 237

O'GORMAN, Major P., *Waterford*

- Parliament—Privilege—Mr. Plimsoll, [250] 809, 1151, 1156
 Queen's Speech, Address in Answer to, [250] 446
 Parliament—Business of the House (Order in Debate), Res. [250] 1642, 1643
 Parliament—Orders of the Day—Standing Order of Supply and Ways and Means, Res. [250] 1579
 Relief of Distress (Ireland), Leave, [250] 243; Comm. cl. 9, 1018
 Seed Potatoes (Ireland), 2R. [250] 451; Consid. 879

O'HAGAN, Lord

- Ancient Monuments, 2R. [251] 787
 Local Courts of Bankruptcy (Ireland), Comm. [251] 412
 Parliamentary Elections and Corrupt Practices (No. 2), 3R. [251] 1234
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- Parliament—Queen's Speech, Address in Answer to, [250] 6
 Settled Land, 2R. [251] 281

ONSLOW, Mr. D. R., *Guildford*

- Criminal Code, 2R. [250] 1248
 India—Afghanistan—Candahar, Governor of, [251] 799
 Expenses of the War, [250] 459, 468
 Sir Frederick Roberts and the Ameer, [250] 264
 India—Afghanistan—The War—Expenses of Military Operations, Res. [251] 928, 930
 India—Attock Bridge, [251] 552
 Malta, Despatch of Indian Troops to—Return of Costs, [251] 807
 Merchant Ships Laden in Bulk, Motion for a Select Committee, [250] 1365
 Parliament—Miscellaneous Questions
 Business of the House—Dissolution, [251] 919
 Privilege—Mr. Plimsoll, [250] 800, 1110, 1142, 1152
 Queen's Speech, Address in Answer to, [250] 371
 Ways and Means—Financial Statement, Comm. [251] 840

ORANMORE AND BROWNE, Lord

- Hypothec Abolition (Scotland), 2R. [251] 960; Comm. 1082
 Peace Preservation (Ireland) Act—Motion for Returns, [251] 965, 971, 972
 Relief of Distress (Ireland), [250] 905; 2R. [251] 14; Comm. cl. 9, Amendt. 294; 3R. 547

Ordnance Maps—*Hertfordshire*

- Question, Mr. Halsey; Answer, Mr. Gerard Noel Mar 5, [251] 429

O'SHAUGHNESSY, Mr. R., *Limerick*

- Borough Franchise (Ireland), Res. [250] 849
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O'SHAUGHNESSY, Mr. R.—*cont.*

Parliament—Queen's Speech, Address in Answer to, [250] 125, 127, 366, 432
Parliament—Business of the House (Order in Debate), Res. [250] 1615, 1641
250 Relief of Distress (Ireland), Leave, 243; 2R. 538; Comm. 709, 710; cl. 3, 730, 748, 767;
Amend. 923, 925, 928, 931, 933, 935, 936,
937, 941, 942, 984, 985, 986; cl. 4, Amendt.
987, 988; cl. 15, 1161; cl. 17, 1162; cl. 20,
Amend. *ib.*, 1163; Consid. cl. 3, 1233;
Lords Amendts. Consid. [251] 876, 878
Supply—Constabulary Force in Ireland, [251]
388
County Court Officers, &c. Ireland, [251]
358, 359, 361
Law Charges, [251] 342
National Education in Ireland, [251] 380
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Office, Dublin, [251] 381, 383, 385
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1256, 1258

O'SULLIVAN, Mr. W. H., *Limerick Co.*

Criminal Law (Ireland)—Assault on Lord
Fermoy, [250] 379
Relief of Distress (Ireland), Comm. cl. 3, [250]
927, 930, 931; Amendt. 934, 935, 936, 938,
940, 946; cl. 5, 996
Seed Potatoes (Ireland), Comm. cl. 6, [250]
654; Consid. cl. 6, 880, 883

OTWAY, Mr. A. J., *Rochester*

Army, Flogging in the, [250] 515
Army Discipline and Regulation (Annual), 2R.
Amend. [251] 847
Army Estimates—Departmental Statement,
[251] 88, 92
Land Forces at Home and Abroad, [251]
100
Militia, Yeomanry Cavalry, and Volunteer
Corps, [251] 112
Provisions, Forage, &c. [251] 105
Retired Full Pay, Half Pay, &c. [251] 108,
110
Works, Buildings, &c. [251] 108
India—Afghanistan, Affairs in, [251] 28, 147

Outlawries Bill

c. Read 1st Feb 5

PAGET, Mr. R. H., *Somersetshire, Mid*

Contagious Diseases (Animals) Act—Sheep
Rot, [251] 681
Corn Averages and Tithe Rent Charge, [251]
1204
Criminal Code, 2R. [250] 1245
Customs and Inland Revenue, Consid. [251]
1192, 1194
Relief of Distress (Ireland), Comm. cl. 4, [250]
988

PALMER, Mr. C. M., *Durham, N.*

Merchant Ships Laden in Bulk, Motion for a
Select Committee, [250] 1364
Parliament—Privilege—Mr. Plimsoll, [250]
809
Wine Duties, Select Committee on—Report,
[250] 1440

PARKER, Mr. C. S., *Perth*

Parliamentary Elections and Corrupt Practices
(No. 2), Comm. cl. 2, [251] 1126
Supply—National School Teachers' Superan-
nuation Office, Dublin, [251] 388
Report, [251] 773

Parliament

LORDS—

MEETING OF THE PARLIAMENT Feb 5

The Session of Parliament was opened by
THE QUEEN in Person

Her Majesty's Most Gracious Speech
250 delivered by The LORD CHANCELLOR Feb 5, 2

ROLL OF THE LORDS—Garter King of Arms
attending, delivered at the Table (in the
usual manner) a List of the Lords Temporal
in the Seventh Session of the Twenty-first
Parliament of the United Kingdom Feb 5

The Lord Chancellor acquainted the House
that the Clerk of the Parliaments had pre-
pared and laid it on the Table (P.P. No. 3)
Feb 9

The Queen's Speech having been reported by
The LORD CHANCELLOR; An ADDRESS to
HER MAJESTY thereon moved by The Earl
of ONSLOW (the Motion being seconded by
The Earl of ROSSE) Feb 5, 6; after long
debate, Address agreed to, *nemine dissenti-
ente*, and ordered to be presented to Her
Majesty by the Lords with White Staves

HER MAJESTY'S ANSWER TO THE ADDRESS
reported Feb 10, 375

Chairman of Committees—The Earl of Redes-
dale appointed, *Nemine Dissentiente*, to take
the Chair in all Committees of this House
for this Session Feb 5

Committee for Privileges—appointed Feb 5

Sub-Committee for the Journals—appointed
Feb 5.

Appeal Committee—appointed Feb 5

Office of the Clerk of the Parliaments and
Office of the Gentleman Usher of the Black
Rod—Select Committee appointed Feb 16:
The Lords following were named of the
Committee:—Ld. Chancellor, Ld. Presi-
dent, Ld. Privy Seal, D. Saint Albans, M.
Lansdowne, M. Salisbury, M. Bath, Ld.
Steward, Ld. Chamberlain, E. Devon, E.
Doncaster, E. Tankerville, E. Carnarvon,
E. Bradford, E. Granville, E. Kimberley,
E. Sydney, E. Redesdale, V. Hawarden,
V. Hardinge, V. Eversley, L. Colville of
Culross, L. Monson, L. Colchester, L.
Skelmersdale, and L. Aveland

Public Business of the House—Standing Or-
ders relating to the Office of Gentleman
Usher of the Black Rod agreed to, and to be
printed (No. 56) Mar 22

Private Bills

Opposed Private Bills—The Lords following,
viz.:—M. Lansdowne, L. Colville of Culross,
L. Boyle, and L. Skelmersdale, were ap-

[cont.]

PARLIAMENT—LORDS—*cont.*

pointed, with the Chairman of Committees, a Committee to select and propose to the House the names of the five Lords to form a Select Committee for the consideration of each opposed Private Bill

Standing Orders Committee appointed *Feb 16* :

The Lords following, with the Chairman of Committee, were named of the Committee:—D. Somerset, M. Winchester, M. Lansdowne, M. Bath, M. Hertford, E. Devon, E. Airlie, E. Carnarvon, E. Cadogan, E. Belmore, E. Chichester, E. Powis, E. Verulam, E. Morley, E. Stradbroke, E. Amherst, E. Sydney, V. Hawarden, V. Hutchinson, V. Hardinge, V. Eversley, V. Halifax, L. Camoys, L. Saye and Sele, L. Balfour of Burleigh, L. Colville of Culross, L. Boyle, L. Monson, L. Digby, L. Colchester, L. Silchester, L. De Tabley, L. Skelmersdale, L. Sudeley, L. Belper, L. Ebury, L. Egerton, L. Hartismere, L. Penrhyn, and L. Wolverton

All petitions relating to Standing Orders which shall be presented during the present Session referred to the Standing Orders Committee, unless otherwise ordered *Feb 17*

Ordered, That no Private Bill brought from the House of Commons shall be read a second time after Thursday the 10th day of June next : [and other Orders] *Mar 4*, [251] 296

Business of the House

Ordered, That for the remainder of the Session the Bill or Bills which are entered for consideration on the Minutes of the Day shall have the same precedence which Bills have on Tuesdays and Thursdays (*The Viscount Cranbrook*) *Mar 12*

Parliamentary Reporting—The House of Lords, Question, Lord Sudeley ; Answer, The Earl of Beaconsfield *Feb 17*, [250] 777

Moved, "That a Select Committee be appointed to consider the question of reporting in this House" (*The Lord President*) *Mar 5* ; Motion agreed to

The Lords following were named of the Committee:—M. Bath, Ld. Steward, E. Stanhope, E. Kimberley, L. Lovel and Holland, L. De L'Isle and Dudley, L. Sudeley, L. St. Leonards, L. Houghton, and L. Kenry ; The Committee to meet on Monday next, and appoint their own Chairman

The Evidence taken before the Select Committee from time to time to be printed for the use of the Members of this House ; but no copies thereof to be delivered, except to Members of the Committee, until further order (No. 28)

Report from the Select Committee (with the proceedings of the Committee) made ; and to be printed

The Dissolution of Parliament, Statement, The Earl of Beaconsfield *Mar 8*, [251] 547

Private and Provisional Order Confirmation Bills, Resolutions (*The Chairman of Committees*, *Mar 16*, [251] 1076 ; Resolutions agreed to

PARLIAMENT—*cont.*

COMMONS—

The QUEEN'S SPEECH having been reported by Mr. Speaker ; An humble Address thereon moved by Colonel DRUMMOND-MORAY (the Motion being seconded by Mr. J. P. CORRY) 250] *Feb 5*, 62 ; after long debate, Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Mr. Shaw*) ; after further debate, Question put ; A. 62, N. 174 ; M. 112 (D. L. 1)

Moved, "That this House do now adjourn" (*Mr. Sheil*) ; after short debate, Motion withdrawn ; Debate adjourned

Debate resumed *Feb 6*, 152

Amendt. at end of Question, to add "We also think it right to represent to Your Majesty that Your Majesty's Government, although in possession of timely warning and information, have not taken adequate steps to meet promptly and efficaciously the severe distress now existing and increasing in Ireland ; and we are of opinion that, in order to avert the horrors of famine from a wide area in that Country, the most vigorous measures are immediately necessary ; and we are further of opinion that it is essential to the peace and prosperity of Ireland to legislate at once and in a comprehensive manner on these questions ; and we humbly assure Your Majesty that we shall regard it as the duty of Parliament, on the earliest opportunity, to consider the necessary measures for the purpose, more urgently the tenure of land, the neglect of which by Parliament has been the true cause of constantly recurring dissatisfaction and distress in Ireland" (*Mr. Redmond*) ; Question proposed, "That those words be there added ;" after long debate, Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Mr. Mitchell Henry*) ; Motion agreed to ; Debate adjourned

Debate resumed *Feb 9*, 269 ; after long debate, Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Mr. Gabbett*) ; after further short debate, Question put, and agreed to ; Debate further adjourned

Debate resumed *Feb 10*, 387 ; after long debate, Question put ; A. 66, N. 216 ; M. 150

Div. List, A. and N. 447

Main Question put, and agreed to Committee appointed, to draw up the said Address:—Colonel Drummond-Moray (Chairman), Viscount Barrington, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, Mr. Bourke, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. James Corry, Mr. Secretary Cross, Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson, Mr. William Henry Smith, Mr. Solicitor General, Mr. Edward Stanhope, Mr. Secretary Stanley, and Mr. Rowland Winn

Report of Address brought up, and read a first and second time *Feb 11*, 453

Amendment (*Mr. O'Donnell*) *Feb 11*, 477 ; Debate adjourned

Further Proceeding on the said Report resumed *Feb 12*, 520

Amendt. at end of Address, to add "We humbly represent to Your Majesty that, while wasting the resources and straining the honour of the State in unjust aggressions abroad, the Ministry have endangered the peace and neglected the interests of the Country at home :

PARLIAMENT—COMMONS—*cont.*

Provisional Order Bills

Ordered, That all Bills for confirming Provisional Orders or Certificates shall be set down for consideration, each day, in a separate List, after the Private Business, and arranged in the same order as that prescribed by the Standing Orders for Private Bills; and every such Bill, when or so far as it is unopposed, shall after the Second Reading stand referred to the Committee constituted by Standing Order for unopposed Private Bills, and shall be subject to the same Rules and Orders of the House, so far as they are applicable (*The Chairman of Ways and Means* Feb 20, [250] 1098)

Rules and Orders

Orders of the Day

Standing Order relative to Supply and Ways and Means, Moved, "That the Standing Order relative to Supply or Ways and Means standing the first Order of the Day on Friday be read, and suspended

"That the Committee of Supply be deferred until after the Order of the Day for resuming the Adjourned Debate on Business of the House (Order in Debate)" (*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer* Feb 27, [250] 1572; after short debate, Motion agreed to)

Sittings of the House

Ash Wednesday—Meeting of the House—Resolved, That this House will meet To-morrow at Two of the clock (*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer*) Feb 10

The Easter Recess, Question, Sir Charles W. Dilke; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer Mar 5, [251] 440

Resolved, That whenever the House shall meet at Two of the clock the Sitting of the House shall be held subject to the Resolutions of the House of the 30th day of April 1869 (*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer*) Mar 8, [251] 550

Saturday Sittings—According to the ordinary practice, when the House sits on Saturday, it always meets at 12 o'clock, [250] 1668

Ballot Act—Cases of Scrutiny, Question, Mr. W. E. Forster; Answer, Mr. Assheton Cross Mar 1, [251] 28

Good Friday—The General Election, Question, Mr. Fraser-Mackintosh; Answer, The Solicitor General Mar 16, [251] 1099

Library of the House of Commons—The Orders in Council, Question, Mr. Anderson; Answer, Mr. W. H. Smith Mar 5, [251] 438

Parliamentary and Municipal Elections Act, 1872—The Elections—The Bank Holidays Act, 1871—Good Friday, Question, Mr. Scott; Answer, The Attorney General Mar 15, [251] 1009; Question, Mr. Alexander McArthur; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer Mar 18, 1207

Parliamentary Reporting—The Reporters' Gallery, Question, Mr. Hibbert; Answer, Mr. W. H. Smith Mar 11, [251] 831

[*cont.*

PARLIAMENT—COMMONS—*cont.*

Qualification of Voters, Midlothian, Questions, Mr. Hardcastle; Answers, The Lord Advocate Feb 17, [250] 792

Re-distribution of Seats—Corrupt Practices at Elections, Question, Mr. Milbank; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer Feb 19, [250] 910

Parliament—Business of the House (Order in Debate)

Resolutions (Mr. Newdegate), Question, Mr. Newdegate; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer Feb 20, 1158

Notice of Resolutions, The Chancellor of the Exchequer Feb 23, 1183

Moved, "That, whenever any Member shall have been named by the Speaker, or by the Chairman of a Committee of the whole House, as disregarding the authority of the Chair, or abusing the Rules of the House by persistently and wilfully obstructing the Business of the House, or otherwise, then, if the offence has been committed in the House, the Speaker shall forthwith put the question, on a Motion being made, no amendment, adjournment, or debate being allowed, 'That such Member be suspended from the service of the House during the remainder of that day's sitting;' and, if the offence has been committed in a Committee of the whole House, the Chairman shall, on a Motion being made, put the same question in a similar way, and if the Motion is carried shall forthwith suspend the proceedings of the Committee and report the circumstance to the House; and the Speaker shall thereupon put the same question, without amendment, adjournment, or debate, as if the offence had been committed in the House itself. If any Member be suspended three times in one Session, under this Order, his suspension on the third occasion shall continue for one week, and until a Motion has been made, upon which it shall be decided, at one sitting, by the House, whether the suspension shall then cease, or for what longer period it shall continue; and, on the occasion of such Motion, the Member may, if he desires it, be heard in his place" (*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer*) Feb 26, 1450

After debate, Amendt. to leave out from "That," and add "during a Debate, whether in the House or in Committee, any Member may draw the attention of the Chair to misconduct on the part of a Member who in addressing the House may persistently endeavour to prevent the progress of Business, by rising in his place and taking Notice that the Member for is wilfully obstructing the Business of this House

"Whereupon (unless in the judgment of the Chair the interruption is frivolous and unfounded, in which case he shall call on the Member in possession of the House to proceed), Mr. Speaker (or the Chairman) shall forthwith put the Question 'That be not further heard,' which Question shall be decided without amendment or debate, but the Motion shall not be carried by a majority of less than two-thirds if a Division is called

[*cont.*

PARLIAMENT—COMMONS—*cont.*

"That when the attention of Your Majesty's advisers was called during last Parliament to the approaching distress in Ireland, they only replied with insulting mockery, and that when the distress deepened, and the inhabitants of the afflicted districts sought to move public opinion by peaceable meetings, the Government adopted an attitude of provocation, and answered the Petitions of the starving cultivators by arbitrary arrests and displays of military force:

"That the Ministry seek to stir up evil passions and prejudices between the English and Irish peoples:

"That they sedulously describe as seditious and disloyal the Constitutional endeavours of the Irish representatives to establish improved relations between Ireland and the other portions of Your Majesty's Dominions and to bring about a better distribution of the legislative work which now overburthens the Imperial Parliament:

"That when any English Party or English politicians seek to promote the removal of Irish grievances, they are denounced by the present Ministry to the prejudices of the unthinking and unreflecting as the bad patriots and enemies of England, and that there can no longer be a doubt that this policy has been adopted for the purpose of obtaining a factious and calamitous success at the approaching General Elections:

"And that, therefore, in face of such misconduct, we have no alternative but to beseech Your Majesty to dismiss from Your Councils Your present advisers, in order to prevent the further practice of abuses more dangerous than open treason to the State" (*Mr. O'Donnell*); after short debate, Question put; A. 12, N. 128; M. 116 (D. L. No. 4)

Address agreed to; To be presented by Privy Councillors

Her Majesty's Answer to the Address reported Feb 18, [250] 886

Privileges—Ordered, That a Committee of Privileges be appointed Feb 5

Standing Orders—Select Committee nominated Feb 6, as follows:—*Mr. Mowbray* (Chairman), *Mr. Bruen*, *Sir Edward Colebrooke*, *Mr. Cubitt*, *Mr. Floyer*, *Mr. Thomson Hankey*, *Sir Graham Montgomery*, *The O'Connor Don*, *Mr. Rodwell*, *Lord Arthur Russell*, and *Mr. Whitbread*

Selection—Committee of Selection nominated Feb 6, as follows:—*Mr. Mowbray* (Chairman), *Mr. Floyer*, *Mr. Thomson Hankey*, *Sir Graham Montgomery*, *The O'Connor Don*, and *Mr. Whitbread*

Public Petitions—Select Committee appointed and nominated Feb 9, as follows:—*Sir Charles Forster* (Chairman), *Mr. Cavendish Bentinck*, *Mr. H. Corry*, *Earl de Grey*, *Sir Ughtred Kay-Shuttleworth*, *Mr. M'Lagan*, *Mr. Mulholland*, *Viscount Newport*, *Mr. O'Connor*, *The O'Donoghue*, *Sir Charles Russell*, *Mr. Simonds*, *Marquess of Tavistock*, *Mr. Charles Tennant*, and *Mr. Reginald Yorke*

PARLIAMENT—COMMONS—*cont.*

Printing—Select Committee appointed and nominated Feb 10, as follows:—*Mr. Dodson*, *Mr. Mitchell Henry*, *Mr. M'Laren*, *Mr. Massey*, *The O'Connor Don*, *Mr. Selater-Booth*, *Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson*, *Mr. William Henry Smith*, *Mr. Stansfeld*, *Mr. Spencer Walpole*, *Mr. Whitbread*, and *Mr. Rowland Winn*

Kitchen and Refreshment Rooms (House of Commons)—Ordered, That a Standing Committee be appointed to control the arrangements of the Kitchen and Refreshment Rooms, in the department of the Serjeant at Arms attending this House Feb 19:—*Mr. Adam* (Chairman), *Mr. Dick*, *Sir William Hart Dyke*, *Mr. Edwards*, *Mr. Goldney*, *Sir Arthur Hayter*, *Lord Kensington*, *Mr. Monk*, *Mr. Muntz*, *Mr. Richard Power*, *Mr. Sheil*, *Lord Henry Thynne*, and *Sir Henry Wolf*

Public Accounts—Select Committee nominated, after short debate Mar 5, [251] 544, as follows:—*Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson* (Chairman), *Sir Walter Barttelot*, *Lord Frederick Cavendish*, *Mr. Cubitt*, *Mr. Goldney*, *Mr. Hankey*, *Sir Henry Holland*, *Sir John Lubbock*, *Sir Charles Mills*, *Mr. Seely*, and *Mr. Shaw*

Indisposition of Mr. Speaker

The House being met, the Clerk at the Table informed the House of the unavoidable absence of Mr. Speaker, on account of indisposition:—Whereupon *Mr. Raikes*, the Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means, proceeded to the Table as Deputy Speaker, and after Prayers counted the House, and, Forty Members being present, took the Chair, pursuant to the Standing Order Feb 16

Order—Personal Question

Viscount Castlereagh, Question, *Mr. Biggar*; Answer, *Mr. Speaker* Feb 26, [250] 1448; Observations, *Mr. Biggar*; short debate thereon Mar 1, [251] 29

Business of the House

Postponement of Motions, Observations, The Chancellor of the Exchequer, *Sir George 250] Campbell* Feb 10, 383;—Questions, *Mr. Fawcett*, *Sir Wilfrid Lawson*; Answers, The Chancellor of the Exchequer, *Mr. Speaker* Feb 10, 385; Ordered, That Notices of Motion be postponed till after the Orders of the Day (*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer*);—*Supply*, Question, *Mr. Dillwyn*; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer Feb 18, 592;—Question, *Mr. Biggar*; Answer, *Mr. Newdegate* Feb 20, 1106; Orders of the Day postponed Feb 26, 1449

Progress of Business, Question, *Mr. Dillwyn*; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer Mar 1, [251] 29;—*Arrangement of Public Business*, Question, The Marquess of Hartington; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer Mar 4, 297

Form and Precedent—The Summons to the House of Peers, Observations, Questions, *Sir George Bowyer*; Reply, *Mr. Speaker* Mar 19, [251] 1221

Parliament—Business of the House (Order in Debate)—cont.

"Any Member so put to silence shall stand suspended from the service of the House for one week

"Any Member put to silence twice in the same Session shall stand suspended from the service of the House for one calendar month, and for such further period until he shall have submitted himself to the House and given assurance that he will not so offend again" (*Mr. Sampson Lloyd*) v., 1500; Question proposed, "That 'whenever,' &c.;" after further debate, Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Mr. Shaw*); Question put, and agreed to; Debate adjourned

Debate resumed Feb 27, 1580; after long debate, Amendt. withdrawn

Amendt. in line 1, after "whenever," to insert "before one o'clock a.m." (*Mr. Biggar*), 1638; Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted;" after short debate, Question put; A. 14, N. 290; M. 276 (D. L. 23)

Amendt. in line 1, after "Member," to insert "at least one hundred Members being present" (*Mr. O'Donnell*), 1640; Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted;" after debate, Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*The O'Donoghue*); after further debate, Question put, and agreed to; Debate adjourned

Moved, "That Mr. Speaker do take the Chair To-morrow, at Twelve of the clock" (*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer*)

Amendt. to leave out "Twelve," and insert "Two" (*Mr. Callan*); Question proposed, "That 'Twelve,' &c.;" Question put; A. 87, N. 15; M. 72 (D. L. 24)

Main Question put, and agreed to

Debate resumed Feb 28, 1669; Question put; A. 8, N. 68; M. 60 (D. L. 25)

Amendt. in lines 2 and 3, to leave out "or by the Chairman of a Committee of the whole House" (*Mr. Callan*); Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after debate, Question put; A. 191, N. 17; M. 174 (D. L. 26)

Amendt. in line 4, to leave out "or otherwise" (*Mr. Finigan*), 1688; Question proposed, "That 'or otherwise,' &c.;" after short debate, Question put, and agreed to

Amendt. in line 4, after "then," to insert "the Member so named shall be permitted to offer such explanation, defence, or apology as he may see fit for a time not exceeding ten minutes, after which" (*Sir George Campbell*), 1691; Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted;" after short debate, Question put; A. 25, N. 195; M. 170 (D. L. 27)

Amendt. in line 8, after "House," to insert "other and except that of voting" (*Mr. Courtney*), 1693; Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted;" after short debate, Question put; A. 42, N. 172; M. 130

Div. List, A. and N. 1694

Amendt. in line 12, after "House," to insert "when the Member so named shall be per-

[cont.

Parliament—Business of the House (Order in Debate)—cont.

mitted to offer such explanation, defence, or apology as he may see fit for a time not exceeding ten minutes, after which" (*Mr. Callan*), 1696; Question, "That those words be there inserted," put, and negatived Amendt. in line 15, to leave out "three times," and insert "twice" (*The Marquess of Hartington*), 1696; Question proposed, "That 'three times,' &c.;" after short debate, Amendt. withdrawn

Amendt. in line 16, after "made," to insert "at the commencement of Public Business" (*Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice*), 1702; Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted;" Amendt. withdrawn

Amendt. at end of Question, to add "Provided always, That nothing in this Resolution shall be taken to deprive the House of the power of proceeding against any Member according to ancient usages" (*Mr. William Edward Forster*), 1702; Question proposed, "That those words be there added;" Question put, and agreed to

Main Question, as amended, put; after short debate, main Question, as amended, agreed to

Resolved, That, whenever any Member shall have been named by the Speaker, or by the Chairman of a Committee of the whole House, as disregarding the authority of the Chair, or abusing the Rules of the House by persistently and wilfully obstructing the Business of the House, or otherwise, then, if the offence has been committed in the House, the Speaker shall forthwith put the question, on a Motion being made, no amendment, adjournment, or debate being allowed, "That such Member be suspended from the service of the House during the remainder of that day's sitting;" and, if the offence has been committed in a Committee of the whole House, the Chairman shall, on a Motion being made, put the same question in a similar way, and if the Motion is carried shall forthwith suspend the proceedings of the Committee and report the circumstance to the House; and the Speaker shall thereupon put the same question, without amendment, adjournment, or debate, as if the offence had been committed in the House itself. If any Member be suspended three times in one Session, under this Order, his suspension on the third occasion shall continue for one week, and until a Motion has been made, upon which it shall be decided, at one sitting, by the House, whether the suspension shall then cease, or for what longer period it shall continue; and, on the occasion of such Motion, the Member may, if he desires it, be heard in his place: Provided always, That nothing in this Resolution shall be taken to deprive the House of the power of proceeding against any Member according to ancient usages

Moved, "That the said Resolution be a Standing Order of this House" (*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer*), 1706

Amendt. to leave out from "That," and add "in the last Session of a Parliament, it is inexpedient to constitute an untried experi-

[cont.

Parliament—Business of the House (Order in Debate)—cont.

ment by which the proceedings of Parliament may be materially altered, and the privileges of Members lessened, as a Standing Order of the House" (*Mr. Dillwyn*) v.; Question proposed, "That the words &c.;" after short debate, Question put; A. 166, N. 20; M. 146 (D. L. 29)

Main Question put, and agreed to

Parliament—Dissolution of

Statement, The Chancellor of the Exchequer; short debate thereon *Mar* 8, [251] 557

Suspension of Proceedings—Resolution, Moved, "That in case the Committee on any Private Bill, or Group of such Bills, shall report their opinion to the House, that any Bill or Bills not yet considered by them should not be entered upon, or that the consideration of any Bill already partly considered should not be proceeded with, all further proceedings upon such Bills shall be suspended during the present Session" (*The Chairman of Ways and Means*) *Mar* 10, [251] 741; Question put, and agreed to

The Dissolution, Observations, The Chancellor of the Exchequer; short debate thereon *Mar* 12, [251] 918

Private Bills, Questions, *Mr. Dillwyn*, The Marquess of Hartington, *Mr. Chamberlain*, *Sir George Campbell*; Answers, The Chancellor of the Exchequer *Mar* 9, [251] 691

Business of the House, Question, *Mr. Dillwyn*; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer *Mar* 15, [251] 1017

Moved, "That, for the remainder of the Session, Orders of the Day have precedence of Notices of Motions, Government Orders having priority; and that Government Orders have precedence on Wednesday" (*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer*); Motion agreed to

Standing Orders for the Suspension of Private Bills, or Bills to confirm any Provisional Order or Certificate (*The Chairman of Ways and Means*) *Mar* 11, [251] 794

Ordered, That the said Orders be Standing Orders of this House, and be printed

Standing Order for the Suspension of Petitions for Private Bills

Ordered, That where the Examiner has not reported as to compliance with the Standing Orders in respect of any Petition for a Private Bill deposited for the present Session in the Private Bill Office, such Petition shall be suspended, and the Standing Orders complied with in respect of the same shall be held applicable to such suspended Petition in the ensuing Session

That the said Order be a Standing Order of this House, and be printed (No. 141) (*The Chairman of Ways and Means*) *Mar* 17

Parliament, Privilege of—Immunity from Arrest

Moved, "That the privilege of Immunity from Arrest, now enjoyed by Peers and Members of Parliament, is not for the public good, and ought to be abolished" (*Mr. Blake*) *Feb* 24, [250] 1300

Parliament, Privilege of—Immunity from Arrest—cont.

Amendt. to leave out from "That," and add "in the opinion of this House, it is not advisable to extend the liability of any class of Her Majesty's subjects to arrest or imprisonment for debt, but that it is advisable for the honour and dignity of this House that provision should be made for the immediate vacation of his seat by any Member who may become bankrupt or otherwise arrange or compound with his creditors under the Bankruptcy Laws" (*Mr. Charles Lewis*) v.; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after short debate, Question put; A. 111, N. 128; M. 17 (D. L. 21)

Question, "That those words be there added," put, and negatived

Parliament—Privilege—Interference of Peers in Elections—Hon. Major Jocelyn

Moved, "That the language of Major Jocelyn complained of to this House is a Breach of Privilege, and that the conduct of the Earl Cadogan as complained of to the House is also a Breach of the Privileges of this House" (*Mr. Sullivan*) *Feb* 23, [250] 1198; Previous Question proposed, "That that Question be now put" (*Sir William Harcourt*); after short debate, Previous Question put; A. 15, N. 229; M. 214 (D. L. 18)

Parliament—Privilege—London Newspapers

Moved, "That the article entitled 'Our Brilliant Brethren' in the 'World' of the 18th instant, and the articles in the 'Morning Advertiser' of the 6th, 13th, 20th, and 21st instant, the 'Daily Telegraph' of the 9th, 12th, 13th, and 23rd instant, and the 'Pall Mall Gazette' of the 21st instant, read to this House, contain breaches of the Privileges of this House" (*Mr. O'Donnell*) *Feb* 23, [250] 1214

Amendt. to leave out from "That," and add "this House do now proceed to the Orders of the Day" (*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer*); Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after short debate, Question put, and negatived

Words added; main Question, as amended, put, and agreed to

Parliament—Privilege—Mr. Plimsoll

Question, Observations, *Sir Charles Russell*; Reply, *Mr. Plimsoll* *Feb* 17, [250] 797

Moved "That the publication of printed placards throughout the City of Westminster, representing the part taken by *Sir Charles Russell*, the Member for the said City, in the proceedings of this House as 'inhuman' and 'degrading,' injuriously reflects upon the said Member, is an attempt to coerce and intimidate him in the discharge of his duties, and a breach of the Privileges of this House" (*Sir Charles Russell*); after short debate, Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*The Marquess of Hartington*); after further short debate, Question put, and agreed to; Debate adjourned

Parliament—Privilege—Mr. Plimsoll—cont.

Debate resumed Feb 20, 1108; after short debate, Motion withdrawn

Moved, "That, in the opinion of this House, the conduct of the honourable Member for Derby in publishing printed placards denouncing the part taken by two honourable Members of this House in the proceedings of the House was calculated to interfere with the due discharge of the duties of a Member of this House, and is a breach of its Privileges:—But this House, having regard to the withdrawal by the honourable Member for Derby of the expressions to which the honourable Member for Westminster has drawn its attention, is of opinion that no further action on its part is necessary" (*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer*); after short debate, Previous Question proposed, "That that Question be now put" (*Sir William Harcourt*); after further debate, Previous Question put; A. 189, N. 127; M. 62 (D. L. 16)

Main Question put; A. 182, N. 116; M. 66 (D. L. 17)

Parliament—The Septennial Act—Duration of Parliament

Moved, "That, in the opinion of this House, the duration of any future Parliament should not exceed five years" (*Mr. John Holms*) Feb 24, [250] 1316

Amendt. to leave out from "House," and add "the Septennial Act has been satisfactory in its operation, and ought not to be repealed" (*Colonel Alexander*) v.; Question proposed, "That the words &c.;" after short debate, Question put; A. 60, N. 110; M. 60 (D. L. 22)

Words added; main Question, as amended, put, and agreed to

Parliament—Privilege (Tower High Level Bridge (Metropolis) Committee)—Mr. Charles Edmund Grissell

Question, Mr. C. Beckett Denison; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer Mar 1, [251] 25

Moved, "That the case of Charles Edmund Grissell be taken into consideration To-morrow" (*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer*); Motion agreed to

Case of Charles Edmund Grissell considered Mar 2, 162; Petition of Charles Edmund Grissell presented, and read

Moved, "That Charles Edmund Grissell, having evaded punishment for his offences against the Privileges of this House until the close of the last Session, be sent for in the custody of the Serjeant at Arms attending this House, and that Mr. Speaker do issue his Warrants accordingly; and that he be reprimanded, at the Bar, by Mr. Speaker, for his contempt of this House" (*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer*)

Amendt., to leave out from "accordingly" to the end of the Question (*Mr. Rylands*); Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after short debate, Question put, and negatived

Main Question, as amended, put, and agreed to

[cont.]

Parliament—Privilege (Tower High Level Bridge (Metropolis) Committee)—Mr. Charles Edmund Grissell—cont.

The Serjeant at Arms reported that in pursuance of the Order of the House he had taken Charles Edmund Grissell into custody Mar 2

Ordered, "That Charles Edmund Grissell do stand committed to the custody of the Serjeant at Arms attending this House; and that Mr. Speaker do issue his Warrants accordingly"

"That the Serjeant at Arms do bring the said Charles Edmund Grissell, in custody, to the Bar of this House, To-morrow, at Twelve of the clock" (*Mr. Assheton Cross*), 194

The Serjeant at Arms having brought Charles Edmund Grissell to the Bar of the House

Moved, "That Charles Edmund Grissell, having evaded punishment for his offence against the Privileges of this House, until the close of last Session, be committed to Her Majesty's Gaol of Newgate, and that Mr. Speaker do issue his Warrants accordingly" (*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer*) Mar 3, 240; Motion agreed to

PARLIAMENT—HOUSE OF LORDS

Sat First

1880

Feb 5—The Duke of Portland, after the death of his cousin
The Viscount St. Vincent, after the death of his father
The Lord Chelmsford, after the death of his father
The Lord Lawrence, after the death of his father

Feb 6—The Earl of Ashburnham, after the death of his father
The Lord Skene (Earl of Fife), after the death of his father

Feb 12—The Earl of Durham, after the death of his father

Feb 23—The Lord Clanwilliam (Earl of Clanwilliam), after the death of his father

Feb 27—The Lord Ponsonby, after the death of his brother

Mar 22—The Earl of Winton, after the death of his father

PARLIAMENT—HOUSE OF COMMONS

New Writs Issued

During Recess

For Elgin and Nairn Counties, v. Hon. Alexander William Duff, commonly called Viscount Macduff, now Earl of Fife, called up to the House of Peers
For Sheffield Borough, v. Right Hon. John Arthur Roebuck, deceased
For Liverpool Borough, v. John Torr, esquire, deceased
For Donegal County, v. William Wilson, esquire, deceased

[cont.]

PARLIAMENT — COMMONS — *New Writs Issued* —
—cont.

1880

Feb 5—*For Barnstaple Borough, v. Samuel Danks Waddy, esquire, Chiltern Hundreds*

For Southwark Borough, v. John Locke, esquire, deceased

Feb 20—*For Kilkenny Borough, v. Benjamin Whitworth, esquire, Manor of Northstead*

For Drogheda, v. William Hogarty O'Leary, esquire, deceased

Feb 27—*For Norfolk (Western Division), v. Sir William Bagge, deceased*

New Members Sworn

1880

Feb 5—*Sir George Macpherson Grant, baronet, Elgin and Nairn Counties Thomas Lea, esquire, Donegal County*

Feb 10—*Edward Whitley, esquire, Liverpool Borough*

Feb 13—*Samuel Danks Waddy, esquire, Sheffield*

Viscount Lymington, Barnstaple

Feb 16—*Edward George Clarke, esquire, Southwark*

Mar 4—*John Francis Smithwick, esquire, Kilkenny City*

Benjamin Whitworth, esquire, Drogheda Borough

Mar 11—*William Amburst Tyssen Amherst, esquire, Norfolk County (Western Division)*

Parliamentary and Municipal Registration Act, 1878 (41 & 42 Vict. c. 26, s. 5)

Question, Mr. Chamberlain; Answer, Mr. Assheton Cross *Feb 26*, [250] 1440

Parliamentary Elections and Corrupt Practices Bill

(*Mr. Attorney General, Mr. Solicitor General*)

c. Notice of Resolution (*Sir Charles W. Dilke*)

Mar 4, [251] 411

Bill ordered* [House counted out]

Read 1°* *Mar 5* [Bill 102]

Bill withdrawn* *Mar 8*

Parliamentary Elections and Corrupt Practices (No. 2) Bill

(*Mr. Attorney General, Mr. Solicitor General*)

e. Motion for Leave (*Mr. Attorney General*)

251] *Mar 10*, 777; after short debate, Motion agreed to; Bill ordered; read 1°* [Bill 107]

Question, Mr. Anderson; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer *Mar 11*, 814

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2°" *Mar 11*, 859

Amendt. to leave out from "That," and add "the provisions of the Act 30 and 31 Vic. c. 102, which relates to payment of the expenses of conveyance of voters to the poll, should be amended, not by repealing the pro-

[cont.

Parliamentary Elections and Corrupt Practices (No. 2) Bill—cont.

hibition against the practice, but by rendering it effective (*Dr. Cameron*) v.; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Mr. Henry Samuelson*); after short debate, Question put; A. 47, N. 120; M. 73 (D. L. 40)

Question put, "That the words, &c.;" A. 116, N. 48; M. 68 (D. L. 41)

Main Question put, and agreed to; Bill read 2°

Committee deferred, after short debate *Mar 12*, 251] 952

Question, Mr. Anderson; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer *Mar 15*, 1016

Committee deferred, after short debate *Mar 15*, 1071

Order for Committee read; Moved, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair" *Mar 16*, 1100

Amendt. to leave out from "That," and add "this House will, upon this day month, resolve itself into the said Committee" (*Mr. Anderson*) v.; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after short debate, Question put; A. 52, N. 55; M. 27 (D. L. 43)

Main Question, "That Mr. Speaker, &c.;" put, and agreed to; Committee; Report

Moved, "That the Bill be now taken into Consideration" *Mar 17*, 1176

Amendt. to leave out "now," and add "upon this day month" (*Dr. Cameron*); Question proposed, "That 'now,' &c.;" after debate, Question put; A. 57, N. 34; M. 23 (D. L. 47)

Main Question put, and agreed to; Bill considered, 1188

Read 3° *Mar 18*, 1212

i. Read 1°* (*The Lord President*) *Mar 18*

Read 2°; Committee negatived, after short debate *Mar 19*, 1215 (No. 50)

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 3°" *Mar 22*, 1233

Amendt. to leave out ("now,") and add ("this day three months") (*The Lord Denman*); after short debate, Amendt. withdrawn

Amendt. to leave out ("now,") and add ("this day three months") (*The Earl of Kimberley*); after short debate, on Question, That ("now,") &c.; Cont. 39, Not.-Cont. 24; M. 15; Div. List, Cont. and Not-Cont., 1238

Resolved in the affirmative; Bill read 3°

On Question, "That the Bill do pass?" after short debate, Bill passed

Royal Assent *Mar 24* [43 Vict. c. 18]

Parliamentary Franchise Bill

(*Mr. Elliot, Mr. Hunter Rodwell, Mr. Serjeant Spinks*)

e. Ordered; read 1°* *Feb 19* [Bill 82]
2R. Wed. *April 28*

**Parochial Charities (City of London)—
Report of Royal Commission**

Question, Mr. W. H. James; Answer, Mr. Assheton Cross *Feb 12*, [250] 508

Partnerships Bill

(*Mr. Sampson Lloyd, Mr. Herschell, Mr. Gregory, Mr. Whitwell*)

c. Considered in Committee; Resolution agreed to, and reported; Bill ordered; read 1^o * Feb 6 [Bill 26]
2R. [Dropped]

Patents for Inventions Bill

(*Mr. Anderson, Mr. Mundella, Mr. Dalrymple, Mr. Alexander Brown*)

c. Ordered; read 1^o * Feb 25 [Bill 92]
Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2^o" Mar 10, [251] 742
After short debate, Amendt. to leave out "now," and add "upon this day month" (*Mr. Fraser-Mackintosh*); Question proposed, "That 'now,' &c.;" after further short debate, Amendt. and Motion withdrawn; Bill withdrawn

Peace Preservation (Ireland) Act

Moved, That there be laid before the House, "Returns showing what parts of Ireland are proclaimed under the Peace Preservation Act" (*The Lord Oranmore and Browne*) Mar 16, [251] 965; after short debate, Motion agreed to

PEASE, Mr. J. W., *Durham, S.*

Ancient Monuments, Comm. cl. 2, [250] 775, 776
Criminal Law—Channel Islands—Case of James Thomas, [250] 684
Execution at Manchester, [250] 1187
Custom House Re-organization, [250] 911
Lighthouses, Motion for Papers, [251] 313
Parliament—Viscount Castlereagh, Personal Explanation, [251] 86
Turkey—Anglo-Turkish Convention (Appointment of Officers)—Keamil Pasha, [250] 917

PELL, Mr. A., *Leicestershire, S.*

Game Laws, Res. [251] 199, 209, 221
Railways and Canals—Through Rates, [250] 1185
Rivers Conservancy, [250] 591

PEMBERTON, Mr. E. L., *Kent, E.*

Charity Commission—Sittings of the Board, [250] 1439

Penal Clauses Abolition Bill

(*Mr. P. J. Smyth, Dr. O'Leary, Mr. Synan*)
c. Ordered; read 1^o * Feb 9 [Bill 59]
2R. Wed. June 30

PENZANCE, Lord

Common Law Procedure and Judicature Acts Amendment, 2R. [251] 1079

PERCY, Right Hon. Earl, *Northumberland, N.*

Ancient Monuments, 3R. [250] 1383
Game Laws, Res. [251] 192
Parliament—Business of the House (Order in Debate), Res. [250] 1664

PERKINS, Sir F., *Southampton*

Prisons Act—Superannuations, [251] 1175

Perpetuity Leases (Ireland) Bill

(*Mr. Errington, Colonel Colthurst, Mr. Fay*)

c. Ordered; read 1^o * Feb 6 [Bill 58]
2R. Fri. May 28

Persia and Herat

Questions, Earl Granville; Answers, The Earl 250 of Beaconsfield Feb 10, 375; Explanation of Statement, The Earl of Beaconsfield Feb 12, 485; Observations, Question, Earl Granville; Reply, The Earl of Beaconsfield Feb 13, 582; Question, The Marquess of Hartington; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer Feb 10, 382; Question, Mr. W. Holms; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer Feb 12, 520

PIM, Captain B., *Gravesend*

Commerce and Free Trade, Motion for a Select Committee, [250] 616
Great Britain and Nicaragua—The Pending Arbitration, [251] 809
Navy—Admiralty Financial Return, [250] 265
H.M.S. "Wivern," [250] 1196
Navy—State of the, Res. [251] 562, 586, 587
Navy Estimates, [250] 1105
Sea and Coast Guard Services, [251] 646
Parliament—Orders of the Day—Standing Order of Supply and Ways and Means, Res. [250] 1679

PLAYFAIR, Right Hon. Mr. Lyon, *Edinburgh and St. Andrew's Universities*

Liverpool Corporation Water, 2R. [250] 1292
Medical Staff (India), [250] 1435
Public Health—Small-Pox (Metropolis), [251] 1014
Registrar General, Appointment of—Dr. Farr, [250] 1193

PLIMSOLL, Mr. S., *Derby Bo.*

Merchant Shipping—Grain Cargoes, [250] 1446, 1447
Merchant Shipping Act—Imprisonment of Sailors, [251] 302
Merchant Ships Laden in Bulk, Motion for a Select Committee, [250] 1359; Nomination of Select Committee, [251] 534, 538
Parliament—Privilege—Mr. Plimsoll, [250] 797, 1109
Parliamentary Elections and Corrupt Practices (No. 2), Consid. [251] 1180

PLUNKET, Hon. D. R., *Dublin University*

Irish Church Act (1869) Amendment, Leave, [251] 274, 275; 2R. 752
Parliament—Queen's Speech, Address in Answer to, [250] 209, 217, 221, 223, 231
Parliament—Business of the House (Order in Debate), Res. [250] 1600

Political Prisoners Bill

(*Mr. O'Connor Power, Sir Charles W. Dilke,
Mr. Joseph Cowen, Sir Wilfrid Lawson*)

c. Ordered; read 1^o * Feb 6 [Bill 19]
2R. Wed. June 9

Poor Law**MISCELLANEOUS QUESTIONS**

Dissolution of the Witham Union, Question,
Mr. Round; Answer, Mr. Selater-Booth
Feb 27, [250] 1566

Election of Guardians—Legislation, Question,
Mr. Ilibbert; Answer, Mr. Selater-Booth
Mar 4, [250] 300

*Liability to Poor Rates—Overseers of St. Wer-
burgh v. Hutchinson*, Questions, Sir Charles
W. Dilke; Answers, Mr. Selater-Booth
Mar 5, [251] 425; Mar 17, 1174

Poor Removal—Legislation, Question, Mr.
Synan; Answer, Mr. Selater-Booth Feb 12,
[250] 514

*Superannuation of Officers—The Tenterden
Guardians*, Question, Sir Trevor Lawrence;
Answer, Mr. Selater-Booth Mar 15, [251]
1011

**Poor Law Guardians (Election by Ballot)
(Ireland) Bill**

(*Mr. Errington, Mr. Gray, Mr. O'Connor*)

c. Ordered; read 1^o * Feb 6 [Bill 20]
2R. Wed. June 16

Poor Law Guardians (Ireland) Bill

(*Mr. Fay, Mr. P. J. Smyth, Mr. Patrick Martin,
Mr. Errington, Mr. Redmond*)

c. Ordered; read 1^o * Feb 6 [Bill 21]
2R. Wed. June 16

**Poor Law Guardians (Ireland) (Minis-
ters of Religion) Bill** (*Lord Edmond*

Fitzmaurice, Mr. Shaw, Mr. Denis O'Connor)

c. Ordered; read 1^o * Feb 13 [Bill 75]
2R. [Dropped]

POST OFFICE**MISCELLANEOUS QUESTIONS**

Emyvale, Question, Mr. Sullivan; Answer,
Lord John Manners Feb 19, [250] 918

Mails for Gibraltar, Question, Colonel Naghten;
Answer, Lord John Manners Feb 19, [250]
922

*Post Office Savings Banks—Investment of
Small Sums*, Question, Mr. Fawcett; An-
swer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer
Feb 16, [250] 682;—*Legislation*, Question,
Mr. Wait; Answer, Lord John Manners
Feb 17, 811

Post Office Savings Bank Regulations, Ques-
tion, Mr. Ilibbert; Answer, Lord John Man-
ners Feb 24, [250] 1297

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POST OFFICE—cont.

Private Telegraph Wires, Questions, Mr.
Gray; Answers, Lord John Manners Feb 23,
[250] 1191;—*Disclosure of Private Tele-
grams*, Questions, Lord Randolph Churchill,
Major Nolan; Answers, Lord John Manners
Feb 26, 1436

The New Penny Postage Stamp, Questions,
Mr. Thomson Hankey; Answers, Lord John
Manners Feb 16, [250] 682

Post Office (Money Orders) Bill

(*Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson, Lord John Manners*)

c. Ordered; read 1^o * Feb 9 [Bill 62]
Questions, Mr. W. Beckett Denison, Mr. Dod-
son; Answers, Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson
Mar 1, [251] 24
2R. deferred, after short debate Mar 1, 115
Question, Mr. Thomson Hankey; Answer, Sir
Henry Selwin-Ibbetson Mar 2, 152
Bill withdrawn * Mar 15

Potato Crop

Select Committee appointed, "to inquire into
the best means of diminishing the frequency
and extent of failures in the Potato Crop"
(*Major Nolan*) Feb 10

POWER, Mr. J. O'Connor, Mayo

Parliament—Privilege—Mr. Plimsoll, [250]
1146

Queen's Speech, Address in Answer to,
[250] 82, 130, 201, 365, 369

Parliament—Privilege—Interference of Peers
in Elections—Hon. Major Jocelyn, Res.
[250] 1210, 1212

Prisons (Ireland)—Abolition of Spike Island
Convict Prison, [250] 685

Relief of Distress (Ireland)—Distribution of
Seeds, [251] 910

Relief of Distress (Ireland), Comm. [250] 692;
cl. 3, 736, 741, 742, 753, 927; *cl.* 9, 1019

Taxation (Great Britain and Ireland), Motion
for a Select Committee, [251] 702

POWER, Mr. R., Waterford

Parliament—Orders of the Day—Standing
Order of Supply and Ways and Means, Res.
[250] 1575, 1579

Relief of Distress (Ireland), Comm. *cl.* 9, [250]
1018

POWIS, Earl of

Common Law Procedure and Judicature Acts
Amendment, 2R. [251] 1079

Settled Land, 2R. [251] 285

Prayer Book Amendment Bill [H.L.]

(*The Lord Ebury*)

L. Presented; read 1^o * Mar 2 (No. 24)
Waiting for 2R. Mar 17

PRICE, Captain G. E., Devonport

Navy—Royal Marines, [250] 915

Navy Estimates—Marine Divisions, [251] 660
Sea and Coast Guard Services, [251] 622

Prisons Act—Superannuations

Question, Sir Frederick Perkins; Answer, Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson *Mar 17*, [251] 1175

Prisons (Ireland) Act—Infirmary and Gaol Surgeons

Question, Mr. Errington; Answer, Mr. J. Lowther *Feb 23*, [250] 1192

Probates of Wills, &c. Bill

(*Mr. Raikes, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson*)

c. Resolutions considered in Committee *Mar 5*, [251] 630

Resolutions reported, and agreed to; Bill ordered; read 1^o *Mar 8* [Bill 104]

Read 2^o, after long debate *Mar 15*, 1018

Ordered, That the Probates of Wills, &c. Bill, and the Customs and Inland Revenue Bill, be committed to the same Committee *Mar 16*

Instruction to the Committee, That they have power to consolidate the two Bills into one Bill

[See title *Customs and Inland Revenue Bill*]

Public Health

Adulteration of Food and Drugs Act, 1875, Question, Mr. Verner; Answer, Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson *Mar 2*, [251] 148

Small Pox (Metropolis), Question, Mr. Lyon Playfair; Answer, Mr. Selater-Booth *Mar 15*, [251] 1014

Trichinosis—School Ship “Cornwall,” Questions, Observations, Lord Thurlow; Replies, Earl Beauchamp *Feb 19*, [250] 903; *Mar 22*, [251] 1233

Public Health (Ireland) Act (1878) Amendment Bill

(*Mr. Redmond, Mr. O’Clery, Mr. Fay*)

c. Ordered; read 1^o *Feb 6* [Bill 16]
2R. [Dropped]

PULESTON, Mr. J. H., Devonport

Africa—West Coast—Medina and Liberia, [250] 1444

India—Wynaad Gold Fields, [250] 1568

India Office—Shipping Contracts, [250] 1443

RAIKES, Mr. H. C. (Chairman of Committees of Ways and Means), Chester

Bristol Corporation, 2R. [251] 145

Chester Gas Bill, [250] 1565

Licensing Laws Amendment, Leave, [250] 877
Liverpool Corporation (Loans, &c.) (Composition of Stamp Duty), Comm. [251] 3898

Liverpool Corporation Water, 2R. [250] 1293

Parliament—Private Bills, Res. [251] 741, 794

Parliamentary Elections and Corrupt Practices (No. 2), Comm. *cl. 2*, [251] 1133, 1134, 1136, 1137; *cl. 3*, 1163

Provisional Order Bills, Res. [250] 1098

Railway Servants (Compensation for Injury), [250] 1446; Res. [251] 715, 725

Relief of Distress (Ireland), Comm. *cl. 3*, [250] 731; *cl. 9*, 1002, 1008, 1012, 1015, 1017; *cl. 15*, 1161

RAIKES, Mr. H. C.—cont.

Seed Potatoes (Ireland), Comm. *cl. 3*, [250] 652; *cl. 6*, 657, 658, 659, 773

Supply—War in South Africa (Vote of Credit), [251] 762, 764

Railway Brakes

Question, Earl De La Warr; Answer, Lord Henniker *Feb 19*, [250] 901; Question, Mr. Baxter; Answer, Viscount Sandon *Mar 9*, [251] 685
Return—[2486]

Railway Charges Abroad

Moved, that there be laid before the House, “a Return of the rate of charges authorized by law, and those actually levied by the different railway companies, in the following countries: France, United States of America, Russia, Italy, Germany, Austria, Holland, Belgium, Denmark, Spain, Portugal” (*The Earl of Cork and Orrery*) *Feb 12*, [250] 506; after short debate, Motion withdrawn

Railway Servants (Compensation for Injury)

Questions, Mr. Mundella, Mr. Sullivan; Answers, Mr. Raikes, Mr. Speaker *Feb 26*, [250] 1445; Question, Sir Edward Watkin; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer *Mar 9*, [251] 689

Moved, “That the exceptional character of the services performed and dangers incurred by Railway Servants in the discharge of their duty calls for the immediate and special attention of Her Majesty’s Government; and that this House is of opinion that a change in the Law is required, by which, notwithstanding the legal doctrine of common employment, adequate compensation shall be secured to Railway Servants in all cases of injury to which they have not personally contributed” (*Mr. Raikes*) *Mar 9*, [251] 715

Amend. to leave out from “That,” and add “while it might, on the eve of a General Election, serve party purposes in such boroughs to single out Railway industry for exceptional legislation, such a course would be contrary to precedent and be unsupported by the facts relating to accidents attending mechanical and other industrial employments, and that the question of accidents arising in the conduct of all the industries of the Country, whether from personal carelessness, defective control, or other causes, and the constant premature death of and injury to probably 100,000 persons annually, demands the grave attention of Her Majesty’s Government, with a view to the adoption by Parliament of some general and adequate system of insurance, to the funds for which both the capitalist and the workman should contribute in just proportions” (*Sir Edward Watkin*) *v.*; Question proposed, “That the words, &c.,” after short debate [House counted out]

Railways and Canals—The Warwick Canal Company—Through Rates

Question, Mr. Arthur Peel; Answer, Viscount Sandon *Feb 23*, [250] 1185

Railways—Regulation of Railways Act, 1871

Question, General Sir George Balfour; Answer, Viscount Sandon *Feb* 20, [250] 1101;—*The Railway Commissioners*, Question, Mr. Monk; Answer, Mr. J. G. Talbot *Feb* 17, 794

Ramminger's Naturalization Bill [H.L.]

- l. Presented (on petition); read 1st *Mar* 15
- Certificate read; petitioner took the oath; the Queen's consent signified by the Lord Chancellor; Bill read 2^a (according to order) and committed forthwith: Order for considering Standing Orders Nos. XXXVII. and XXXVIII. read, and discharged; Reported with Amendments *Mar* 16
- Read 3^a *Mar* 17
- c. Read 1^o *Mar* 17; Read 2^o; Report *Mar* 17
- Read 3^o *Mar* 18
- l. Royal Assent *Mar* 19 [43 *Vict. c. i*]

RAMSAY, Mr. J., Falkirk, &c.

Chartered Banks (Colonial), 2R. Amendt. [250] 567, 577

Hypothec Abolition (Scotland), 3R. [251] 775

Parliamentary Elections and Corrupt Practices (No. 2), Leave, [251] 779; Comm. 1072; Consid. 1178

Probates of Wills, &c. 2R. [251] 1057

Supply—Local Government Board, [250] 1271, 1273

National Education in Ireland, [251] 880

Report, [251] 771

RATHBONE, Mr. W., Liverpool

Chartered Banks (Colonial), 2R. [250] 574

India—Afghanistan—The War—Expenses of Military Operations, Res. [251] 927

Rating of Machinery Bill

(Mr. Birley, Mr. Hibbert, Mr. Ripley)

- c. Ordered; read 1^o *Mar* 10 [Bill 108]
- 2R. [Dropped]

Rating of Towns (Ireland) Bill

(Mr. O'Shaughnessy, Sir Joseph M'Kenna)

- c. Ordered; read 1^o *Feb* 6 [Bill 15]
- 2R. Wed. *May* 12

READ, Mr. Clare S., Norfolk, S.

Game Laws, Res. [251] 195

Municipal Corporations (Property Qualification Abolition), 2R. [250] 898

REDESDALE, Earl of (Chairman of Committees)

Ancient Monuments, 2R. [251] 785, 788

Companies Acts Amendment, 2R. [250] 1276; Comm. [251] 782

Highways and Locomotives (Amendment) Act, 1878, Motion for an Address, [251] 905

Hypothec Abolition (Scotland), 2R. [251] 957, 961; Comm. 1080; Report, 1168, 1169, 1170; 3R. 1197, 1201

Parliamentary Elections and Corrupt Practices (No. 2), 3R. [251] 1239

REDMOND, Mr. W. A., Wexford

Parliament—Queen's Speech, Address in Answer to, [250] 132; Amendt. 152

Relief of Distress (Ireland), Comm. [250] 714

REED, Mr. E. J., Pembroke, &c.

Merchant Ships Laden in Bulk, Nomination of Select Committee, [251] 540

Navy Estimates—Admiralty Office, [251] 657

Dockyards, &c. [251] 659

Sea and Coast-Guard Services, [251] 609, 653

Registrar General, Appointment of the—Dr. Farr

Question, Mr. Anderson; Answer, Mr. Selater-250] Booth *Feb* 6, 148; Observations, Question, The Marquess of Lothian; Reply, The Earl of Beaconsfield *Feb* 13, 585; Question, Mr. Lyon Playfair; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer *Feb* 23, 1193

Registration of Voters (Ireland) Bill

(Mr. Meldon, Mr. Shaw, Mr. Henry)

- c. Ordered; read 1^o *Feb* 6 [Bill 54]
- Read 2^o *Mar* 3
- Committee [Dropped]

Relief of Distress (Ireland)

Question, Observations, Lord Emly; Reply, The Duke of Richmond and Gordon; short 250] debate thereon *Feb* 12, 487; Question, Mr. Dillwyn; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer *Feb* 13, 589; Question, The O'Donoghue; Answer, Mr. J. Lowther, 591; Question, Observations, The Earl of Donoughmore, Lord Oranmore and Browne; Reply, The Duke of Richmond and Gordon *Feb* 19, 904; Questions, Mr. Mitchell Henry, Mr. Gray; Answers, Mr. J. Lowther *Feb* 23, 1194; Questions, Mr. Sullivan; Answers, The Attorney General for Ireland *Mar* 18, [251] 1202

Applications for Loans—The Returns, Question, Mr. Errington; Answer, Mr. J. Lowther *Mar* 1, [251] 27; Question, Major Nolan; Answer, Mr. J. Lowther *Mar* 12, 911; Questions, Mr. Errington; Answers, The Attorney General for Ireland *Mar* 17, 1175; *Mar* 18, 1204

Distribution of Seeds, Questions, Mr. P. Martin, Mr. O'Connor Power; Answers, Mr. J. Lowther *Mar* 12, [251] 909

Kilkenny Union, Questions, Mr. P. Martin; Answers, Mr. J. Lowther *Feb* 19, [250] 920

Longford Union, The, Questions, Mr. Justin M'Carthy; Answers, Mr. J. Lowther *Feb* 6, [250] 150; *Feb* 12, 519

Nenagh, Questions, Mr. O'Donnell; Answers, Mr. J. Lowther *Feb* 27, [250] 1569

Newcastle West and Londonderry, Questions, Mr. O'Donnell; Answers, Mr. J. Lowther *Feb* 19, [250] 916

Presentment Sessions—Loans for Sanitary Works, Questions, Colonel Colthurst, Mr. Shaw; Answers, Mr. J. Lowther *Feb* 12, [250] 515

Rathangan, Kildare, Question, Mr. Meldon; Answer, The Attorney General for Ireland *Mar* 16, [251] 1096

Relief of Distress (Ireland)—cont.

Relief Works in the County of Mayo, Question, Lord Monteaigle; Answer, The Duke of Richmond and Gordon *Mar* 4, [251] 295

Supply of Seed Potatoes, Question Mr. Errington, Answer, Mr. J. Lowther *Mar* 10, [251] 304

The Carrickmacross Board of Guardians, Question, Mr. Sullivan; Answer, The Attorney General for Ireland *Mar* 16, [251] 1098

The Clifden Board of Guardians, Questions, Mr. Mitchell Henry; Answers, Mr. J. Lowther *Mar* 4, [251] 303

The Dundalk Union, Question, Mr. Callan; Answer, Mr. J. Lowther *Mar* 12, [251] 912

The Irish Church Temporalities Commissioners, Question, Mr. Gabbett; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer *Mar* 8, [251] 554

The Papers, Question, The O'Donoghue; Answer, Mr. J. Lowther *Feb* 6, [250] 151

The Seeds Act, Question, Major Nolan; Answer, Mr. J. Lowther *Mar* 11, [251] 802;—*Castletown-Berehaven Union*, Question, Colonel Colthurst; Answer, Mr. J. Lowther *Mar* 8, [251] 554

Parl Papers—

Correspondence 1879-80 . . . [2483]
Circular, 7th Feb., 1880 . . . 9

Relief of Distress (Ireland) Bill

(*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. James Lowther, Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson, Mr. Attorney General for Ireland*)

c. Motion for Leave (*The Chancellor of the Exchequer*) *Feb* 6, 238; after short debate, Motion agreed to; Bill ordered; read 1st [Bill 1]

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2^o" *Feb* 12, 533

Amendt. to leave out from "That," and add "it is inexpedient that any portion of the property accruing to the Commissioners of Church Temporalities under 'The Irish Church Act, 1869,' shall be applied towards the temporary relief of distress in Ireland, and that the provisions of the Bill authorizing such advances out of such property cannot be satisfactory; and this House is of opinion that all advances to be made for the purpose of relieving distress in Ireland shall be made from Imperial resources" (*Mr. Synan*) v.; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.," after debate, Amendt. withdrawn

Main Question put, and agreed to; Bill read 2^o Order for Committee read; Moved, "That Mr. Deputy Speaker do now leave the Chair" *Feb* 16, 688

Amendt. to leave out from "That," and add "it is inexpedient that any portion of the property accruing to the Commissioners of Church Temporalities under 'The Irish Church Act, 1869,' shall be applied towards the temporary relief of distress in Ireland, and that the provisions of the Bill authorizing such advances out of such property cannot be satisfactory; and this House is of opinion that all advances to be made for the purpose of relieving the distress in Ireland should be made from Imperial resources" (*Mr. Synan*)

[cont.]

Relief of Distress (Ireland) Bill—cont.

v.; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after long debate, Question put; A. 126, N. 34; M. 92 (D. L. 6)

Main Question, "That Mr. Deputy Speaker, &c.," put, and agreed to; Committee—R.P.

250] Committee—R.P. *Feb* 19, 923

. Committee; Report *Feb* 20, 1159 [Bill 84] Considered; after short debate, Bill read 3^o *Feb* 23, 1226

l. Read 1^a (*Lord President*) *Feb* 24 (No. 19)

251] Read 2^a, after debate *Mar* 1, 2

. Committee *Mar* 4, 291

. Report *Mar* 5, 414 (No. 26)

. Read 3^a, after short debate *Mar* 8, 547

c. Lords Amendts. considered *Mar* 11, 870; after debate, Lords Amendts. agreed to

l. Royal Assent *Mar* 15 [43 Vict. c. 4]

RICHARD, Mr. H., *Merthyr Tydvil*

Africa (West Coast)—Bombardment of Onitsha, [250] 509, 510, 681

Municipal Corporations, [250] 1180

RICHMOND AND GORDON, Duke of (Lord President of the Council)

Agricultural Distress, Commission on, [251] 129

Agricultural Produce, [251] 414

Ancient Monuments, 2R. [251] 786, 788

Blind and Deaf-Mute Children, 2R. [251] 1172

Highway Board Accounts, Motion for a Return, [251] 128

Highways and Locomotives (Amendment) Act, 1878. Motion for an Address, [251] 903

Hong Kong—Contagious Diseases Ordinance, 1867—Address for Papers, [251] 1254

Hypotheec Abolition (Scotland), 2R. [251] 957; Comm. 1082; Report, 1169, 1170

Ireland, Distress in, [250] 502, 503

Relief Works in the County of Mayo, [251] 295

Ireland, State of, Motion for Returns, [250] 1561, 1563

Medical Act (1858) Amendment, [250] 144

Public Works in Ireland, [251] 2

Relief of Distress (Ireland), [250] 905; 2R. [251] 2; Comm. cl. 3, 292; cl. 9, 294; cl. 11, 295; Report, 417, 418

Royal School of Mines, Jermyn Street, Motion for a Paper, [251] 963, 964

Seeds (Ireland), Comm. [250] 1183; 3R. 1429

RIDLEY, Sir M. W. (Under Secretary of State for the Home Department), *Northumberland, N.*

Commons Act (1876) Amendment, 2R. [250] 900

Game Laws, Res. [251] 216

Oxford and Cambridge Boat Race and the London Steam Boat Company, [251] 1220

Supply—Prisons, England, [251] 352, 353, 354, 355

RIDLEY, Mr. EL., *Northumberland, S.*

Leases, 2R. [250] 893

RIPON, Marquess of

Eastern Question, Motion for an Address, [251] 1004

[cont.]

RIPON, Marquess of—*cont.*

India—Afghanistan—Policy of the Government, Address for Papers, [250] 1076
Medical Act (1858) Amendment, [250] 144
Settled Land, 2R. [251] 285

RITCHIE, Mr. C. T., *Tower Hamlets*

Beer Dealers' Retail Licences, Comm. [250] 1709

Intoxicating Liquors (Licences), Res. [251] 493
Mercantile Marine—Transmission of Seamen's Wages—The "Midge" Scheme, [251] 914

Rivers Conservancy Bill—Legislation

Question, Mr. Arthur Peel; Answer, Mr. Selater-Booth Feb 13, [250] 591

Road Debts on Entailed Estates (Scotland) Bill (*Colonel Drummond-Moray, Sir William Edmonstone*)

c. Ordered; read 1^o * Mar 1 [Bill 95]

Read 2^o Mar 3, [251] 273

Committee*; Report Mar 4

Read 3^o * Mar 5

l. Read 1^o * (*The Lord Steward*) Mar 8 (No. 29)

Read 2^o * Mar 12

Committee*; Report Mar 13

Read 3^o * Mar 15

Royal Assent Mar 19 [43 Vict. c. 7]

ROBERTS, Mr. J., *Flint, &c.*

Leases, 2R. [250] 393

RODWELL, Mr. B. B. H., *Cambridgeshire*

Game Laws, Res. [251] 209

Intoxicating Liquors (Licences), Res. [251] 483

ROSSE, Earl of

Parliament—Queen's Speech, Address in Answer to, [250] 16

Roumania—The Jews

Question, Mr. Serjeant Simon; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer Feb 17, [250] 794

ROUND, Mr. J., *Essex, E.*

Poor Law—Dissolution of the Witham Union, [250] 1566

Royal School of Mines, Jermyn Street

Question, Sir John Hay; Answer, Lord George Hamilton Mar 1, [251] 28; Question, Mr. Bell; Answer, Lord George Hamilton Mar 2, 143

Moved, that there be laid before the House, "Copy of correspondence relating to the transfer to South Kensington of the Metallurgical Department which has been conducted in Jermyn Street since the year 1851" (*The Duke of Somerset*) Mar 15, [251] 962; after short debate, Motion agreed to

RUSSELL, Sir C., *Westminster*

India—Army Prize—"The Begum Koote Lucknow," [251] 1175

RUSSELL, Sir C.—*cont.*

Merchant Shipping—Grain Cargoes, [250] 1448; [251] 555

Parliament—Privilege—Mr. Plimsoll, [250] 797, 1110

Russia

The Explosion at the Winter Palace, Question, Observations, Earl Granville; Reply, The Earl of Beaconsfield Feb 19, [250] 901; Question, The Marquess of Hartington; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer, 922

Russia and Western Asia—Lieutenant Colonel Macgregor

Questions, Mr. Grant Duff; Answers, The Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. E. Stanhope Feb 19, [250] 908

RUTLAND, Duke of

Agriculture and Trade, State of, [251] 1240

RYLANDS, Mr. P., *Burnley*

Beer Dealers' Retail Licences, Comm. [250] 1709

Blind and Deaf-Mute Children, Comm. [251] 410

Chartered Banks (Colonial), 2R. [250] 574

Civil Service Estimates, [251] 319

Congress of Berlin—Protocol 18—Ottoman Bondholders, [250] 1189

Irish Church Act (1869) Amendment, 2R. [251] 756

Merchant Ships Laden in Bulk, Nomination of Select Committee, [251] 353

Parliament—Privilege—Mr. Plimsoll, Motion for Adjournment, [250] 1157, 1158

Queen's Speech, Address in Answer to, [250] 427

Parliament—Business of the House (Order in Debate), Res. [250] 1595

Parliamentary Elections and Corrupt Practices (No. 2), Leave, [251] 779

Patents for Inventions, 2R. [251] 748

Public Accounts, Nomination of Select Committee, [251] 544

Relief of Distress (Ireland), Comm. [250] 697

Supply—Charity Commission for England and Wales, [250] 1269

Civil Contingencies Fund, Repayment to, [251] 407

Colonial Local Revenue, &c. [251] 405

Consular Services, [251] 401

National School Teachers' Superannuation Office, Dublin, [251] 383

New Courts of Justice and Offices, [250] 1253

Prisons, England, [251] 356

Public Works in Ireland, [250] 1260, 1261

Report, [251] 529

Stationery and Printing, [251] 324, 327

Treasury, [250] 1262, 1264, 1266

War in South Africa (Vote of Credit), [251] 760, 770

Tower High Level Bridge (Metropolis) Committee—Mr. Grissell, Amendt. [251] 156

Turkey—Hafiz Pasha, [250] 680, 913

Ways and Means—Financial Statement, Comm. [251] 841

ST. ALBANS, Duke of
Agricultural Produce, [251] 414

*Sale of Food and Drugs Act, 1875—Con-
demned Tea*

Question, Mr. Anderson; Answer, Sir Henry
Selwin-Ibbetson Feb 19, [250] 920

*Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday
Bill* (Mr. Stevenson, Mr. Birley, Mr.
Charles Wilson, Mr. Osborne Morgan, Mr.
William M^r Arthur, Mr. James)

c. Ordered; read 1^o * Feb 6 [Bill 53]
2R. Wed. May 12

*Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday
(No. 2) Bill*

(Mr. Pease, Viscount Castlereagh, Mr. Tremayne)
c. Ordered; read 1^o * Feb 17 [Bill 79]
2R. Wed. April 14

*Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday
(Wales) Bill* (Mr. Roberts, Mr. Richard,
Mr. Hussey Vivian, Mr. Holland, Mr.
Osborne Morgan)

c. Ordered; read 1^o * Feb 6 [Bill 32]
2R. Wed. April 14

Salmon Fisheries—The Solway Fisheries
Question, Mr. E. S. Howard; Answer, Mr.
Assheton Cross Feb 24, [250] 1297

SALT, Mr. T., *Stafford*
Municipal Corporations (Property Qualification
Abolition), 2R. [250] 898

SAMUDA, Mr. J. D'A., *Tower Hamlets*
Merchant Ships Laden in Bulk, Motion for a
Select Committee, [250] 1366

SAMUELSON, Mr. H. B., *Frome*
Army Discipline and Regulation (Annual), 2R.
[251] 856

Army Estimates — Provisions, Forage, &c.
[251] 106

Works, Buildings, &c. [251] 107

Cyprus—Turkish Newspapers, [250] 1300

Greece—Capture of Colonel Syngé by Brigands,
[250] 1198, 1299, 1300

Metropolis Waterworks Purchase, [251] 687

Navy — Bursting of the "Thunderer" Gun,
[251] 797

Parliament—Business of the House (Order in
Debate), Res. [250] 1646, 1686, 1691

Parliament — Duration of Parliament, Res.
[250] 1345

Parliamentary Elections and Corrupt Practices
(No. 2), Leave, [251] 780; 2R. Motion for
Adjournment, 863, 864; Comm. 1110; cl. 2,
1132

Supply—Diplomatic Services, [251] 390, 395,
396, 398

Foreign Office, [250] 1266

Turkey—Capture of Colonel Syngé by Brigands,
[250] 1198, 1299, 1300

Murder of Mr. Ogle, [250] 381, 382, 1104,
1197

SANDON, Right Hon. Viscount (Pre-
sident of the Board of Trade),
Liverpool

Corn Averages and Tithe Rent Charge, [251]
1204

Lighthouses, Motion for Papers, [251] 312

Lighthouses, Ireland (West Coast), [250] 1435

Mercantile Marine—Miscellaneous Questions

Electric Light in Lighthouses, [251] 439

Fishing Vessels, Lights of, at Sea, [250]
1099; [251] 686, 813

Light Dues on Shipping, [251] 300

"Louisa Fletcher" of Liverpool (Unsea-
worthiness), [251] 430, 800

Merchant Seamen, [251] 299

Seamen's Wages, Transmission of—The
"Midge" Scheme, [251] 914

"Strelna," The, [251] 683

Merchant Shipping Acts — "Harter," The,
[251] 684

"Hindoo," The, [251] 686

Merchant Ships Laden in Bulk, Motion for a
Select Committee, [250] 1352, 1380, 1381;
Nomination of Select Committee, [251] 536,
538

Railways and Canals—Through Rates, [250]
1185

Railways—Continuous Brakes, [251] 685

Regulation of Railways Act, 1871, [250] 1101

Sea Fisheries Commission—Trawl or Beam
Fishing, [250] 1295

*School Board Elections — Elections of
Guardians of the Poor*

Moved, that there be laid before the House,
"Return of the number of electors on the lists
and the number of them who polled in each
of the School Board elections contested in
1879 in England and Wales, and of the cost
to the ratepayers of each such election:
And

Similar Return with respect to the contested
elections of guardians in 1879 in England
and Wales" (*The Earl Fortescue*) Feb 10,
[250] 378; Motion agreed to

*Science and Art—The British Museum—
Sale of Duplicates*

Question, Mr. Mundella; Answer, Mr. Spencer
Walpole Mar 11, [251] 800; Question, Sir
Charles W. Dilke; Answer, Mr. Spencer
Walpole Mar 15, 1009

*Science and Art—Gallery of Casts from
the Antique*

Moved that there be laid before the House, a
memorial presented to the Prime Minister
in August 1877 by a Committee presided
over by the Duke of Westminster on the sub-
ject of the formation of a Gallery of Casts
from the Antique:

Also, a communication from the Lords Com-
missioners of Her Majesty's Treasury to the
Duke of Westminster on the same subject
dated 16th July, 1879 (*The Earl Cowper*)
Feb 27, [250] 1541; after short debate, Mo-
tion agreed to

SCLATER-BOOTH, Right Hon. G. (President of the Local Government Board), *Hampshire, N.*

Bristol Corporation, 2R. [251] 143

Liverpool Corporation Water, 2R. [250] 1288, 1294

Poor Law—Miscellaneous Questions

Dissolution of the Witham Union, [250] 1566

Election of Guardians, [251] 301

Liability to Poor Rates—Overseers of St. Werburgh *v.* Hutchinson, [251] 425, 1174

Poor Removal, [250] 514

Poor Law Officers, Superannuation of—The Tenterden Guardians, [251] 1011

Public Health—Small-pox (Metropolis), [251] 1014

Registrar General, Appointment of—Dr. Farr, [250] 148

Rivers Conservancy, [250] 591

Vaccination, [251] 604;—Durham Board of Guardians, 27

Water Supply (England and Wales), [250] 1185

Water Supply of London, [250] 519

SCOTLAND

Lord Clerk Register (Scotland) Act, 1879, Questions, Mr. M'Laren; Answers, Mr. Assheton Cross *Mar* 15, [251] 1008;—*The Regulations*, Question, Mr. Fraser Mackintosh; Answer, The Lord Advocate *Feb* 27, [250] 1568

Police—The Catholic Church at Maybole, Question, Mr. Sullivan; Answer, The Lord Advocate *Mar* 16, [251] 1097

Poor Law—Legislation, Question, Sir Alexander Gordon; Answer, Mr. Assheton Cross *Feb* 17, [250] 810

Scotch Fisheries Commission—Loans, Question, Mr. Grant Duff; Answer, Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson *Mar* 11, [251] 802

Scotch Judicial Appointments—Sheriff Substitute of Kinross, Question, Sir George Campbell; Answer, The Lord Advocate *Mar* 2, [251] 151

SCOTT, Mr. M. D., *Sussex E.*

Parliamentary and Municipal Elections Act, 1872—Good Friday, [251] 1009

Sea Fisheries Commission—Trawl or Beam Fishing

Question, Lord Elcho; Answer, Viscount Sandon *Feb* 24, [250] 1295

Sea Fisheries (Ireland) Bill

(*Dr. Ward, Mr. Collins, Sir Joseph M'Kenna, Mr. Redmond*)

c. Ordered; read 1^o * *Feb* 6 [Bill 36]
2R. [Dropped]

Seed (Ireland) [Advances]

c. Resolution considered in Committee *Feb* 13
Resolution reported *Feb* 16

Seed Potatoes (Ireland) Bill—*Afterwards* Seeds (Ireland) Bill

(*Major Nolan, Mr. George Browne, Mr. P. J. Smyth*)

a. Ordered; read 1^o * *Feb* 6 [Bill 48]
250] Read 2^o, after short debate *Feb* 10, 449

Committee*; Report *Feb* 11

. Order for Committee (*on re-comm.*) read *Feb* 13, 651

Instruction to the Committee, That they have power to extend the provisions of the Bill to kinds of seed other than Potato seed

Committee—R.P.

. Committee; Report *Feb* 16, 772

. Considered *Feb* 17, 878; after short debate, Bill read 3^o; Title amended; Bill passed, with an amended Title

l. Read 1^a * (*Lord President*) *Feb* 19 (No. 10)

Read 2^a * *Feb* 20

. Committee *Feb* 23, 1182

Report * *Feb* 24

. Read 3^a, after short debate *Feb* 26, 1427 (No. 18)

Royal Assent *Mar* 1 [43 *Vict.* c. 1]

SELBORNE, Lord

Companies Acts Amendment, 2R. [250] 1277; Comm. [251] 782

Eastern Question, Motion for an Address, [251] 1006

Hypothec Abolition (Scotland), Comm. *cl.* 2 [251] 1036

Settled Land—Conveyancing and Law of Property—Solicitors Remuneration—Limitation of Actions, 1R. [250] 1179

Settled Land, 2R. [251] 287

Tripartite Treaty of 1856, [250] 783

Select Vestries

l. Bill, *pro forma*, read 1^a *Feb* 5

SELWIN-IBBETSON, Sir H. J. (Secretary to the Treasury), *Essex, W.*

Ancient Monuments, Comm. *cl.* 2, [250] 774; Motion for reporting Progress, 775, 776;

Consid. *cl.* 2, Amendt. 1274

Blind and Deaf-Mute Children, Comm. *cl.* 1, [251] 667

Charity Expenses and Accounts, [250] 508

Chartered Banks (Colonial), 2R. [250] 571

Civil Service Estimates, [251] 152, 317

Consolidation Acts, [250] 518

Custom House Re-organization, [250] 911, 1102

Customs—Output Customs Clerical Staff, [251] 811;—Collectors at Outposts, 1220

Epping Forest (No. 2), 2R. Bill withdrawn, [251] 1196

Inland Revenue—Customs Re-organization at Liverpool, [250] 452

Ireland—Miscellaneous Questions

Board of Works—Clare Castle Harbour and Pier, [250] 918

Fishery Piers—New Shannon Pier, [251] 302

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Parliament—Queen's Speech, Address in Answer to, [250] 141

SELWIN-IBBETSON, Sir H. J.—*cont.*

Parliamentary Elections and Corrupt Practices (No. 2), Consid. [251] 1186

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Prisons Act—Superannuation, [251] 1176

Probates of Wills, &c. 2R. [251] 1035

Public Accounts, Nomination of Select Committee, [251] 544

Sale of Food and Drugs Act, 1875—Condemned Tea, [250] 920 ; [251] 148

Scotch Fisheries Commission—Loans, [251] 802

South Western (of London) District Post Office, 2R. [251] 771 ; Comm. Bill withdrawn, 897

Supply—Charity Commission for England and Wales, [250] 1268, 1270, 1271

Civil Contingencies Fund, Repayment to, [251] 408

Civil Service Commission, [250] 1271

Colonial Local Revenue, &c. [251] 404, 405

County Court Officers, &c. Ireland, [251] 359

Criminal Prosecutions, Sheriffs' Expenses, &c. [251] 346

Foreign Office, [250] 1266

Law Charges, [251] 341, 343, 345

Local Government Board, [250] 1272

Local Government Board, Ireland, [251] 328

Lord Lieutenant's Household, Ireland, [251] 327, 328

National School Teachers' Superannuation Office, Dublin, [251] 387, 388

New Courts of Justice and Offices, [250] 1252

Prisons, England, [251] 351

Public Works in Ireland, [250] 1256, 1257, 1258, 1259, 1260, 1261

Public Works Office, Ireland, [251] 336, 337, 339, 340

Report, [251] 529, 772, 773

Royal Palaces, [250] 1249

Shannon Navigation, [250] 1261

Stationery and Printing, [251] 324, 325, 326

Temporary Commissions, [251] 407

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War in South Africa (Vote of Credit), [251] 764, 767, 768, 770, 771, 815

Taxation (Great Britain and Ireland), Motion for a Select Committee, [251] 708, 710

Valuation (Metropolis) Act (1869) Amendment, Comm. cl. 1, [251] 774 ; 3R. 898

Valuation of Property (Metropolis) Act—Clauses 4, 6, and 7, [251] 298, 682

War Office Regulation Act, 1878, [250] 1099

Ways and Means—Financial Statement, Comm. [251] 839

Settled Land Bill [H.L.]

(*The Lord Chancellor*)

L. Presented ; read 1st Feb 23, [250] 1164 (No. 14)

251 Read 2nd, after debate Mar 4, 278

. Question, The Marquess of Bath ; Answer, The Lord Chancellor Mar 4, 296

. Committee ; Report, after short debate ; Bill re-committed Mar 9, 669

Committee* (*on re-comm.*) Mar 19 (No. 32)

SHAFTESBURY, Earl of

India—Factory Legislation, [251] 1216, 1217

SHAW, Mr. W., *Cork Co.*

Ireland—Distress—Presentment Sessions—

Loans for Sanitary Works, [250] 515

Ireland—Borough Franchise, Res. [250] 873

Irish Church Act (1869) Amendment, Leave, [251] 277

Parliament—Miscellaneous Questions

Orders of the Day, [250] 1449, 1450

Queen's Speech, Address in Answer to,

Motion for Adjournment, [250] 125, 142, 155, 238, 363

Parliament—Business of the House (Order in Debate), Res. Motion for Adjournment,

[250] 1539, 1541, 1580, 1584, 1642, 1666, 1677

Parliament—Orders of the Day—Standing

Order of Supply and Ways and Means, Res. [250] 1579

Parliament—Privilege—London Newspapers,

Res. [250] 1225

250 Relief of Distress (Ireland), Leave, 240 ; 2R.

. 559 ; Comm. cl. 3, 723, 737, 753, 758, 759,

. 762, 770 ; Amendt. 771, 931, 932, 940, 942,

. 943, 946, 976 ; cl. 4, 939 ; Amendt. *ib.*, 991,

. 992 ; cl. 5, Amendt. *ib.*, 997 ; cl. 9, 1002,

. 1006, 1009 ; cl. 15, 1161 ; cl. 20, 1163 ;

. *add.* cl. 1227 ; Consid. 1231 ; cl. 4, Amendt.

. 1233, 1234 ; cl. 15, Amendt. 1235, 1236

Seed Potatoes (Ireland), Comm. cl. 2, [250]

651 ; cl. 6, 655 ; Consid. cl. 6, Amendt. 880,

883, 884

Supply—Constabulary Force in Ireland, [251] 371

Law Charges, [251] 341, 345

National Education in Ireland, [251] 377

National School Teachers' Superannuation Office, Dublin, [251] 384

Public Works in Ireland, [250] 1257

Public Works Office, Ireland, [251] 339

SHEIL, Mr. E., *Athlone*

Parliament—Queen's Speech, Address in Answer to, Motion for Adjournment, [250] 142, 406

SHERIDAN, Mr. H. B., *Dudley*

Metropolitan Police—Pensions, [251] 683

SHUTE, General C. C., *Brighton*

Army—Miscellaneous Questions

Auxiliary Forces—Easter Monday Volunteer Review, [251] 912, 913

Officers' Quarters, Preston Barracks,

Brighton, [251] 689

Organization of the Army—Lord Airey's Committee, [251] 919

Parliamentary Elections and Corrupt Practices (No. 2), Consid. [251] 1187

SIDMOUTH, Viscount

Africa, South—Zululand—Surrender of Arms, [251] 899

Capital Punishment—Prisons Act, 1868—Executions in Cheetham and Kirkdale Gaols,

Res. [251] 674

SIMON, Mr. Serjeant J., *Dewsbury*

Morocco—Outbreak at Fez, [250] 796

Roumania—The Jews, [250] 794, 795, 1186

SINCLAIR, Sir J. G. T., *Caithness-shire*
Parliament—Queen's Speech, Address in Answer to, [250] 313, 319

Sinking Fund Act (1875)

c. Considered in Committee *Mar 15*
Resolved, That it is expedient to amend "The Sinking Fund Act, 1875," and to increase the annual charge on the Consolidated Fund for five years by eight hundred thousand pounds

Resolution reported *Mar 16*

[See title *National Debt Bill*]

Slave Trade (Consolidation) Act—Disposal of Slaves

Question, Mr. Anderson; Answer, Mr. W. H. Smith *Feb 17*, [250] 791

Sligo Borough (Ireland) Bill

(Mr. O'Conor, Mr. Ashley, Mr. Errington)

c. Ordered; read 1^o * *Feb 5* [Bill 12]
Bill withdrawn * *Mar 17*

SMITH, Right Hon. W. H. (First Lord of the Admiralty), *Westminster*

Africa, East Coast of—Zanzibar—Slavery, [250] 589

Navy—Miscellaneous Questions

Acting Staff Surgeon Allen, Case of, [251] 1203

Admiralty Financial Return, [250] 265

Captain Bedford Pim, [251] 1011

Coast Guard, [251] 799

Colonial Allowance to Navy and Royal Marine Officers, [250] 268

H.M.S. "Wivern," [250] 1196

Naval Discipline, [250] 590

Recreation Grounds at Portsmouth, [251] 438

Royal Marines, [250] 915, 1103, 1442; [251] 26

Navy Estimates, [250] 1105

Admiralty Office, [251] 657

Departmental Statement, [251] 588

Dockyards, &c. [251] 658, 660

Marine Divisions, [251] 660

Sea and Coast Guard Services, [251] 623, 649

Orders in Council—Publication, [251] 438

Parliament—Queen's Speech, Address in Answer to, [250] 299, 302

Parliamentary Reporting—Reporters Gallery, [251] 802

Relief of Distress (Ireland), Comm. cl. 3, [250] 932

Seed Potatoes (Ireland), Comm. cl. 6, [250] 657; Consid. 879

Slave Trade (Consolidation) Act—Disposal of Slaves, [250] 791

SOLICITOR GENERAL, The (Sir H. S. Giffard), *Launceston*

Ballot Act—Good Friday—General Election, [251] 1100

County Courts, 2R. [250] 1408

Leases, 2R. [250] 895

Parliament—Privilege—Mr. Plimsoll, [250] 1131

SOLICITOR GENERAL, The—cont.

Parliamentary Elections and Corrupt Practices (No. 2), Comm. [251] 1105; cl. 2 Amendt. 1115, 1121, 1138, 1145, 1148, 1149, 1153, 1155, 1159, 1160, 1161, 1163

Solicitors Remuneration Bill [H.L.]

(The Lord Chancellor)

l. Presented; read 1^a *Feb 23*, [250] 1164 (No. 16)
Read 2^a * *Mar 8*

Committee *; Report *Mar 12*

SOMERSET, Duke of

Ancient Monuments, 2R. [251] 784, 788

Royal School of Mines, Jermyn Street, Motion for a Paper, [251] 962, 963, 964

South Kensington, Museum of Natural History

Question, Mr. J. Holms; Answer, Mr. Gerard Noel *Feb 17*, [250] 791

South Kensington—Royal School of Mines, Jermyn Street—see that title

South Western (of London) District Post Office Bill (Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson,

Lord John Manners)

c. Ordered; read 1^o * *Feb 25* [Bill 90]

Read 2^o *Mar 10*, [251] 771

Bill withdrawn *Mar 11*, 897

SPEAKER, The (Right Hon. H. B. W. BRAND), *Cambridgeshire*

MOTIONS AND QUESTIONS

Notice—The Motion "That Notices of Motion be postponed till after the Orders of the Day" cannot be made without Notice, unless with the general concurrence of the House, [250] 386

AMENDMENTS TO QUESTIONS

Debate—An hon. Member who has given Notice of an Amendment, having spoken on the Main Question, is precluded from moving his Amendment at a later period of the debate, [250] 1489

Withdrawal of Amendment—An Amendment cannot be withdrawn except on the proposal of the Mover or Seconder in person, or by leave of the House, [251] 952

Motion made, and Question proposed—An Amendment moved; Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned." The Amendment cannot be withdrawn until the Motion for the adjournment of the debate is withdrawn, [250] 1540, 1541

An Amendment being before the House, the Resolution (the original Motion) cannot be amended until that Amendment is withdrawn, or otherwise disposed of, [250] 1316

Amendment—When there is an Amendment already before the House, it must be withdrawn before any other Amendment can be put, [251] 752

An Amendment having reference to a particular subject having been negatived, an-

SPEAKER, The—*cont.*

other Amendment applicable to the same subject cannot be brought forward, [250] 1696

Irrelevancy of Amendment, [251] 1071

Amendment of which no Notice given—Mr. Speaker said, that when he had called upon the different Members who had Notices of Amendments on the Paper, there had been no answer to the call. It was nevertheless competent to any hon. Member to propose an Amendment to any part of the Resolution following the words to which the Amendment of the hon. Member for Dundalk applied, [250] 1698

Amendments—Mr. Speaker explains the course he should deem it his duty to pursue when several Amendments are to be proposed—that is to say, so to put the Question that subsequent Amendments should not be precluded, [250] 1449, 1450

Effect of affirming the Previous Question—Previous Question moved—Resolved in the Affirmative—An hon. Member proposed to move that the Debate be now adjourned.—Mr. Speaker: The only question that can now be decided is “Aye” or “No” on the Main Question, ordered by the vote of the House to be put, [250] 1157, 1158

PRIVILEGE

Questions of Privilege affecting both Houses—The hon. Member for Leominster having proposed, “That the privilege of immunity from arrest, now enjoyed by Peers and Members of Parliament, is not for the public good, and ought to be abolished,” Sir George Bowyer desired to know whether it was in Order, and proper, and convenient, that a Resolution should be brought before this House dealing with the Privileges of the other House of Parliament?

Mr. Speaker: The Resolution proposed by the hon. Member for Leominster is simply a Resolution of this House; and I am not prepared to say that it is not competent for hon. Members of this House to invite the House to express an opinion in reference to matters of Privilege affecting both Houses of Parliament.—*Privilege of Parliament—Immunity from Arrest*, [250] 1313

Breach of Privilege—The hon. Member for Dungarvan having complained that various newspapers had published attacks upon Members of that House which were breaches of the Privileges of that House, concluded by saying he had confined himself to a few of the specimens and examples of the violations of Privilege which these newspapers had committed, and with these remarks he would bring the papers up to the Table of the House, and move that the articles which he had cited from them were Breaches of the Privileges of the House.—Mr. Speaker pointed out to the hon. Member that, in such cases, it was usual to hand in, in writing, the names of the papers whose articles it was intended to impugn, specifying the articles complained of.

The hon. Member, having re-written his Amendment, and handed it to the Chair

[*cont.*

SPEAKER, The—*cont.*

Mr. Speaker: The House is aware that, according to the ordinary practice of the House, when complaints are made of the character of articles in newspapers, the newspapers containing such articles are brought up to the Table and the passages complained of are read by the Clerk to the House. In the present case, the hon. Member for Dungarvan has brought up a series of newspapers containing the articles which are cited in his Resolution. They are four articles in “The Morning Advertiser,” four articles in “The Daily Telegraph,” one article in “The Pall Mall Gazette,” and one article in “The World.” Now, I feel that if I were to call on the Clerk at the Table to read all these articles so complained of, I should be trifling with the House. I shall, therefore, take leave to depart from the ordinary course. I feel it my duty to put to the House the Motion which the hon. Member for Dungarvan has placed in my hands, and it will be for the House to take such course as it may think proper with regard to that Motion, [250] 1214

QUESTIONS

To Private Members—To ask a Member not being a Minister of the Crown a Question not referring to any Bill or Motion before the House is irregular, and is not covered by a Motion for the adjournment of the House, [250] 1448, 1449

A Member may put a further Question arising out of the Answer of a Minister of the Crown, [251] 432

RULES OF DEBATE

Un-Parliamentary Language—Mr. Finigan having said, “When the next election should return 20 or 30 supporters of the hon. Member for Meath the Tory Party would not always have a brutal majority”—Mr. Speaker said, he was sure the hon. Member himself must see that such an expression was most irregular and must be withdrawn, [250] 1628

Breach of Privilege—Proceedings in the case of Charles Edmund Grissell—See title—*Parliament—Privilege—(Tower High Level Bridge (Metropolis) Committee)*

Relevancy of Observations—An hon. Member, in giving Notice to put a Question to another hon. Member on a future day must confine himself strictly to the form of the Question of which he desires to give Notice.—*Evictions (Ireland)*, [250] 384

Relevancy of Questions—Questions having no reference to any Bill or Motion before the House cannot, under the Standing Orders of the House, be put.—*Parliament—Order—Viscount Castlereagh*, [250] 1449

Relevancy of Observations to specific Amendment, [250] 1639, 1679, 1680, 1686, 1687

Relevancy, [250] 1578, 1584, 1683; [251] 538, 1058, 1068, 1071

Reference to former Debates—Reference to debates which have taken place during the current Session is irregular, and is not covered by moving the adjournment of the House, [250] 1447, 1448, 1449

[*cont.*

SPEAKER, The—cont.

Precedence in addressing the House—Motion made, and Question proposed, "That an humble Address, &c."—The Marquess of Hartington rose to address the House. Mr. Shaw, who had given Notice of an Amendment to the Address at an early stage of the evening, claimed to be entitled, according to the usual practice of the House, to move his Amendment before the noble Lord or anyone else shall have the opportunity of speaking

Mr. Speaker: The noble Lord rose in his place and caught my eye, and I accordingly called upon him to address the House. The hon. Member for Cork County (Mr. Shaw), no doubt, at an earlier part of the evening, did give Notice of his intention to move an Amendment to the Address; but no Amendment stands upon the Notice Paper in his name; and, even if it did, that would not give him a right of precedence over the noble Lord, [250] 82

Reference to the character and conduct of the Chairman of Ways and Means—after long lapse of time—no Notice given—and charges based mainly upon hearsay evidence and at second hand—scarcely fair, [250] 1673

Latitude of Observations—Motions for Committee of Supply—If debates on personal matters of the character of that under discussion were to arise, such a course would lead to grave inconvenience, [251] 35

Speaking a second time—A Member who has already spoken upon the Main Question cannot move the adjournment of the House, [251] 410

An hon. Member who has seconded the Motion for the adjournment of the Debate is not entitled to speak again.—*The Address*, [250] 369

Order in Debates, [250] 835

Order—Disorderly Interruptions, [250] 1671

PARLIAMENT

Sittings of the House

Saturday Sittings—According to the ordinary practice, when the House sits on Saturday it always meets at 12 o'clock, [250] 1668

Spirits in Bond Bill (Mr. O'Sullivan, Major Nolan, Captain Pim, Mr. Richard Power, Mr. Yeaman, Major O'Beirne)

c. Considered in Committee; Resolution agreed to, and reported; Bill ordered; read 1^o* Feb 6 [Bill 42]

2R. Wed. April 21

STAIR, Earl of

Hypothec Abolition (Scotland), 2R. [251] 961; Comm. 1081

STANHOPE, Earl

Ancient Monuments, 2R. [251] 782, 788

Beer Dealers' Retail Licences, 2R. [251] 517, 788; Comm. 907

STANHOPE, Hon. E. (Under Secretary of State for India), Lincolnshire, Mid.

Army—Newspaper Correspondents in the Field, [250] 791, 1567, 1568

Army (India)—Kierwee Prize Money, [250] 511
East India (Ecclesiastical Department), [251] 551

Mr. William Tayler, [251] 811

East India Loan (East Indian Railway Debentures), Comm. Amendt. [251] 114

India—Miscellaneous Questions

Army Prize—"The Begum Koote Lucknow," [251] 1175

Attock Bridge, [251] 552

Despatch of 1869—"The Empress of India," [250] 146

Emigration of Coolies to La Réunion, [250] 673

Famine Commission—Report, [251] 150, 682

Indian Army Commission—Recommendations, [251] 1095

Indigo Cultivation in Behar, [250] 1445

Medical Staff, [250] 1435; [251] 310

Naga Hill Tribes, [250] 681

Popular Representation, [250] 598

Wynnad Gold Fields, [250] 1568

India—Afghanistan—Miscellaneous Questions
Cabul, Executions at, [250] 907;—General Roberts' Report, [251] 1009

Candahar, Governor of, [251] 799

Expenses of the War, [250] 469, 470

Loss of Baggage Animals, [251] 798

Military Equipments, [250] 912

Negotiations between Russia and the Ameer, [250] 147; [251] 22

Proclamation of General Roberts, [250] 683, 684

Sir Frederick Roberts and the Ameer, [250] 264

Treaty of Gandamak, [250] 147

War, The—Alleged Severities at Cabul—Explanation of General Roberts, [250] 592, 593, 1436;—Report, [251] 916

India—Afghanistan—The War—Expenses of Military Operations, Res. [251] 943, 946

India Office—Shipping Contracts, [250] 1444

India Stock—Powers of Attorney, [250] 1105

Malta, Despatch of Indian Troops to—Return of Costs, [251] 806, 807, 808

Russia and Western Asia—Lieutenant Colonel Macgregor, [250] 909

Turkey and Greece—Rectification of the Frontier, [251] 1095

STANHOPE, Mr. W. T. W. S., Yorkshire, W.R.

Game Laws, Res. [251] 204

Merchant Ships Laden in Bulk, Nomination of Select Committee, [251] 538

STANLEY OF ALDERLEY, Lord

Hong Kong—The Contagious Diseases Ordinance, 1867, Address for Papers, [251] 1254, 1255

Hypothec Abolition (Scotland), 3R. [251] 1197
India—Afghanistan, Affairs of, [251] 1262

Factory Legislation, [251] 1216

Parliamentary Elections and Corrupt Practices (No. 2), 3R. [251] 1236

STANLEY, Right Hon. Colonel F. A. (Secretary of State for War), *Lancashire, N.*

Africa, South—Zulu War—Despatches, [250] 1106

Army—Miscellaneous Questions

Auxiliary Forces—Easter Monday Volunteer Review, [251] 690, 912, 913 ;—Retired Volunteer Officers, [251] 301

Brevet Majorities, [251] 303

Camps of Instruction, [251] 812

Commissariat and Transport Departments, [250] 681

84th Regiment, [250] 267

Flogging in the Army, [250] 515

Ireland—Auxiliary Forces—Lieutenant Colonel of the Antrim Militia, [251] 300, 553

Leeds Cavalry Barracks, [250] 810

Longford Barracks, [250] 677

Newspaper Correspondents in the Field, [250] 265, 266, 385, 1296, 1297

Officers' Quarters, Preston Barracks, Brighton, [251] 689

Organization of the Army—Lord Airey's Committee, [251] 919

Promotion—Compulsory Retirement, [251] 301

Royal Warrant, July, 1879—Reserve Officers, [250] 679

Short Service and Recruiting, [250] 513

South Africa—Natal and the Transvaal—Alleged Misconduct of the British Troops, [250] 590, 1197

Troops in South Africa, [250] 1106

Voluntary Retirement of Officers, [250] 1443

Army Discipline and Regulation (Annual), 2R. [251] 846, 849, 858

Army Estimates—Army Reserve, [251] 103

Commissariat, Transport, and Ordnance Store Establishments, Wages, &c. [251] 104, 105

Departmental Statement, [251] 43; Amendt. 60, 80, 91, 93

Indian Home Charges, [251] 113

Land Forces at Home and Abroad, [251] 99, 100

Militia, Yeomanry Cavalry, and Volunteer Corps, [251] 113

Provisions, Forage, &c. [251] 105, 106

Retired Full Pay, Half Pay, &c. [251] 108, 110

Superannuation Allowances, [251] 112

Volunteer Corps, [251] 101, 102

Works, Buildings, &c. [251] 107, 108

Malta, Despatch of Indian Troops to—Return of Costs, [251] 803, 804

STANFELD, Right Hon. J., *Halifax*

Relief of Distress (Ireland), Comm. [250] 705

STANTON, Mr. A. J., *Stroud*

Parliamentary Elections and Corrupt Practices (No. 2), Leave, [251] 780; Comm. 1110; Consid. 1178; *add. cl.* Amendt. 1191

STEVENSON, Mr. J. C., *South Shields*

Army Discipline and Regulation (Annual), 2R. [251] 859

Closing of Public Houses on Sunday, Withdrawal of Res. [251] 680

Merchant Ships Laden in Bulk, Motion for a Select Committee, [250] 1365

Parliamentary Elections and Corrupt Practices (No. 2), 2R. [251] 869

STEWART, Mr. J., *Greenock*

Parliamentary Elections and Corrupt Practices (No. 2), 2R. [251] 864

STEWART, Mr. M. J., *Wigton Bo.*

Army—Camps of Instruction, [251] 812

Army Estimates—Departmental Statement, [251] 83

China—Cheefoo Convention, [250] 149

Contagious Diseases (Animals) Act—Importation of Chinese Hides, [251] 552

Intoxicating Liquors (Licences), Res. [251] 485

Merchant Ships Laden in Bulk, Motion for a Select Committee, [250] 1375

Parliamentary Elections and Corrupt Practices (No. 2), 2R. [251] 867

STORER, Mr. G., *Nottinghamshire, S.*

Game Laws, Res. [251] 218

Taxation (Great Britain and Ireland), Motion for a Select Committee, [251] 712

STRATHNAIRN, Lord

India—Afghanistan—Policy of the Government, Address for Papers, [250] 1075

Strensall Common Bill

(*Lord Eustace*

Cecil, Colonel Stanley, Colonel Loyd Lindsay)

c. Ordered; read 1^o * Feb 9

[Bill 60]

Read 2^o Feb 24, [250] 1382

Committee Thurs. April 8

SUDELEY, Lord

Parliamentary Reporting—The House of Lords, [250] 777

Sugar Bounties—Negotiations with Foreign Powers

Question, Mr. Hanbury; Answer, Mr. Bourke Feb 20, [250] 1104

Sugar Industries

Ordered, That the Select Committee be re-appointed to inquire into the effects produced upon the Home and Colonial Sugar Industries of this Country by the systems of taxation, drawbacks, and bounties on the exportation of Sugar now in force in various Foreign Countries, and to report what steps, if any, it is desirable to take in order to obtain redress for any evils that may be found to exist

Committee nominated as follows:—Mr. Ritchie (Chairman), Mr. Balfour, Mr. Bell, Mr. Bourke, Mr. Alexander Brown, Lord Frederick Cavendish, Mr. Collins, Mr. James Corry, Mr. Courtney, Mr. Orr Ewing, Sir James M'Garel Bogg, Mr. Sampson Lloyd,

[cont.]

Sugar Industries—cont.

Mr. Morley, Mr. Norwood, Mr. Onslow, Mr. James Stewart, and Mr. Thornhill
Ordered, That the Minutes of Evidence taken before the Select Committee on Sugar Industries of the Session 1878-9 be referred to the Select Committee on Sugar Industries (*Mr. Ritchie*)

SULLIVAN, Mr. A. M., *Louth Co.*

Contagious Diseases Acts, [251] 1010
Customs Re-organization—Collectors at Out-ports, [251] 1219
Ireland—Miscellaneous Questions
Criminal Law—The Police and Crown Witnesses, [251] 1012, 1013;—Disturbance of a Tenant Right Meeting at Portadown, [251] 1013, 1174
“Home Rulers” Members of this House, [250] 682
Mullingar Assizes, [251] 799, 800
Post Office—Eymvale, [250] 918
Relief of Distress, [251] 1202, 1203;—Carrickmacross Board of Guardians, [251] 1098
Ireland—Borough Franchise, Res. [250] 835
Ireland—The Prime Minister’s Letter to the Lord Lieutenant, Res. [251] 1227
Malta, Despatch of Indian Troops to—Return of Costs, [251] 809
Navy—Case of Acting Staff Surgeon Allen, [251] 1203
Coast Guard, [251] 799
Parliament—Miscellaneous Questions
Orders of the Day, [250] 1450
Privilege—Mr. Plimsoll, [250] 802, 1153
Queen’s Speech, Address in Answer to, [250] 138, 223, 226, 231, 234
Viscount Castlereagh—Personal Explanations, [251] 33
Parliament—Business of the House (Order in Debate), Res. [250] *1504, 1704
Parliament—Privilege—Interference of Peers in Elections—Hon. Major Jocelyn, Res. [250] 1198, 1213
Parliamentary Elections and Corrupt Practices (No. 2), Comm. cl. 2, [251] 1127, 1128, 1143
Police (Scotland)—The Catholic Church at Maybole, [251] 1097
Probates of Wills, &c. 2R. [251] 1064, 1068, 1069
Railway Servants (Compensation for Injury), [250] 1446
Relief of Distress (Ireland), Comm. cl. 3, [250] 740, 767; cl. 9, 1015, 1018
Seed Potatoes (Ireland), Consid. cl. 6, [250] 881

Summary Jurisdiction Act—Non-payment of Rates

Question, Mr. Thomson Hankey; Answer, Mr. Assheton Cross Mar 8, [251] 650

Sunday Question—The Brighton Aquarium

Question, Mr. Holt; Answer, Mr. Assheton Cross Mar 4, [251] 299

SUPPLY

MISCELLANEOUS QUESTIONS

The Civil Service Estimates, Question, Mr. Dillwyn; Answer, Sir Henry Selwin Ibbetson Mar 2, [251] 152; Observations, Mr.

SUPPLY—cont.

Monk; Reply, Sir Henry Selwin Ibbetson; short debate thereon Mar 4, 314
The Navy Estimates, Question, Captain Pim; Answer, Mr. W. H. Smith Feb 20, [250] 1105

SUPPLY

Resolved, “That this House will, To-morrow, resolve itself into a Committee to consider of the Supply to be granted to Her Majesty”
Feb 12

Considered in Committee Feb 23, [250] 1248—
CIVIL SERVICE SUPPLEMENTARY ESTIMATES, 1879-80—CLASS I.—PUBLIC WORKS AND BUILDINGS—CLASS II.—SALARIES AND EXPENSES OF PUBLIC DEPARTMENTS—Resolutions reported Feb 24

251 Considered in Committee Mar 1, 43—ARMY ESTIMATES—DEPARTMENTAL STATEMENT OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR—Resolutions reported Mar 2

Considered in Committee Mar 4, 324—CIVIL SERVICE SUPPLEMENTARY ESTIMATES—CLASS II.—SALARIES AND EXPENSES OF PUBLIC DEPARTMENTS—CLASS III.—LAW AND JUSTICE—CLASS IV.—EDUCATION, SCIENCE, AND ART—CLASS V.—COLONIAL, CONSULAR, AND OTHER FOREIGN SERVICES—REVENUE DEPARTMENTS—POST OFFICE PACKET SERVICE—ABYSSINIAN EXPEDITION—CHARGES DEFRAIDED BY THE WAR OFFICE ON ACCOUNT OF INDIA
Resolutions reported Mar 5, 528

First 32 Resolutions read, and agreed to
Resolutions 33 and 34 agreed to, after short debate

Remaining Resolutions read, and agreed to
Considered in Committee Mar 5—EXCHEQUER BONDS, £3,410,000

Resolutions reported Mar 8

Considered in Committee Mar 8, 588—NAVY ESTIMATES—DEPARTMENTAL STATEMENT OF THE FIRST LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY—CIVIL SERVICE AND REVENUE DEPARTMENTS, VOTE ON ACCOUNT, £5,662,400—(Then the several Services are set forth)

Resolutions reported Mar 10, 771; after short debate, Resolutions agreed to

Considered in Committee Mar 10, 759—£1,225,200, WAR IN SOUTH AFRICA (Vote of Credit) (Supplementary); after long debate, Comm. R.F.

Considered in Committee Mar 11, 815—£1,225,200, WAR IN SOUTH AFRICA (Vote of Credit) Supplementary; Vote withdrawn

£703,000 Supplementary, WAR IN SOUTH AFRICA, Vote of Credit

£222,200 Supplementary, WAR IN SOUTH AFRICA, GRIQUA LAND WEST, Vote of Credit
£300,000 Supplementary, WAR IN SOUTH AFRICA (Vote of Credit) (Sikukuni Expedition, &c.); after short debate, Vote agreed to
CIVIL SERVICES (EXCESSES) 1878-9—£5,550 9s. 10d.—(Then the several Services are set forth)

Resolutions reported Mar 12, 919
Resolution 1 agreed to
Resolution 2 read a first time; after short debate, Resolution agreed to
Remaining Resolutions agreed to

SUMMARY.

SUMMARY.

APPROPRIATION OF GRANTS.	£	s.	d.
Deficiencies, 1878-9	5,550	9	10
Supplementary, 1879-80	556,867	0	0
Exchequer Bonds, 1879-80	3,410,000	0	0
Charges defrayed by the War Office on account of India, 1879-80	15,050	3	8
Abyssinian Expedition (of 1867-8), 1879-80	985	0	0
War in South Africa, Vote of Credit, 1879-80	703,000	0	0
War in South Africa, Vote of Credit, 1879-80 (Griqualand West)	222,200	0	0
War in South Africa, Vote of Credit, 1879-80 (Sikukuni Expedition, &c.)... ..	300,000	0	0
	<u>£5,213,652</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>1</u>

1880-81.

NAVY SERVICES, on account ...	2,623,229	0	0
ARMY SERVICES	15,541,300	0	0
ARMY (INDIAN HOME CHARGES)	1,100,000	0	0

CIVIL SERVICES—viz.:

I. Public Works and Buildings, on account	£ 346,900		
II. Salaries, &c. Public Departments, on account... ..	535,450		
III. Law and Justice on account... ..	1,353,900		
IV. Education, Science, and Art, on account	1,696,000		
V. Colonial and Consular Services, on account	159,350		
VI. Superannuation, &c. on account	282,100		
VII. Miscellaneous, on account... ..	15,700		
	<u>4,392,400</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>

REVENUE DEPARTMENTS, &c. on account	1,270,000	0	0
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ADVANCES FOR GREENWICH HOSPITAL AND SCHOOL, on account	36,548	0	0
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Total ... £30,177,129 13 1

WAYS AND MEANS.

GRANTS OUT OF THE CONSOLIDATED FUND.

For the service of	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
the years ending						
31st March 1879						
and 1880;						

Under Act 43 Vic.

cap. 5 3,982,902 3 3

Under this Act 1,230,750 9 10

For the service of

the year ending

31st March

1881; viz.

Under Act 43 Vic.

cap. 5 16,641,300 0 0

Under this Act ... 8,322,177 0 0

24,963,477 0 0

Total ... £30,177,129 13 1

DEFICIENCIES 1878-9.

COMMITTEE Mar 11—REPORT Mar 12

CIVIL SERVICES, viz.,	Total of Vote.
CLASS I.—PUBLIC WORKS AND BUILDINGS.	£ s. d.
Furniture of Public Offices	64 19 7
CLASS II.—SALARIES AND EXPENSES OF PUBLIC DEPARTMENTS.	
Chief Secretary for Ireland, Offices	125 17 3
CLASS III.—LAW AND JUSTICE.	
Land Registry	23 11 7
CLASS IV.—EDUCATION, SCIENCE, AND ART.	
National Gallery	469 5 6
Deep Sea Exploring Expedition (Report)	409 1 8

Total of Vote.

£ s. d.
173 19 7

Queen's University, Ireland ...
CLASS VI.—SUPERANNUATION AND RETIRED ALLOWANCES, AND GRATUITIES FOR CHARITABLE AND OTHER PURPOSES.

Superannuation and Retired Allowances 1,410 13 6
Relief of Distressed British Seamen Abroad 2,873 1 2

Total of Estimate ... £5,550 9 10

Resolution reported Mar 12, and, after short debate, agreed to, [251] 919

SUPPLEMENTARY 1879-80.

COMMITTEE Feb 23—REPORT Feb 24

CIVIL SERVICES, viz.:

CLASS I.—PUBLIC WORKS AND BUILDINGS.

	Total of Vote. £
Royal Palaces ... [250] 1248	2,924
After short debate, Vote agreed to	
Marlborough House [250] 1250	300
After short debate, Vote agreed to	
Royal Parks and Pleasure Gardens ...	5,500
Public Buildings, Great Britain ...	6,700
Furniture of Public Offices ...	1,400
Metropolitan Police Court Buildings...	150
New Courts of Justice and Offices	
After short debate, Vote agreed to	
[250] 1251	36,404
Public Buildings, Ireland	
Moved, "That a Supplementary sum, not exceeding £11,111, be granted, &c."	
Moved, "That a Supplementary sum, not exceeding £9,071, &c." (<i>Mr. O'Shaughnessy</i>); after short debate, Motion withdrawn; after further short debate, Vote agreed to	
[250] 1256	11,111
Shannon Navigation [250] 1261	5,000
After short debate, Vote agreed to	
Diplomatic and Consular Buildings ...	8,386
After short debate, Vote agreed to	
[250] 1262	

CLASS II.—SALARIES AND EXPENSES OF
PUBLIC DEPARTMENTS.

Treasury, including Parliamentary Counsel... [250] 1262	1,250
After short debate, Vote agreed to	
Foreign Office [250] 1266	2,400
After short debate, Vote agreed to	
Charity Commissioners, including En- dowed Schools Department	
Moved, "That a Supplementary sum, not exceeding £2,921, be granted, &c."	
Moved "That a Supplementary sum, not exceeding £1,921, &c." (<i>Mr. James</i>); after short debate, Motion withdrawn; Vote agreed to	
[250] 1267	2,921
Civil Service Commission [250] 1271	1,085
After short debate, Vote agreed to	
Local Government Board, England ...	16,763
After short debate, Vote agreed to	
[250] 1271	
National Debt Office ...	600
COMMITTEE Mar 4—REPORT Mar 5	
Stationery and Printing [251] 324	36,000
After short debate, Vote agreed to	
Lunacy Commission, Scotland ...	180
Lord Lieutenant's Household ...	36
After short debate, Vote agreed to	
[251] 327	
Local Government Board, Ireland ...	2,700
After short debate, Vote agreed to	
[251] 328	
Public Works Offices, Ireland ...	2,000
After short debate, Vote agreed to	
[251] 330	

Supply—cont.

CLASS III.—LAW AND JUSTICE.

COMMITTEE Mar 4—REPORT Mar 5

	Total of Vote. £
Law Charges, England [251] 341	18,761
After short debate, Vote agreed to	
Public Prosecutor's Office ...	965
Criminal Prosecutions, Sheriffs' Ex- penses, &c. ... [251] 346	5,000
After short debate, Vote agreed to	
Queen's Bench, &c. Divisions, High Court of Justice, England ...	9,800
County Courts ...	25,206
Police, Counties and Boroughs, Great Britain ...	1,300
Prisons, England ... [251] 350	216,245
After short debate, Vote agreed to	
County Prisons, &c. Great Britain ...	267
Reformatory and Industrial Schools, Great Britain ...	435
Queen's Bench, &c. Divisions of the High Court of Justice, Ireland ..	342
Probate, &c. Registries, High Court of Justice, Ireland ...	125
Registry of Deeds, Ireland ...	156
County Court Officers, &c. Ireland ...	7,300
After short debate, Vote agreed to	
[251] 358	
Royal Irish Constabulary	
Moved, "That a Supplementary sum, not exceeding £7,000," be granted, &c."	
Moved, "That the Item £3,250, Extra Pay and Allowances, be omitted, &c." (<i>Mr. O'Donnell</i>); after debate, A. 30, N. 172; M. 142	
[251] 364	
Original Question again proposed; Moved, "That the Item £3,750, for Travelling Expenses, be omitted, &c." (<i>Mr. Biggar</i>); after short de- bate, A. 7, N. 183; M. 176; Vote agreed to ...	7,000
CLASS IV.—EDUCATION, SCIENCE, AND ART.	
National Portrait Gallery ...	62
London University ...	203
Public Education, Ireland	
Moved, "That a Supplementary sum, not exceeding £8,500, be granted, &c."	
Moved, "That a Supplementary sum, not exceeding £5,800, &c." (<i>Sir G. Campbell</i>); after short debate, Question put, and negatived; Vote agreed to ... [251] 376	8,800
Teachers' Pension Office, Ireland	
Moved, "That a Supplementary sum, not exceeding £810, be granted, &c."	
After short debate, Moved, "That a Supplementary sum, not exceeding £200, &c." (<i>Mr. Dodds</i>); after fur- ther debate, Question put, and negatived; Vote agreed to ...	810
[251] 381	
CLASS V.—COLONIAL, CONSULAR, AND OTHER FOREIGN SERVICES.	
Diplomatic Services [251] 390	35,170
After short debate, Vote agreed to	

[cont.]

<i>Supply—cont.</i>	Total of Vote. £
Consular Services [251] 400	2,000
After short debate, Vote agreed to	
Colonies, Grants in Aid	
Moved, "That a Supplementary sum, not exceeding £8,704, be granted, &c."	
After short debate, Moved to report Progress (<i>Mr. O'Donnell</i>); after further short debate, Motion with- drawn; Vote agreed to [251] 403	8,704
Tonnage Bounties, &c. ...	4,450
Subsidies to Telegraph Companies ...	10,425
Treasury Chest Robbery ...	136

CLASS VI.—SUPERANNUATIONS, RETIRED ALLOW-
ANCES, AND GRATUITIES FOR CHARITABLE
AND OTHER PURPOSES.

Superannuation and Retired Allow- ances ...	13,000
Relief of Distressed British Seamen Abroad ...	8,000
Pauper Lunatics, Ireland ...	2,716

CLASS VII.—MISCELLANEOUS, SPECIAL, AND
TEMPORARY OBJECTS.

Temporary Commissions [251] 406	9,110
After short debate, Vote agreed to	
Re-payments to the Civil Contingencies Fund ...	[251] 407
After short debate, Vote agreed to	9,869

REVENUE DEPARTMENTS, &c.

Customs ...	4,300
Post Office Packet Service ...	7,400
Total of Vote ...	£556,867

Resolution reported *Mar 5*; and, after
short debate, agreed to [251] 528

COMMITTEE *Mar 5*—REPORT *Mar 8*

EXCHEQUER BONDS, 1880 ...	£3,410,000
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COMMITTEE *Mar 4*—REPORT *Mar 5*

CHARGES DEFRAID BY THE WAR	£	s.	d.
OFFICE ON ACCOUNT OF INDIA ...	15,050	3	3

COMMITTEE *Mar 4*—REPORT *Mar 5*

ABYSSINIAN EXPEDITION ...	£	985	0	0
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COMMITTEE *Mar 10*

WAR IN SOUTH AFRICA, VOTE OF
CREDIT [251] 759

Moved, "That a Supplementary sum,
not exceeding £1,225,200, be
granted to Her Majesty, beyond
the ordinary Grants of Parliament,
towards defraying the Expenditure
which will come in course of pay-
ment during the year ending on the
31st day of March 1880, in conse-
quence of the War in South Africa"
After short debate, Moved to report
Progress (*Sir Charles W. Dilke*);
after further short debate, Question
put, and agreed to; Committee R.P.

<i>Supply—cont.</i>	Total of Vote. £
COMMITTEE <i>Mar 11</i>	
Motion again proposed; Motion with- drawn	
Supplementary, War in South Africa, Vote of Credit ...	708,000
War in South Africa, Vote of Credit, (Griqua Land West) ...	222,200
Supplementary, War in South Africa, Vote of Credit (Sikukuni Expedition, &c.) ...	[251] 815
After short debate, Vote agreed to	300,000
Resolutions reported <i>Mar 12</i>	

NAVY ESTIMATES, 1880-81.

COMMITTEE *Mar 8*—REPORT *Mar 10*

Departmental Statement of the First
Lord of the Admiralty (*Mr. W. H.
Smith*) in moving the Navy Estimates
Moved, "That 58,000 Men and Boys
be employed for the Sea and Coast-
guard Service for the year ending
the 31st day of March, 1881, including
13,000 Royal Marines"
After long debate, Vote agreed to
[251] 588

	Voted on Account. £	Total of Estimate. £
(1.) Wages to Seamen and Marines ...	680,384	2,721,536
(2.) Victuals and Cloth- ing for ditto ...	253,381	1,013,524
(3.) Admiralty Office ...	44,871	179,485
After short debate, Vote agreed to [251] 655		
(4.) Coast Guard Service, Royal Naval Reserves, &c. ...	48,569	194,278
(5.) Scientific Branch ...	28,276	113,107
(6.) Dockyards and Naval Yards at Home and Abroad ...	335,896	1,343,585
After short debate, Vote agreed to [251] 657		
(7.) Victualling Yards at Home and Abroad ...	17,790	71,160
(8.) Medical Establish- ments at Home and Abroad ...	15,861	63,445
(9.) Marine Divisions ...	6,350	21,402
After short debate, Vote agreed to [251] 660		
(10.) Naval Stores for the Building, Repair, and Outfit of the Fleet and Coast Guard, Machinery and Ships built by Con- tract, &c.:		
Section I. Naval Stores	252,750	1,011,000
Section II. Machinery and Ships built by Contract, &c. ...	192,250	769,000
(11.) New Works, Build- ings, Yard Machinery, and Repairs ...	139,737	553,950

<i>Supply</i> —cont.	Voted on Account.	Total of Estimate.
(12.) Medicines and Medical Stores ...	£ 18,787	75,150
(13.) Martial Law, &c. ...	2,312	9,250
(14.) Miscellaneous Services ...	33,940	135,760
Total for the Effective Service ...	£2,070,154	£8,280,632
(15.) Half Pay, Reserved Half Pay, and Retired Pay to Officers of the Navy and Royal Marines ...	223,789	895,156
(16.) Military and Civil Pensions and Allowances:		
Section I. Military Pensions and Allowances	205,804	823,219
Section II. Civil Pensions and Allowances	80,607	322,428
Total for the Naval Service	£510,200	£10,321,435
FOR THE SERVICE OF OTHER DEPARTMENTS OF GOVERNMENT.		
(17.) Army Department (Conveyance of Troops)	42,875	171,500
Total NAVY ESTIMATES ...	£2,623,229	£10,492,935

ARMY ESTIMATES, 1880-81.

COMMITTEE Mar 1—REPORT Mar 2

Departmental Statement of the Secretary of State for War (*Colonel Stanley*) in moving the Army Estimates

Moved, "That a number of Land Forces not exceeding 131,859, all ranks, be maintained for the Service, &c. during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1881"

[251] 43

After long debate, Vote agreed to

NUMBERS.	Numbers
(A.) Total number of Men (including the Staff of the Militia Forces) on the Home and Colonial Establishments of the Army, exclusive of those Serving in India ...	131,859

I.—REGULAR FORCES.

	Total of Vote.
(1.) Pay of the General Staff, Regimental Pay and Allowances, and other Charges ...	£ 4,579,000
After short debate, Vote agreed to	
(2.) Divine Service ...	50,700
(3.) Administration of Military Law ...	29,800
(4.) Medical Establishments and Services ...	308,400

[cont.]

<i>Supply</i> —cont.	Total of Vote.
II.—AUXILIARY AND RESERVE FORCES.	
(5.) Militia Pay and Allowances ...	552,900
(6.) Yeomanry Cavalry Pay and Allowances ...	74,400
(7.) Volunteer Corps Pay and Allowances ...	[251] 100 539,600
After short debate, Vote agreed to	
(8.) Army Reserve Force Pay and Allowances (including Enrolled Pensioners) ...	[251] 103 208,800
After short debate, Vote agreed to	
III.—COMMISSARIAT AND ORDNANCE STORE ESTABLISHMENTS, &c.	
(9.) Commissariat Transport and Ordnance Store Establishments, Wages, &c. ...	[251] 104 386,700
After short debate, Vote agreed to	
(10.) Provisions, Forage, Fuel, Transport, and other Services [251] 105	2,700,000
After short debate, Vote agreed to	
(11.) Clothing Establishments, Services, and Supplies ...	825,100
(12.) Supply, Manufacture, and Repair of Warlike and other Stores ...	1,185,000
After short debate, Vote agreed to	[251] 106
IV.—WORKS AND BUILDINGS.	
(13.) Superintending Establishment of, and Expenditure for, Works, Buildings, and Repairs, at Home and Abroad ...	[251] 107 853,000
After short debate, Vote agreed to	

V.—VARIOUS SERVICES.

(14.) Establishments for Military Education ...	162,200
(15.) Miscellaneous Effective Services	36,400
(16.) Administration of the Army ...	215,900

Total Effective Services £12,797,900

VI.—NON-EFFECTIVE SERVICES.

(17.) Rewards for Distinguished Services, &c. ...	33,900
(18.) Pay of General Officers ...	92,000
(19.) Retired Full Pay, Half-Pay, Pensions, and Gratuities, including Payments allowed by Army Purchase Commissioners [251] 108	892,700
After short debate, Vote agreed to	
(20.) Widows' Pensions, &c. ...	126,200
(21.) Pensions for Wounds ...	16,500
(22.) Chelsea and Kilmainham Hospitals (In-Pensions) ...	34,300
(23.) Out-Pensions ...	1,312,000
(24.) Superannuation Allowances ...	196,500
After short debate, Vote agreed to	[251] 111
(25.) Militia, Yeomanry, Cavalry, and Volunteer Corps [251] 112	39,300
After short debate, Vote agreed to	
Losses Written off as Irrecoverable ...	—

Total Non-Effective Services £2,743,400

Total Effective and Non-Effective Services £15,541,300

[cont.]

Supply—cont.

Total of
Vote.
£

ARMY (INDIAN HOME CHARGES). For the sum to be transferred in aid of Army Grants to meet the charge incurred in recruiting and training officers and men, and in defraying the non-effective expenditure for the regular forces serving in India, which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1881 ... 1,100,000

CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES, 1880-81.

COMMITTEE Mar 8—REPORT Mar 10

Voted on
Account. Total of
Estimate.

CLASS I.—PUBLIC WORKS
AND BUILDINGS.

GREAT BRITAIN:	£	£
(1.) Royal Palaces ...	9,500	37,771
(2.) Marlborough House ...	600	2,420
(3.) Royal Parks and Pleasure Gardens ...	28,200	112,577
(4.) Houses of Parlia- ment	9,000	35,401
(5.) Public Buildings ...	29,200	116,432
(6.) Furniture of Public Offices	4,100	16,385
(7.) Revenue Depart- ment Buildings ...	46,000	183,973
(8.) County Court Build- ings	12,700	50,600
(9.) Metropolitan Police Courts	7,000	27,145
(10.) Sheriff Court Houses, Scotland	2,100	8,200
(11.) New Courts of Jus- tice, &c.	28,000	110,200
(12.) Surveys of the United Kingdom	33,400	133,500
(13.) Science and Art De- partment Buildings ...	5,100	20,436
(14.) British Museum Buildings	1,200	4,693
(15.) Natural History Mu- seum	7,500	29,728
(16.) Edinburgh Univer- sity Buildings ...	—	20,000
— National Gallery (Plans)	—	—
(17.) Harbours, &c. under Board of Trade ...	5,000	19,822
(18.) Rates on Government Property (Great Bri- tain and Ireland) ...	65,000	195,356
(19.) Metropolitan Fire Brigade	2,500	10,000
IRELAND:		
(20.) Public Buildings ...	37,200	148,723
(21.) Science and Art Museum, Dublin ...	300	10,000
(22.) Shannon Navigation	5,000	20,000
ABROAD:		
(23.) Lighthouses Abroad	2,800	10,860
(24.) Diplomatic and Con- sular Buildings ...	5,500	21,917
Total of Votes Class I.	£346,000	£1,346,139

[cont.]

Supply—cont.

CLASS II.—SALARIES AND EXPENSES OF PUBLIC
DEPARTMENTS.

ENGLAND:	Voted on Account. £	Total of Estimate. £
(1.) House of Lords Offices	11,000	43,666
(2.) House of Commons Offices	12,600	50,306
(3.) Treasury, including Parliamentary Counsel	15,100	60,135
(4.) Home Office and Subordinate Depart- ments	22,500	90,076
(5.) Foreign Office ...	18,100	72,141
(6.) Colonial Office ...	9,500	37,312
(7.) Privy Council Office and Subordinate De- partments	8,000	31,179
(8.) Privy Seal Office ...	700	2,790
(9.) Board of Trade and Subordinate Depart- ments	42,200	168,643
(10.) Charity Commission (including Endowed Schools Department)	8,100	32,405
(11.) Civil Service Com- mission	7,100	28,165
(12.) Copyhold, Inclosure, and Tithe Commission	4,300	16,968
(13.) Inclosure and Drain- age Acts Expenses ...	2,100	8,290
(14.) Exchequer and Audit Department	14,000	56,017
(15.) Friendly Societies Registry	1,600	6,233
(16.) Local Government Board	86,200	404,617
(17.) Lunacy Commission	3,800	15,195
(18.) Mint	16,600	63,265
(19.) National Debt Office	4,400	17,541
(20.) Patent Office ...	7,000	27,195
(21.) Paymaster General's Office	6,400	25,655
(22.) Public Works Loan Commission	2,600	10,295
(23.) Record Office ...	5,300	21,037
(24.) Registrar General's Office	12,000	47,870
(25.) Stationery Office and Printing	115,000	459,979
(26.) Woods, Forests, &c., Office of	6,000	23,400
(27.) Works and Public Buildings, Office of ...	10,300	40,918
(28.) Secret Service ...	5,800	23,000
SCOTLAND:		
(29.) Exchequer and other Offices	1,700	6,556
(30.) Fishery Board ...	3,500	13,234
(31.) Lunacy Commission	1,500	5,891
(32.) Registrar General's Office	1,900	6,594
(33.) Board of Supervision	4,700	18,743
IRELAND:		
(34.) Lord Lieutenant's Household	1,900	7,264
(35.) Chief Secretary's Office, &c.	9,600	38,378

[cont.]

<i>Supply—cont.</i>	Voted on Account.	Total of Estimate.	<i>Supply—cont.</i>	Voted on Account.	Total of Estimate.
(36.) Charitable Donations and Bequests Office ...	£ 550	£ 2,089	(26.) Queen's Bench, &c. Divisions, ditto ...	£ 7,100	£ 28,309
(37.) Local Government Board ...	32,800	131,148	(27.) Land Judges' Offices, ditto ...	2,900	11,421
(38.) Public Works Office ...	7,700	30,659	(28.) Probate, &c., Registries, ditto ...	2,900	11,542
(39.) Record Office ...	1,500	5,949	(29.) Court of Bankruptcy	2,600	10,238
(40.) Registrar General's Office ...	4,100	16,068	(30.) Admiralty Court Registry ...	450	1,695
(41.) Valuation and Boundary Survey ...	5,700	22,627	(31.) Registry of Deeds	5,000	19,695
Total of Votes Class II.	£535,450	£2,189,494	(32.) Registry of Judgments ...	750	2,905
CLASS III.—LAW AND JUSTICE.			(33.) County Court Officers, &c. ...	20,600	82,122
ENGLAND :			(34.) Dublin Metropolitan Police (including Police Courts) ...	34,600	138,162
(1.) Law Charges ...	18,200	72,669	(35.) Constabulary ...	380,000	1,134,461
(2.) Public Prosecutor's Office ...	1,100	4,150	(36.) Prisons, Ireland ...	36,500	145,700
(3.) Criminal Prosecutions ...	50,100	200,287	(37.) Reformatory and Industrial Schools ...	22,800	90,813
(4.) Chancery Division, High Court of Justice	41,000	163,916	(38.) Dundrum Criminal Lunatic Asylum ...	1,700	6,786
(5.) Queen's Bench, &c. Divisions, High Court of Justice ...	25,700	102,496	Total of Votes Class III.	£1,356,900	£5,783,470
(6.) Probate, &c. Registries, High Court of Justice ...	23,300	93,015	CLASS IV.—EDUCATION, SCIENCE, AND ART.		
(7.) Admiralty Registry, High Court of Justice	3,000	11,445	ENGLAND :		
(8.) Wreck Commission	3,400	13,566	(1.) Public Education ...	970,000	2,536,077
(9.) Bankruptcy Court (London) ...	9,200	36,634	(2.) Science and Art Department ...	110,000	329,768
(10.) County Courts ...	114,100	456,381	(3.) British Museum ...	50,000	118,257
(11.) Land Registry ...	1,400	5,428	(4.) National Gallery ...	4,400	17,374
(12.) Revising Barristers, England ...	-	18,690	(5.) National Portrait Gallery ...	600	2,390
(13.) Police Courts (London and Sheerness) ...	3,400	14,601	(6.) Learned Societies, &c. ...	8,000	17,050
(14.) Metropolitan Police	150,000	451,705	(7.) London University	2,800	10,928
(15.) County and Borough Police, Great Britain (for inspection only)	800	898,448	(8.) Deep Sea Exploring Expedition (Report)	1,200	4,500
(16.) Convict Establishments in England and the Colonies ...	109,200	427,497	(9.) Sydney and Melbourne International Exhibitions ...	2,000	3,720
(17.) Prisons, England ...	119,600	469,331	SCOTLAND :		
(18.) Reformatory and Industrial Schools, Great Britain ...	66,000	262,616	(10.) Public Education	220,000	464,203
(19.) Broadmoor Criminal Lunatic Asylum ...	6,500	25,751	(11.) Universities, &c.	4,700	18,519
SCOTLAND :			(12.) National Gallery	600	2,100
(20.) Lord Advocate, and Criminal Proceedings	16,700	66,730	IRELAND :		
(21.) Courts of Law and Justice ...	15,500	61,955	(13.) Public Education	315,000	722,366
(22.) Register House Departments ...	9,100	36,250	(14.) Teachers' Pension Office ...	500	1,859
(23.) Prisons, Scotland ...	20,400	81,387	(15.) Endowed Schools Commissioners ...	200	640
IRELAND :			(16.) National Gallery ...	600	2,339
(24.) Law Charges and Criminal Prosecutions ...	21,700	86,446	(17.) Queen's University	1,400	5,208
(25.) Chancery Division, High Court of Justice	9,600	38,227	(18.) Queen's Colleges ...	3,500	13,928
			(19.) Royal Irish Academy	500	2,000
			Total of Votes Class IV.	£1,696,000	£4,273,224

[cont.]

[cont.]

Supply—cont.

CLASS V.—COLONIAL, CONSULAR, AND OTHER
FOREIGN SERVICES.

	Voted on Account. £	Total of Estimate. £
(1.) Diplomatic Services	53,000	202,910
(2.) Consular Services ..	62,500	249,167
(3.) Colonies, Grants-in-Aid ...	9,000	35,576
(4.) Orange River Territory and St. Helena	600	2,305
(5.) Suez Canal (British Directors) ...	450	1,620
(6.) Suppression of the Slave Trade ...	1,800	7,107
(7.) Tonnage Bounties, &c. ...	3,000	11,407
(8.) Cyprus Police ...	6,500	26,000
(9.) Subsidies to Telegraph Companies ...	17,500	35,000
Total of Votes Class V.	£159,350	£571,092

CLASS VI. — SUPERANNUATION AND RETIRED ALLOWANCES AND GRATUITIES FOR CHARITABLE AND OTHER PURPOSES.

	£	£
(1.) Superannuation and Retired Allowances ...	200,000	446,175
(2.) Merchant Seamen's Fund Pensions, &c. ...	7,100	28,150
(3.) Relief of Distressed British Seamen Abroad	8,100	32,400
(4.) Pauper Lunatics, England ...	—	410,000
(5.) Pauper Lunatics, Scotland ...	—	74,479
(6.) Pauper Lunatics, Ireland ...	60,500	86,332
(7.) Hospitals and Infirmarys, Ireland ...	4,300	17,058
(8.) Savings Banks and Friendly Societies Deficiency ...	—	122,306
(9.) Miscellaneous Charitable and other Allowances, &c., Great Britain ...	1,000	3,964
(10.) Miscellaneous Charitable and other Allowances, Ireland ...	1,100	4,219
Total of Votes, Class VI.	£282,100	£1,225,083

Supply—cont.

CLASS VII.—MISCELLANEOUS, SPECIAL,
AND TEMPORARY OBJECTS.

	Voted on Account. £	Total of Estimate. £
(1.) Temporary Commissions ...	14,000	41,411
(2.) Miscellaneous Expenses ...	1,700	6,529
Total of Votes, Class VII.	£15,700	£47,940
Total for Civil Services	£4,392,400	£15,436,442

REVENUE DEPARTMENTS, 1880-81.

Vote I. For Salaries and Expenses of the Customs Department ...	£	£
	110,000	970,677
Vote II. For Salaries and Expenses of the Inland Revenue Department ...	200,000	1,846,032
Vote III. For Salaries and Expenses of the Post Office Services, the expenses of Post Office Savings Banks, and Government Annuities and Insurances, and the Collection of the Post Office Revenue ...	410,000	3,420,404
Vote IV. For the Post Office Packet Service...	200,000	710,468
Vote V. For Salaries and Expenses of the Post Office Telegraph Service ...	350,000	1,210,736
Total Revenue Depts. ...	£1,270,000	£8,158,317

Resolutions reported *Mar* 10; and, after short debate, agreed to, [251] 771

COMMITTEE *Mar* 8—REPORT *Mar* 10

Advances for Greenwich Hospital and School, on account ...	£	£
	36,548	146,193

Supreme Court of Judicature Acts—The Assizes

Question, Sir Henry James; Answer, Mr. Assheton Cross *Feb* 17, [250] 809

Supreme Court of Judicature (District Courts) Bill (Mr. Joseph Cowen, Mr. Ripley, Mr. Rowley Hill, Mr. Eustace Smith)

c. Ordered; read 1^o * *Feb* 25 [Bill 87]
2R. Fri. *May* 28

SWANSTON, Mr. A., *Bandon*

Relief of Distress (Ireland), Comm. cl. 3, [250] 731, 984
Seed Potatoes (Ireland), Consid. cl. 6, [250] 881

SYNAN, Mr. E. J., *Limerick Co.*

Irish Church Act (1869) Amendment, Leave, [251] 276
Parliament—Queen's Speech, Address in Answer to, [250] 294, 333

[cont.]

SYNAN, Mr. E. J.—*cont.*

Parliament—Business of the House (Order in Debate). Res. [250] 1496, 1642, 1679, 1688, 1692, 1693, 1701

Poor Removal, [250] 514

250 Relief of Distress (Ireland), 2R. Amendt. 534, 556, 560; Comm. Amendt. 688; *cl.* 3, 926, 942, 952; *cl.* 4, 990, 992; *cl.* 5, 993; *cl.* 9, 999; Amendt. 1002, 1003, 1004, 1005, 1006, 1007; Consid. *add. cl.* 1227; *cl.* 4, 1234, 1235

Taxation (Great Britain and Ireland), Motion for a Select Committee, [251] 710

Ulster Tenant Right, 2R. [251] 256

TALBOT, Mr. J. G. (Secretary to the Board of Trade), *Oxford University*

Companies Acts Amendment, 2R. [250] 387
Gaslight and Coke, Commercial Gas, and South Metropolitan Gaslight and Coke Companies, 2R. [250] 789

Hall-Marking (Gold and Silver), [251] 150

Mercantile Marine—Lights of Fishing Vessels at Sea, [250] 148

Railways Acts, Regulation of—The Railway Commissioners, [250] 794

Taxation—Great Britain and Ireland

Moved, "That a Select Committee be appointed to inquire into and report whether there is, as alleged, some and what disparity in the incidence of Imperial Taxation as it affects the several Countries of which the United Kingdom is composed; and whether, in the opinion of the Committee, the circumstances call for any and what changes in the fiscal legislation for England, Scotland, and Ireland respectively" (*Sir Joseph McKenna*) Mar 9, [251] 695; after debate, Question put; A. 36, N. 58; M. 22 (D. L. 38)

TAYLOR, Mr. D., *Coleraine*

Relief of Distress (Ireland), 2R. [250] 550

Supply—National Education in Ireland, [251] 379

Ulster Tenant Right, 2R. [251] 252, 267

TAYLOR, Mr. P. A., *Leicester Bo.*

Army Discipline and Regulation (Annual), 2R. [251] 855

Game Laws, Res. [251] 162, 220

TEMPLETOWN, Viscount

Relief of Distress (Ireland), 2R. [251] 16

TENNANT, Mr. C., *Glasgow*

Mercantile Marine—Light Dues on Shipping, [251] 299

THURLOW, Lord

Hypothec Abolition (Scotland), 2R. [251] 961

Public Health—Trichinosis—School Ship "Cornwall," [250] 903

Tithe Commutation Bill

(*Mr. Goldney, Mr. Gregory*)

c. Ordered; read 1^o * Feb 6

[Bill 38]

2R. Wed. April 14

TOLLEMACHE, Hon. W., *Cheshire, W.*

Inland Revenue—Customs Re-organization at Liverpool, [250] 452

TORRENS, Mr. W. T. M., *Finsbury*

Metropolitan Police—Pay and Organization, [250] 913

Metropolitan Police District—Criminal Statistics, [251] 22

Torres Straits Islands—The Annexation

Question, Mr. A. McArthur; Answer, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach Feb 12, [250] 508

TRACY, Hon. F. S. A. HANBURY-, *Montgomery*

Copyright, Law of, [250] 382

Treaty Guarantees

Observations, Questions, Sir William Harcourt; Answers, The Attorney General, The Chancellor of the Exchequer Feb 13, [250] 638

Treaty of Berlin

MISCELLANEOUS QUESTIONS

Article 23—*The European Provinces*, Question, Sir George Campbell; Answer, Mr. 250 Bourke Feb 8, 265;—*European Turkey*, Question, Sir George Campbell; Answer, Mr. Bourke Feb 12, 516;—*Provincial Constitutions of European Turkey*, Question, Sir George Campbell; Answer, Mr. Bourke Feb 20, 1100;—Article 44—*Roumania*, Question, Mr. Serjeant Simon; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer Feb 23, 1186

Bulgaria—*The Varna Railway Company*, Question, Mr. Mac Iver; Answer, Mr. Bourke Mar 12, [251] 914

Congress of Berlin—Protocol 18—*Ottoman Bondholders*, Question, Mr. Rylands; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer Feb 23, [250] 1189

TREMAYNE, Colonel A., *Truro*

Army Estimates—Departmental Statement, [251] 88

Tripartite Treaty of 1856, The

Observations, Question, Earl Granville; Reply, The Earl of Beaconsfield; short debate thereon Feb 17, [250] 777

Turkey

MISCELLANEOUS QUESTIONS

- Anglo-Turkish Convention (Appointment of Officers)*—*Hafiz Pasha*, Questions, Mr. Dillwyn, Mr. Rylands; Answers, Mr. Bourke 250] *Feb 16*, 680; Question, Mr. Rylands; Answer, Mr. Bourke *Feb 19*, 913;—*Keamil Pasha*, Question Mr. Pease; Answer, Mr. Bourke, 927
- Appointment of British Consuls and Vice Consuls*, Question, Mr. Whitwell; Answer, Mr. Bourke *Feb 9*, [250] 268
- Capture of Colonel Syngé by Brigands*, Questions, Mr. H. Samuelson; Answers, Mr. Bourke *Feb 23*, [250] 1198; *Feb 24*, 1299
- Correspondence as to Ahmed Tewfik and Dr. Koella*, Question, Mr. E. Jenkins; Answer, Mr. Bourke *Feb 9*, [250] 269
- Murder of Mr. Ogle*, Questions, Mr. H. Samuelson; Answers, The Chancellor of the Exchequer *Feb 10*, [250] 381; *Feb 20*, 1104; *Feb 23*, 1197; Question, Mr. E. Jenkins; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer *Feb 27*, 1571
- The Eastern Question*, Observations, Lord Stratheden and Campbell *Mar 8*, [251] 546
- The Slave Trade Treaty*, Questions, Mr. Anderson, Mr. W. E. Forster; Answers, Mr. Bourke *Feb 9*, [250] 266

Turkey—Letter of the Ameer of Afghanistan to the Sultan

Moved, "That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty for a Copy of the letter from the late Ameer of Afghanistan to the Sultan, dated 19th January 1878" (*The Lord Stratheden and Campbell*) *Mar 15*, [251] 973; after debate, Motion withdrawn

Turkey and Greece—Rectification of the Frontier

- Question, Mr. W. Cartwright; Answer, Mr. 251] Bourke *Mar 2*, 151;—*The Commission*, Question, Sir Charles W. Dilke; Answer, Mr. Bourke *Mar 12*, 915; Question, Mr. W. Cartwright; Answer, Mr. E. Stanhope *Mar 16*, 1094; Observations, Question, The Marquess of Hartington; Reply, The Chancellor of the Exchequer *Mar 18*, 1208

Parl. Papers—

- The Vilayet of Aleppo . . . [2468]
Return of Consular Appointments. [2473]
Demarcation of Frontiers. [2471] [2474]

Turnpike Acts Continuance Act, 1879

Select Committee appointed, "to inquire into the Fifth Schedule of 'The Annual Turnpike Acts Continuance Act, 1879'" *Feb 20*, [250] 1163

Committee nominated as follows:—Mr. Beach, Mr. Wentworth Beaumont, Lord George Cavendish, Sir Harcourt Johnstone, Mr. Clare Read, Mr. Salt, and Mr. Spencer Stanhope

Report of Select Comm. . . . (P.P. 133)

Ulster Tenant Right Bill

(Mr. Macartney, Mr. Charles Lewis)

- c. Ordered; read 1^o* *Feb 6* [Bill 8]
Read 2^o, after debate *Mar 3*, [251] 243
Committee Tues, *April 13*

Vaccination Bill (Dr. Cameron, Earl Percy, Mr. Lyon Playfair, Dr. Lush, Dr. Ward)

- c. Ordered; read 1^o* *Feb 6* [Bill 9]
Question, Mr. Selater-Booth; Answer, Dr. Cameron *Mar 9*, [251] 694
Bill withdrawn *Mar 10*, 742

Vaccination—Durham Board of Guardians
Question, Mr. Gourley; Answer, Mr. Selater-Booth *Mar 1*, [251] 27

Valuation (Metropolis) Act (1869) Amendment Bill (Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer)

- c. Ordered; read 1^o* *Mar 2* [Bill 98]
Read 2^o* *Mar 8*
Committee; Report *Mar 10*, [251] 774
Read 3^o, after short debate *Mar 11*, 897
l. Read 1^o* (Lord President) *Mar 12* (No. 38)
2R. discharged *Mar 18*

Valuation of Property (Metropolis) Act, 1869

- Clauses 4, 6, and 7*, Question, Sir John Hay; Answer, Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson *Mar 4*, [251] 298
London Water Companies, Question, Mr. Goschen; Answer, Mr. Assheton Cross *Mar 11*, [251] 811
The Schedule of Questions, Question, Mr. Thomson Hankey; Answer, Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson *Mar 9*, [251] 681

VERNER, Mr. E. W., *Armagh Co.*

Public Health—Adulteration of Food and Drugs Act, 1875, [251] 148

VIVIAN, Mr. H. Hussey, *Glamorganshire*

Education (Wales), [251] 23
Parliamentary Elections and Corrupt Practices (No. 2), Comm. cl. 2, [251] 1141

Volunteer Corps (Ireland) Bill

(Mr. O'Clery, Lord Francis Conyngham, Major Nolan, Major O'Beirne, Colonel King-Harman, Colonel Colthurst, Major O'Gorman, Colonel The O'Gorman Mahon)

- c. Ordered; read 1^o* *Feb 6* [Bill 25]
Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2^o" *Mar 1*, [251] 116
Amend. to leave out "now," and add "upon this day six months" (*Sir John Leslie*); Question proposed, "That 'now,' &c.;" after debate, Question put; A. 12, N. 81; M. 69 (D. L. 30)
Words added; main Question, as amended, put, and agreed to; 2R. put off for six months

WADDY, Mr. S. D., *Barnstaple*

Army Discipline and Regulation (Annual), 2R. [251] 853
Borough Franchise (Ireland), Res. [250] 846
Channel Islands—Jersey—Payment of the Judge, [250] 1572

cont.

WADDY, Mr. S. D.—*cont.*

Parliament—Privilege—Mr. Plimsoll, [250]
1149, 1150
Probates of Wills, &c. 2R. [251] 1041, 1045
Ways and Means—Financial Statement, Comm.
[251] 887

WAIT, Mr. W. K., *Gloucester*

Bristol Corporation, 2R. Amendt. [251] 131,
139
Post Office Savings Banks, [250] 811

WALPOLE, Right Hon. Spencer H.,
Cambridge University

British Museum—Sale of Duplicates, [251] 801,
1009
Tower High Level Bridge (Metropolis) Com-
mittee—Mr. Grissell, [251] 152

WALTER, Mr. J., *Berkshire*

Game Laws, Res. [251] 214

WARD, Dr. M. F., *Galway*

Parliament—Queen's Speech, Address in An-
swer to, [250] 128, 182

War Office Regulation Act, 1878

Question, Sir Charles W. Dilke; Answer, Sir
Henry Selwin-Ibbetson Feb 20, [250] 1099

*Washington, Treaty of—Canadian and
Newfoundland Fisheries*

Question, Mr. Gourley; Answer, Mr. Bourke
Feb 12, [250] 612

Waste Lands (Ireland) Bill

(Mr. John George MacCarthy, Mr. Shaw, Sir
Eardley Wilmot)

c. Ordered; read 1^o * Feb 6 [Bill 24]
2R. Wed. June 23

Water Supply (England and Wales)

Question, Mr. Monk; Answer, Mr. Slater-
Booth Feb 23, [250] 1185

Water Supply (Metropolis)—Legislation

Question, Mr. Fawcett; Answer, Mr. Slater-
Booth Feb 12, [250] 519; Questions, Mr.
Fawcett; Answers, Mr. Assheton Cross
Feb 23, 1184

WATKIN, Sir E. W., *Hythe*

Africa, South—Zulu War—Despatches, [250]
1106, 1437
Bristol Corporation, 2R. [251] 139
Mercantile Marine—Lights of Fishing Vessels
at Sea, [250] 143, 1099
Railway Servants (Compensation for Injury),
[251] 689; Res. 725, 727; Amendt. 732

WAVENEY, Lord

Agricultural Distress, Commission on, [251]
128
Ireland, State of, Motion for Returns, [250]
1561
Relief of Distress (Ireland), 2R. [251] 16
Settled Land, 2R. [251] 281

WAYS AND MEANS

MISCELLANEOUS QUESTIONS

*Inland Revenue—Customs Re-Organization at
Liverpool*, Question, Mr. Tollemache; An-
swer, Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson Feb 11, [250]
452

*The National Debt—The Chancellor of the Ex-
chequer's Statement*—Question, Mr. Thomson
Hankey; Answer, The Chancellor of the
Exchequer Mar 16, [251] 1099
Explanatory Statement P.P. 149

WAYS AND MEANS

Resolved, That this House will, To-morrow,
resolve itself into a Committee to consider of
the Ways and Means for raising the Supply
to be granted to Her Majesty Feb 12

Considered in Committee Mar 5

(1.) Resolved, That, towards making good the
Supply granted to Her Majesty for the ser-
vice of the year ending on the 31st day of
March 1880, the sum of £3,982,902 3s. 3d.
be granted out of the Consolidated Fund of
the United Kingdom

(2.) Resolved, That, towards making good the
Supply granted to Her Majesty for the ser-
vice of the year ending on the 31st day of
March 1881, the sum of £16,641,300 be
granted out of the Consolidated Fund of the
United Kingdom

Resolutions reported Mar 8

Considered in Committee Mar 10

Resolved, That, towards making good the
Supply granted to Her Majesty for the ser-
vice of the year ending on the 31st day of
March 1881, the sum of £8,322,177 be
granted out of the Consolidated Fund of the
United Kingdom

Resolution reported Mar 11

Considered in Committee Mar 11, [251] 816—
THE FINANCIAL STATEMENT OF THE CHANCELLOR
OF THE EXCHEQUER on moving the first Reso-
lution

"That, towards raising the Supply granted
to Her Majesty, the Duties of Customs now
charged on Tea shall continue to be levied
and charged on and after the first day of
August, one thousand eight hundred and
eighty, until the first day of August, one
thousand eight hundred and eighty-one, on
importation into Great Britain or Ireland
(that is to say): on

s. d.
Tea the lb. 0 6"

After short debate, Resolution agreed to

(2.) Resolved, That there shall be charged
upon the delivery for home consumption of
Foreign Spirits which have been bottled in
any Customs or Excise Warehouse, in ad-
dition to the Duties of Customs and any
other Charges thereon, the rate following
(that is to say):

For every one dozen imperial or reputed
quart bottles, or two dozen imperial
or reputed pint bottles of such Spirits,
Three Pence

(3.) Resolved, That, towards raising the Supply
granted to Her Majesty, there shall be
charged, collected, and paid for one year,
commencing on the sixth day of April, one
thousand eight hundred and eighty, in respect

[*cont.*]

WAYS AND MEANS—*cont.*

of all Property, Profits, and Gains mentioned or described as chargeable in the Act of the sixteenth and seventeenth years of Her Majesty's reign, chapter thirty-four, the following Duties of Income Tax (that is to say):

For every Twenty Shillings of the annual value or amount of Property, Profits, and Gains chargeable under Schedules (A), (C), (D), or (E) of the said Act, the Duty of Five Pence;

And For every Twenty Shillings of the annual value of the occupation of Lands, Tenements, Hereditaments, and Heritages chargeable under Schedule (B) of the said Act,—

In England, the Duty of Two Pence Halfpenny;

In Scotland and Ireland respectively, the Duty of One Penny Three Farthings;

Subject to the provisions contained in section one hundred and sixty-three of the Act of the fifth and sixth years of Her Majesty's reign, chapter thirty-five, for the exemption of persons whose income is less than One Hundred and Fifty Pounds, and in section eight of 'The Customs and Inland Revenue Act, 1876,' for the relief of persons whose income is less than Four Hundred Pounds

(4.) Resolved, That it is expedient to amend the Law relating to Income Tax

(5.) Resolved, That, towards making good the Supply granted to Her Majesty for the service of the years ending on the 31st day of March 1879 and 1880, the sum of £1,230,750 9s. 10d. be granted out of the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom

Resolutions reported *Mar 12*, [251] 922

Resolutions read a first time

Moved, "That the said Resolutions be now read a second time" (*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer*); after long debate, Resolutions read a second time, and agreed to

Ordered, That it be an Instruction to the Gentlemen appointed to bring in the said Bill on the Fifth Resolution, That they have power to make provision therein pursuant to the said Resolution

Financial Statement 1880-81 as laid before the House of Commons by The Chancellor of the Exchequer *P.P. 116*

Explanatory Statement *P.P. 149*

Considered in Committee *Mar 15*

(1.) Resolved, That the Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury be authorised to raise a sum, not exceeding Six Million Pounds, by the creation of Terminable Annuities

(2.) Resolved, That, towards raising the supply granted to Her Majesty, the Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury be authorised to raise any sum, not exceeding Sixty Thousand Pounds, by an issue of Exchequer Bonds, Exchequer Bills, or Treasury Bills

(3.) Resolved, That the principal of all Exchequer Bonds which may be so issued shall be paid off at par, at the expiration of any period, not exceeding three years, from the date of such Bonds

WAYS AND MEANS—*cont.*

(4.) Resolved, That the interest of all such Exchequer Bonds shall be paid half-yearly, and shall be charged upon and issued out of the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom, or the growing produce thereof

Resolutions reported *Mar 16*

[See titles *Consolidated Fund Bill—Exchequer Bills and Bonds Bill, and National Debt Bill*]

SUMMARY.

WAYS AND MEANS.

GRANTS OUT OF THE CONSOLIDATED FUND.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
For the service of the years ending 31st March 1879 and 1880;						
Under Act 43 Vic. cap. 5	3,982,902	3	3			
Under this Act	1,230,750	9	10			
For the service of the year ending 31st March 1881; viz.						
Under Act 43 Vic. cap. 5	16,641,800	0	0			
Under this Act	8,322,177	0	0			
				24,963,477	0	0
Total	£30,177,129	13	1			

WEDDERBURN, Sir D., *Haddington Burghs*

Game Laws, [250] 1565

Hypothec Abolition (Scotland), Lords Amendts. [251] 1214

India—Afghanistan—The War—Expenses of Military Operations, Res. [251] 952

India—Popular Representation, [250] 593

Famine Commission, Report, [251] 149

Merchant Ships Laden in Bulk, Nomination of Select Committee, [251] 539

Parliamentary Elections and Corrupt Practices (No. 2), *Consid. add. cl.* [251] 1190

WENTWORTH, Lord

Settled Land, 2R. [251] 285

WHEELHOUSE, Mr. W. St. James, *Leeds*

Army—Leeds Cavalry Barracks, [250] 810

Blind and Deaf-Mute Children, Comm. cl. 1, [251] 666

Commerce and Free Trade, Motion for a Select Committee, [250] 604, 621

County Courts, 2R. Amendt. [250] 1396, 1410

Intoxicating Liquors (Licences), Res. [251] 476

WHITREAD, Mr. S., *Bedford*

Parliament—Privilege—Mr. Plimsoll, [250] 1129

Parliament—Business of the House (Order in Debate), Res. [250] 1688

Supply—Prisons, England, [251] 350, 352, 353

WHITWELL, Mr. J., *Kendal*

Army—South Africa—Alleged Misconduct of Troops, [250] 1156

Army Estimates—Clothing Establishments, &c. [251] 107

Superannuation Allowances, [251] 111

Volunteer Corps, [251] 101

Bankruptcy Law Amendment, Leave, [250] 245; 2R. 563

South African Colonies (Finance), [250] 380

Supply—New Courts of Justice and Offices, [250] 1251

Public Works in Ireland, [250] 1258

Turkey—British Consuls and Vice Consuls,

Appointment of, [250] 268

WILLIAMS, Mr. B. T., *Carmarthen*

County Courts, 2R. [250] 1394

WILMOT, Sir J. E., *Warwickshire, S.*

County Courts, 2R. [250] 1391

East India—Mr. William Tayler, [251] 811

Parliamentary Elections and Corrupt Practices (No. 2), Comm. [251] 1105; cl. 2, 1153, 1156, 1161

Wine Duties, Select Committee on—The Report

Question, Mr. C. M. Palmer; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer Feb 26, [250] 1440

WOLFF, Sir H. D., *Christchurch*

India—Despatch of 1869—"The Empress of India," [250] 146

Parliament—Privilege—Mr. Plimsoll, [250] 1119, 1150, 1151

Supply—Consular Services, [251] 400, 402

Workmen's Compensation Bill [H.L.]

(*The Earl De La Warr*)

l. Presented; read 1^a, after short debate Feb 10, [250] 376 (No. 5)

2R. discharged * Feb 12

YARMOUTH, Earl of (Comptroller of the Household)

Parliament—Queen's Speech—Her Majesty's Answer to Address, [250] 886

YORKE, Mr. J. R., *Gloucestershire, N.*

Customs Out-door Officers, [251] 797

Game Laws, Res. [251] 219

Greece—Brigandage in Acarnania, [250] 511

Liverpool Corporation Water, 2R. [250] 1284

Parliamentary Elections and Corrupt Practices (No. 2), Consid. [251] 1183, 1185

END OF VOLUME COLI., AND SECOND AND LAST
VOLUME OF FIRST SESSION 1880.

